A

COLLECTION

OF

MODERN AND CONTEMPORARY

VOYAGES

AND

TRAVELS:

CONTAINING,

I.

TRANSLATIONS FROM FOREIGN LANGUAGES, OF VOYAGES AND TRAVELS NEVER BEFORE TRANSLATED.

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ORIGINAL VOYAGES AND TRAVELS NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED.

III.

ANALYSES OF NEW VOYAGES AND TRAVELS PUBLISHED IN ENGLAND.

VOL. VI.

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By J. G. Barnard, 57, Snow Hill.

1807.

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TRAVELS

THROUGH THE

TWO LOUISIANAS,

AND

AMONG THE SAVAGE NATIONS

OF THE

MISSOURI;

ALSO,

IN THE UNITED STATES, ALONG THE OHIO, AND THE ADJACENT PROVINCES,

IN 1801, 1802, & 1803.

WITH

A SKETCH OF THE MANNERS, CUSTOMS, CHARACTER, AND THE CIVIL AND RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES OF THE PEOPLE OF THOSE COUNTRIES.

BY M. PERRIN DU LAC.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

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TRAVELS

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TWO LOUISIANAS, &c.

CHAP. I.

DEPARTURE FROM BOURDEAUX.—BANKS OF NEWFOUNDLAND—COD FISHERY—ARRIVAL AT THE BAY OF SANDY HOOK.—NEW YORK.—PROMENADES.—PUBLIC BUILDINGS.—MARKETS.—YELLOW FEVER.—COMMERCE.—RELIGION.—CUSTOMS.—EDUCATION, &c.

I LEFT Bourdeaux on the 14th of August, 1801, and embarked in the Oliver, merchantman, of the United States, commanded by Captain Conckling. We set sail on the following day with a fresh and favourable wind, which in a short time carried us out of sight of the coast. Occupied with the thoughts of France, which I now quitted for the first time, I kept my eyes fixed on the shore, until, confused with the clouds, it entirely disappeared.

I afterwards began to direct my attention to my fellow-travellers. They were twenty-five in number, and most of them were bound for St. Domingo, where they hoped to collect the wrecks of their fortunes, and regain their plundered habitations. Every thing induces me to believe that they have unhappily met with death in that place where they were going to seek what contributes so much to the happiness of life.

Some travellers fatigue their readers with minute accounts of the variations of the barometer and the winds; but I shall only observe, that these were visible in the appearance and behaviour of the passengers, who, being young and unaccustomed to the sea, elevated their hopes to excess, or depressed them with the same facility, according as the changes of the weather were either favourable or adverse.

After a month's sail we arrived at the banks of Newfoundland,

where we experienced a calm for twenty-four hours. I took this opportunity to go on board a fishing-vessel, which was within cannon-shot of us. A Flemish sailor, whom I met with, related to me the manner of turning this fishery to the greatest advantage.

"Those," said he, "who wish to render this fishery lucrative, arrive on the banks during the first fortnight of June, having on board a numerous crew, and a number of boats proportioned to the size of their vessels. Each boat carries four or five men, among whom the business of the fishery is divided. One baits the hook and casts the line into the sea, another draws it up, a third detaches the cod, while the others clean them, cut off their heads, and take out their tongues. When the boat is full, which, in plentiful years, happens frequently during one day, they bring it to the vessel, where others receive the fish, salt it, and store it in the hold, in which situation it becomes flattened and partly dried." I myself was a witness of these operations, which are executed by the fishermen with admirable dexterity.

This fishery, before the war, was the school which furnished our best sailors. The laborious life which they lead, the bad nourishment, the intemperance of the weather, and the violence of the winds, almost continual in these latitudes, so accustom them to hardships and fatigue, that the government have granted particular protection and encouragement to this commerce.

After the captain had made his observations, we quitted the banks of Newfoundland on the 17th of September. A favourable wind was carrying us towards our destination, and we had already passed the dangers of Nantucket, when the formidable north-west blasted all our hopes. The stream in which we found ourselves bore us to the east, and after having tacked six whole days, we were sixty miles farther from land than when the wind had changed. At last, in a few days, it changed again, and carried us within sight of the coast. We were in hourly expectation of the pilots, when a thick fog suddenly arising, obscured the land, which we had contemplated with so much pleasure. A most violent north wind now left the captain in doubt what course to take; whether to enter without a pilot, or steer back into the main. The fear of the equinoxial winds induced him to adopt the former resolution, although not without great danger. With the plummet in his hand, and by the assistance of an old sailor, who had piloted before in these latitudes, he executed his design with as much success as prudence.

At the moment we were entering Sandy Hook, the fog suddenly disappeared. Directed by an elevated tower, on the top

on the conclusion of a treaty of peace. Two cross batteries were also constructed on two small islands a little distant, in order to prevent any approach to the city; so greatly do this people dread a government without principles or moderation.

Most of the merchants or proprietors of vessels have docks, in which their ships are defended from the tide and the winds. These docks, which are of great advantage to commerce, are extremely prejudicial to the health of the city. They are in the greatest number on the river towards the east, which is the most mercantile, and at the same time the most unhealthy part of New York.

That epidemic disease so generally known by the name of the yellow fever, constantly manifests itself here; which seems to oppose the population of the cities of this continent, and to conspire against the prosperity of their inhabitants. As soon as the first symptoms discover themselves, the cities are almost deserted, the shops are shut, and the public buildings abandoned. Even the exchange is forsaken, and every individual who possesses the means of subsistence, employs them to escape the contagion. If ambition and avarice cannot determine the Americans to brave the yellow fever, it may easily be imagined that sentiments of friendship, attachment, or love, would not be able to detain them: the men approach with fear; fathers, and even mothers themselves, refuse assistance to their children, and forget their affection; children abandon their parents; in a word, the fear and horror which this disease inspires break the most sacred ties of society, and cause all ideas of humanity to vanish. The sick are left to the care of negroes, who seem privileged from the effects of the contagion, and who often dispatch the patient in order to get possession of his property; certain to escape punishment when the courts are shut and the officers fled. Notwithstanding the opinion of the inhabitants of the United States, I am induced to attribute it to the dirtiness of some parts of the city, but principally to the merchants' docks, or wharfs, in which, till lately, no outlet was contrived for the accumulated filth; which, acted upon by the intense heats of August and September, produces those mephitic effluvia which are so unfavourable to life. Experience is found to confirm this opinion. The inhabitants nearest the river on the east, are always first attacked by the contagion; while those on the river, to the north, where there are fewer docks, and the streets wider and better aired, seldom feel its dreadful effects. The obstinacy of individuals respecting the causes of this disease, has not prevented the government from taking those measures which prudence required. The construction of the docks has been altered. New York has already experienced the advantages of this wise resolution, which probably

will be adopted in all the maritime cities of the United States, that alone are depopulated by this disease. At a time when many parts of Europe are in dread of a disease, the very mention of which inspires terror, I think I ought to make known its principal symptoms, and thus afford professional men the means of supporting the spirits and diminishing the evils of society. Being attacked myself, when on my passage to New Orleans, I learned from my French physician, that my complaint had all the appearance of the yellow fever, but such as often occurs when the blood is pure and the season favourable.

It is difficult to discover the reason of its acquiring the name yellow fever*. The most probable conjectures are derived from the existence of an epidemic disease, nearly of the same nature, which appeared in the same parts of the new world during the great heats of the summer of 1745. At that time the maritime cities, although less inhabited and better aired, alone felt its effects. It left the patients who survived in a state of great debility, and during the tedious period of their convalescence they had a yellow look and a languid countenance.

Every person attacked by the yellow fever experiences lassitude, and a violent pain in the kidneys. A severe headach accompanies this first symptom, which precedes the fever some hours. Soon after the mouth becomes parched, and the respiration difficult, the tongue thickens, and becomes, together with the whole interior of the mouth, of a black colour, similar to extravasated blood; to these symptoms delirium succeeds, and the patient is violently agitated, and would destroy himself if not prevented. When spitting of thick and black blood commences, inflammation of the eyes, repletion and rupture of the vessels, there remain no longer any hopes of recovery; the patient sinks into a stupor and dies. In two days the disease arrives at its crisis; but death does not ensue, in general, until the fourth. At the end of this period, if a gentle perspiration comes on, and the appetite returns, a prompt recovery is certain.

A great question, at present, among medical men is, whether it is contagious or not? Some pretend that it is certainly contagious, and that the least intercourse is sufficient to communicate it; others, on the contrary, say, that it may be contagious, but only to those of particular habits, or that an assemblage of different causes conjoined with the intercourse is required; and if these causes are absent, however great the intercourse, there will be nothing to dread. Without involving myself in a

* It is certain the patient never assumes a yellow appearance; the eyes are only affected as in any other violent fever

discussion too far beyond my abilities, I shall relate facts, leaving professional men to draw conclusions from them. This disorder confines its ravages to the sea-coast, and there is no instance of its having been propagated in the country.

In the summer of 1794, which deprived Philadelphia of nearly one-sixth of its population, one house in the country, less than a mile distant from the city, was the retreat of twenty-four families, who all escaped the infection. At New York they have never seen it extend beyond the rivers, although great numbers of sick are daily crossing them, seeking a purer air.

I am unable to determine whether my account of it will be of any utility; but if the disease which afflicts some parts of Europe, be the same which has ravaged for some years the maritime cities of America, it is an atrocious act of cruelty to shut against those who are infected the road to the country, whither they may go without injury to society.—I say, that to sacrifice whole villages, to deliver up their inhabitants to despair, in debarring them every means of escaping death, without being certain of their infecting others, is a crime worthy only of those barbarous ages from which we believe ourselves so far removed. And, lastly, if the American government had followed this plan, its finest cities would have been destroyed, and its richest possessions ruined.

The commerce of the United States is certainly considerable. Like that of Holland, it has risen from the ruins of nations engaged in war; and consequently will not, after peace in Europe, display the same activity.

Since the establishment of their independence, the United States have, by the wisdom of their government, acquired a degree of prosperity and power which has already been regarded by some European nations with envy.

New York principally furnishes the West Indian colonies with provisions. Sugar, cotton, indigo, coffee, and, in short, all the produce which they receive in payment, is exported in their ships to Europe, and exchanged for territorial produce or manufactures, which they either bring back to the colonies, or to the United States, for consumption. Besides this, England and France have, in those years of scarcity with which they have been afflicted, found resources from this rising and industrious people The excessive price of provisions in those dreadful times, has driven many from Europe to America.

Besides the export-trade, New York possesses an extremely valuable branch of industry. The building of ships will for a long time be a source of wealth and prosperity. The goodness of

the materials, and the skill of the workmen, render them the best in the world.

Without foretelling its future grandeur, I shall only observe, the whole town is in motion: the workshops resound with the noise of the workmen; ships constantly arrive from all parts of the world: indeed, the opulence of this rising state cannot better be described than by comparing it with ancient Tyre, which all contemporary authors have represented as the queen of commerce, and the sovereign of the seas.

I should have viewed with greater pleasure the prosperity of this beautiful city, if my mind, yet lamenting the situation of France, had not been obliged to draw the sad comparison. The shattered condition of our ships, with which the sea was formerly covered, but which are now rotting in our ports; the misery of our commercial cities, compared with the opulence of this; every thing, in short, made me ardently desire peace, which alone can restore wealth and prosperity to France.

In New York, as in most other provinces of the United States, the laws are weak, and are often made the source of great abuse. This assertion is confirmed by the great number of bankruptcies which occur every day: more from knavery than the consequence of real misfortune. As commerce increases, those laws will be rendered more efficacious. The state of New York has already adopted some useful regulations, and the government will stop only at that point where too great severity would oppose the good of society and its true interests.

In a country where population consists of people who have emigrated from different nations, different modes of religion must be tolerated: in the United States all are equally protected by the government. Each sect has a separate place of worship, in which its followers assemble without dread of molestation. Fifty-three christian sects are reckoned in the United States. New ones are daily springing up, and it is impossible to say where the number will stop.

The greater part of the inhabitants of New York profess the reformed religion. A Frenchman cannot, without having been a witness, form an idea of the decorum which reigns in their churches. To talk or laugh in them would be a want of respect, which, if it produced the least disturbance, becomes punishable. Among all the sects (the Jews excepted) Sunday is particularly devoted to the offices of religion. On that day all business is suspended, and all public amusements forbidden. Every person only goes from home to the house of prayer, three times a day, except the Roman catholics, who have only two services. The Methodists, Universalists, and others, being fewer here than at

Philadelphia, I shall defer an account of them until my visit to that city. Notwithstanding this wonderful diversity, it has never produced either trouble or discontent in the state.

If there is any thing surprising in the great number of religions, the difference of our customs and those of this place will not be less so. Among us, girls are separated from boys from their infancy, and kept under the inspection of their mothers or governesses. Here the two sexes pass their youth without any distinction, attend the same schools, and receive the same instructions. When they have completed their education, which generally happens about their twelfth or thirteenth year, they are not more restrained. Their school-fellows and acquaintances are permitted to visit them; and when love succeeds to friendship, far from concealing their sentiments, they declare them with a frankness which characterises an ungoverned and unrestrained inclination. Those ladies most distinguished by their fortunes or the rank of their parents, walk alone with their lovers, without deriving any thing from such conduct injurious to their reputation.

The education of youth is simple, and ill calculated to render them learned: no efforts of genius, which have so much distinguished the inhabitants of the mother country, have yet appeared in the United States. Their studies are confined to reading, writing, and arithmetic: some are instructed in the rudiments of Greek and Latin, but so superficially that there is seldom any one found who retains the least remembrance of them. The people are commercial, and all their thoughts are directed to the acquirement of wealth, which almost alway stifles the love of polite literature and the abstract sciences. The accomplishments of music, dancing, and painting, were unknown until some time ago they were introduced by the French.

CHAP. II.

NEWARK.—ENVIRONS OF NEWARK.—FALLS OF THE PAISSAIC.—EXCURSION TO NEW JERSEY.—ELIZABETH-TOWN.—CREOLE WOMEN.—BRUNSWICK.—TRENTON.—ARRIVAL AT PHILADELPHIA.

AFTER a residence of some weeks I quitted New York, where symptoms of the yellow fever appeared. The season, although far advanced, continued excessively hot. The knowledge which I had acquired of the treatment of the Americans, even to persons who are the dearest to them; the fear of the hospital, to which strangers are sent without distinction; the

dreadful character of the disease; every thing induced me to seek some place where I might, if possible, escape the contagion. Newark, in Jersey, was the part I fixed upon. This little town, or rather large village, is the most beautiful I have ever seen. The houses, although of wood, are elegantly constructed, and all the inhabitants seem to enjoy the comforts of life.

The number of inhabitants at Newark is about two thousand, almost all Presbyterians. There is also a meeting of Anabaptists; but I seldom ever saw twenty-five people assembled. The Presbyterian church rivals all others at New York, by its size and the elegance of its steeple. The Episcopalian church, which is much smaller, is carefully kept in repair.

Situated on a pleasant declivity of a hill, which commands a vast plain, Newark, celebrated for the salubrity of its air and the hospitality of its inhabitants, attracts a great number of strangers, especially when people are obliged to fly from the city. There is scarcely a house which does not contain some. This intercourse occasioned entertainments, at some of which I assisted, less from the love of pleasure than from the desire of judging of the character of the Americans. At the first sound of an instrument, that indolence and apathy, which seem to characterise both sexes, are seen no more. The most sprightly country dances are preferred. In these moments they appear to the most advantage. Naturally beautiful and fair, the Americans are destitute of that vivacity and expression of countenance without which beauty is but a body without a soul. Passing an uniform life, they are only lively when excited by pleasure, or any violent emotion; and then they are, as it were, unlike themselves. Without doubt, they are far from possessing the grace and elegant motions of the French ladies; but they display, in their attitudes and behaviour, an appearance which gives rise to sentiments which cannot be suppressed. The girls go to entertainments without their mothers, who are seldom present, and who remain at home occupied with their other children, or in their household affairs.

During my stay at Newark, I viewed its environs, and particularly the banks of the river Paissaic, on which the village is built. The country is carefully cultivated; and although the lands are of a sandy and inferior quality, they are sold at a very high price. Desirous of not leaving any thing worthy of attentention unobserved, I visited the falls of the river Paissaic, which are considered the greatest curiosity of the province. The village of Patterson, which is on its borders, is seventeen miles distant from Newark. The road is one of the most beautiful in the United States; the number of country seats, and the culture

of the hill on the opposite bank, contributes much to its embellishment. Many villages through which I passed possessed nothing particularly worthy of remark: the houses are well built, and the land in general well cultivated; the articles of consumption are received from New York in exchange for timber and fire-wood.

Having arrived at Patterson, which probably owes its existence to the number of visitors which the falls attract, I, with some others led by the same curiosity as myself, took a survey of them. They are seventy feet in height, and during the summer months present a grand and majestic appearance. There are in the town a cotton manufactory, built at a great expence, but deserted for want of sufficient funds; a handsome paper-mill, and an academy.

On our return to the inn, the landlord presented to us a book, in which it is customary for strangers to write their names, and in the first page I perceived those of Washington and his lady. Many persons have added some remarks, conformable to the impression which this picturesque place has made upon them.

A few days subsequent to my journey to Patterson, I was invited to make an excursion to the interior of Jersey. I was told that the family I was going to visit inhabited the richest district of that province; and that the adjacent country merited the attention of a curious observer. We set out on the second of November, and passed through the beautiful town of Springfield, the principal place in the county of Essex. The little spring, from which it derives its name, supplies all the year pure and fertilising water. The meadows through which it passes furnishes hay of the best quality in abundance. Turkey and Bedminster, the former distant five and the latter six miles from Springfield, present nothing remarkable. The lands on each side of the road, to a great distance, are cultivated with care; and the numerous well-built habitations prove the opulence and industry of their cultivators. The principal commerce of these little countries consists in salted provisions, which, being sent to the markets at Trenton, Brunswick, or New York, are exported to the West Indies. The road from Turkey to Bedminster, the distance of four miles, presents the most charming prospect imaginable. Situated on an agreeable declivity, it commands an immense country surrounded with wood, and in every respect similar to the county of Essex in England, whose heights present a view of seven different counties. Minebrook, where we remained, is a village elegantly built. Its situation is picturesque, and the quality of the circumjacent lands is superior to any that

I had hitherto seen. It is cultivated by negroes, who are treated with kindness and humanity.

After having passed some days in visiting this beautiful country, I returned to Newark. The north-west winds, which are in these countries extremely cold, had arrested the progress of the yellow fever. The merchants returned to their business, and the workmen to their labours; I proposed, therefore, to continue my travels.

On the seventh of November I set out for Elizabethtown, a beautiful little place, seventeen miles distant from Newark. It has, since the troubles in the West Indies, afforded a retreat to many inhabitants of St. Domingo and Guadaloupe, who came to seek an asylum in this part of the continent. The apparent tranquillity of these islands has induced many of them to return to their former habitations; but the more prudent part, or those who have other resources, have deferred their departure to more happy times. Elizabethtown, situated on a small river which flows into the bay of New York, is the most agreeable part of Jersey. Its population is not greater than that of Newark; and its inhabitants almost all profess the reformed and Presbyterian religions. Each sect has a church, well built, and carefully kept in repair.

I had an opportunity, during my stay at Elizabethtown, of being present at some French parties, where I was enabled to judge of the character and disposition of the Creole women. Idleness, supineness, and levity, seem to constitute the basis of their pleasures. The slowness of their speaking, their embarrassed countenances, their love of ease, and their repeated yawnings, may appear amiable in the sight of those men who have been accustomed to such graces from their infancy, but a Frenchman must endure much in such company before he can derive any pleasure.

Notwithstanding the pressing invitations that I received from my friends, with whom I had spent some agreeable days at Elizabethtown, I set out for Brunswick on the 11th of November. I had for my companion an old soldier, who had fought against the independence of the United States, under the command of Lord Cornwallis, and had remained there since the peace. He showed me two thickets on the road, where the two armies had been encamped for many days, and at some little distance a plain where they had had more bloody work. To my regret he left me at Bridgetown, seven miles distant from Elizabethtown. This place is only remarkable from the number of its bridges; it is almost entirely surrounded by the river Rosway, which has an opening into the bay of Sandy Hook. The road from Bridge-

town to Brunswick is less pleasant, and in worse repair. The country is poor and badly cultivated; and the numerous forests of pine-trees discover the barrenness of the land.

Brunswick, at which I arrived in five hours, is situated on a hill, the foot of which is watered by the river Rantin, over which a handsome wooden bridge has been constructed. It is necessary to observe, that almost all the bridges have been built by companies, which, for a certain term of years, receive a toll appointed by the government to reimburse them, and to support the repairs which are requisite. At the expiration of this term, the tolls are reduced so as to be sufficient only for their repair.

The population of Brunswick amounts to about three thousand. The greater part are Presbyterians; and lately the Methodists have erected a church. The commerce of grain and salt provisions is so extensive, that the merchants send these articles to New York, from whence they receive in return every thing necessary for the consumption of the neighbouring countries. A great quantity of furniture, for the use of the West India islands, is manufactured here. The number of strangers constantly passing and repassing from Philadelphia to New York is another source of its prosperity. The principal street is full of inns; and yet there are often so many visitors, that they can scarcely find lodgings.

After having remained here twenty-four hours, I proceeded towards Trenton, which is distant thirty miles. The road was as bad as that which I had passed during the two preceding days. The first place, twelve miles distant from Brunswick, is Kingstown: it scarcely merits the name of a village. Princeton, six miles farther, is more considerable: it contains a court of justice, and a college*, which has obtained some celebrity. There is only one street, which is not paved. The lands are good, well cultivated, and sell at a high price. The number of inhabitants amounts to about eight hundred, most of whom are Presbyterians.

Trenton, the capital of Jersey, is built at a little distance from the Delaware, and is only celebrated by its public buildings. It contains four thousand inhabitants, who are chiefly Presbyterians and Roman catholics; there are also Quakers, Methodists, Anabaptists, and Universalists: the streets are broad and well paved, the churches are well constructed, and the public markets well regulated. In 1789, in consequence of some dis-

putes with the governor of Pennsylvania, the Congress built a hall, in which were held their meetings. It is a perfect square of forty-five feet; the offices adjoining are well distributed, and the surrounding gardens large and in good order. The academy is equally well constructed; and the youth receive as good an education as it is possible in a country not yet supplied with very skilful and learned men.

Trenton receives every thing required from Philadelphia in exchange for salt provisions and articles of manufacture. There is a manufactory of nails, which employs a great number of workmen. I visited most of them, attended by the treasurer of state, to whom I had brought a letter of introduction. Although he was chief of a place which in the United States is reputed to be Jacobinical, I found him an agreeable and learned man. At a future time I shall speak of the difference of political opinions, which ought to be less in this than in any other country. But wherever there are men there will be divisions, which at first form parties, and afterwards subvert the strongest empires.

The road from Trenton to Philadelphia, like that from New York, is bad. It would be a matter of astonishment that the communication between the two principal cities in the United States was not better attended to, if it were not known that mercantile countries always neglect whatever is of no advantage to commerce. The merchandise passes by sea from Philadelphia to New York; besides, as the road almost entirely crosses Jersey, which derives few advantages from it, that state will not expend enormous sums to enrich its neighbours. Between Trenton and Bristol, which are distant twelve miles, there are very few farms. The lands are cultivated and sown with wheat, rye, and maize, which are the chief productions of Jersey. Bristol is a little town, pleasantly situated on the right bank of the river Delaware. Burlington, which is built on the opposite bank, carries on the greatest commerce in Jersey. The vessels of 150 tons, which go up loaded with necessaries for the country, bring back in exchange all sorts of provisions. From Bristol to Philadelphia, Frankfort alone merits attention. It contains eleven hundred inhabitants of various religions; the Presbyterians, however, are the most numerous. From thence to Philadelphia the country is neither more inhabited nor better cultivated, and nothing announces the approach to the finest city of the United States, and probably of the new continent.

The Delaware is the boundary of the states of Jersey and Pennsylvania. It is not more than fifty or sixty fathoms below Trenton, but in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia it is of a width equal to the largest rivers in France. I have seen it covered with vessels of all sizes; and even ships of war can navigate

it at all seasons except the winter, when they are in danger of being broken in pieces by the ice. At some distance from the city, I observed a dock-yard, in which there were more than twelve ships building: among others there was a beautiful frigate fitting up, and intended to be sent by the government to the Mediterranean, where the United States maintain a fleet to preserve their commerce from the piracy of the Barbary powers.

CHAP. III.

FUNEREAL RITES.—DESCRIPTION OF PHILADELPHIA.—PUBLIC BUILDINGS.—BANKS.—LIBRARY.—THEATRE.—HOSPITAL.—POOR-HOUSES.

THE day after my arrival at Philadelphia, I went to view the interior of the city. I had scarcely crossed the street, when I saw a body carrying to the grave. More than three hundred persons, decently dressed, followed it in silence. The coffin was made of mahogany, without any exterior decorations. The procession stopped at a large burial-ground belonging to the Quakers, surrounded with walls twelve feet in height, and planted with rows of the weeping willow and the cypress. The whole ceremony consisted in depositing the body in a grave five feet deep; after which, each returned in silence, without any perceptible lamentation or regret. This species of philosophy accords with the religious principles of the Quakers, of whom I shall speak hereafter. For the present, I shall content myself in giving some account of the respect paid by the different religious sects in the United States to their dead.

Each sect possesses a piece of ground, destined for the interment of its followers. These grounds are surrounded with walls or pales, to prevent the entrance of any animal. On the death of a member, the relations assemble, and invite to the funeral all those with whom the deceased has had any acquaintance. Those who follow the coffin are generally dressed in black, and show a respectful sorrow, according as they have been interested with the defunct or his family. When the body has arrived at the place of interment, the minister makes a short discourse, in which he enumerates the qualities and virtues of the deceased. He reminds them of the shortness of human life, and exhorts them to live well; after which, he throws some mould into the grave. Every person present follows his example, the relations first, then the friends, and the grave diggers complete this mournful ceremony. When the grave is filled, they place over it a marble slab, on which is engraven in large letters the name of the deceased, the day of his birth, and also of his

death. They often add some sentences, which relate to his public or domestic virtues. Those whose fortunes will permit; have them erected at a great expence. The custom of mourning is strictly observed by all the sects except the Quakers. Among some societies, the father and mother put on mourning even for their infants.

As the burial of the dead among all civilized nations has been accounted one of the first duties of society, a duty so little respected during the revolutionary times of France, I thought it necessary to treat of it in a separate chapter. When it was written, France had no longer to deplore the imperfection of this part of her laws. But I think that the example of a people like the Americans, ought to add still more to our ceremonies.

Philadelphia in every respect merits the title of the first city of the United States. It is built on the right bank of the river Delaware, from whence, according to the plan of its founder, it ought to extend to the Schuylkill, which is more than two miles distant; but the great advantages from the proximity of a navigable river have induced the people to build it in another direction. Consequently, instead of forming a perfect square of two miles, it extends three miles on the Delaware, while it is not built more than three quarters of a mile on the side of the Schuylkill. Thus the reservoir, which according to Mr. Penn's plan ought to have been placed in the centre of the city, to supply every part with water, is at a great distance from the western extremity. The building which incloses it is of a fine architecture, and agreeably terminates a street, opposite to which it is constructed. This street, which is fifty feet wide, exclusive of the foot-ways, which are ten on each side, is one of the finest in the world. The markets are 120 fathoms in length, elegantly built, and superior to any I have ever seen in Europe. They are furnished daily with every delicacy which can be desired; and it is difficult to imagine what order and propriety prevail. I should not insist so much on this particular, if I were not conscious of its great importance to the health of a populous city.

The street which divides the eastern part of the city from the western, has occasioned the two parts to be called the Northern and Southern quarters. All the streets that cross it in the direction of the Delaware, are the first, second, third, &c. on the North or South. They are all parallel, regularly constructed, and ornamented with good foot-ways. The houses are of brick, and generally adorned with an elegant white stone, which the Americans call marble; but its grain is too coarse to merit that name.

Philadelphia contains about seventy thousand persons of all sects and religions; and there is no mode of worship in Europe

which is not practised here. The numbers of the churches contributes much to the embellishment of the city; but the largest of them will not contain above eleven or twelve hundred persons.

The ancient palace of the president, that of the congress, the banks of Pennsylvania and of the United States; the hospital, the poor-houses, the library, the theatre, and the museum, merit the attention of a traveller.

The buildings which formerly belonged to the president of the Congress have been sold cheap, and converted into an academy. The public library has, in front, a statue of Dr. Franklin, to whom it seems particularly dedicated. No one is ignorant how much physical science is indebted to him; and America will never forget the part he took for her independence. It contains from 30,000 to 32,000 volumes, selected with judgment and preserved with care; it is supported and augmented by an annual subscription, and every subscriber is permitted to have any book he wishes at his own house. The bank of Pennsylvania, the first institution of the kind in this quarter of the world, would be a superb edifice if it was less in decay, and if the columns which form the peristyle were less awkwardly constructed. That which has been lately erected at Philadelphia, may be considered the finest piece of architecture in the United States, although in my opinion it partakes of the faults of the other. It is entirely built of the stone above-mentioned; the blocks which form the columns and stairs are of an admirable size and beauty. These banks, however, are more remarkable for the credit they enjoy than for their elegance of the buildings; their notes are received in preference to money throughout the whole extent of the United States.

The arsenal, begun under the direction of Mr. Adams, has been entirely abandoned by his successor on account of the war with which this country was threatened by France. However pacific a state may be, it ought always to remain on its guard: no one is secure from the ambitious activity of a turbulent neighbour, or from the subversive spirit of those men who are born for the ruin of their country. The arsenal, situated at a little distance from the city, presents a great and well-constructed plan; the architecture is good, and in contemplating the part that is complete, it is to be regretted that this superb edifice remains unfinished. The theatre is large, well-built, and beautifully decorated in the interior. The pieces which are performed are English; America has never produced any thing of the kind. Some of the performers have come from London, but they possess a phlegmatic character, from which they never depart. The Americans prefer tragedy to comedy; and seem to take no delight in any thing comic that is not seasoned with gross buffoonery and vulgar wit. Order and decency are strangers to the interior of the theatre. The

ear is assailed with a clamorous din, and the nose with the smell of tobacco. The men wear their hats during the performance, and are rarely found polite enough to give up their seats to the ladies.

The hospital is a superb building, where both sexes are attended by nurses, and visited by the most celebrated physicians in Pennsylvania. The beds are placed in different rooms designed for different diseases: they are well ventilated, and only warmed sufficient to prevent the cold being disagreeable to the patients. The apartments destined for advice and operations, are the most beautiful, and the library is supplied with every book which may be required. After having visited the various apartments, I was conducted to the galleries, in which the insane are confined. They are placed in small chambers, and only deprived of their liberty when it is injurious to society. These chambers are eighty in number, and by the assistance of tubes are kept of an equal temperature. Their food is good, and they are supplied with any thing they stand in need of. Being astonished at their numbers, I enquired of the physician to what this disproportion of insane persons could be ascribed. He answered, without hesitation, that more than half owed the loss of their reason to ebriety! of the other half, one third to love or jealousy; another, to religous fanaticism; and the last, to a variety of maladies.

The revenues of the hospital are augmented by individual charities and the improvements of the lands belonging to it. They are let to respectable tenants by the state of Pennsylvania. The physicians and surgeons exercise their professions gratuitously during one, and sometimes two years. The same humanity which watches over the sick, is shewn to those whom accidents, misfortune, or old age have deprived of the means of supporting themselves. They are removed to the poor-houses, where they are occupied in the most easy employments, decently clothed and maintained. There is a room set apart for the old, the lame, the blind, and all those who are afflicted with any disease which by slow degrees conducts them to the grave. The men are separated from the women. The men are employed in untwisting old cables, washing, and cleaning the tar from them, that they may be made use of again: the women card or spin cotton and wool. Tailors, shoemakers, and others who are unable to gain their living in the world, follow here their respective businesses, when their health permits.

The revenues of the houses, like those of the hospital, are managed by respectable inhabitants, who are appointed every year by the state of Pennylvania.

Philadelphia is of all the cities in the United States one in

which the yellow fever has made the greatest ravages. In 1793 it broke out and affected more than three hundred persons, the greater part of whom were destroyed by it. It again appeared in 1798 and 1799, but accompanied with less terrible symptoms. Although the government have adopted every possible means to prevent intercourse with countries infected by it, it again appeared in 1802, attended by the same fatal consequences.

CHAP. IV.

QUAKERS, METHODISTS, ANABAPTISTS, MORAVIAN BRETHREN—WILMINGTON.—VISIT TO A MAN INSANE THROUGH LOVE.—BAY OF CHESAPEAK.—BALTIMORE.—FEDERAL CITY.—GEORGE-TOWN.—CONGRESS.—MOUNT VERNON. BETHLEHEM.

AS I have before observed, every mode of worship in Europe is exercised at Philadelphia. It would be contrary to my plan to speak of each in particular. Every one is acquainted with the principles of the Protestants, Lutherans, Presbyterians, and others, all the offspring of one common mother, whose separation has caused much bloodshed and sorrow. I shall confine myself to the Quakers, Methodists, Anabaptists, and Moravian brethren.

The Quakers are more numerous in Pennsylvania, of which they were the original inhabitants. Mr. Penn, who has given his name to this province, was a zealous partizan of this sect, to which he granted particular privileges. The ridicule which has been constantly attached to them can only exist with those, who, observing the exterior, despise every thing which disagrees with received customs.

The Quakers have no churches; they assemble in a building called a Meeting, in which there are no ornaments, and no places appointed for particular individuals; the women only are separated from the men. The men wear their hats, sit down, and remain in meditation, until one of the society, feeling himself inspired, begins to discourse on some part of christian morality. Men, women, and children, are permitted to communicate their sentiments, and are attended to without disapprobation. Like the other sects, they have adopted Sunday for their meetings. They are always plainly clothed, and wear covered buttons, but never follow the fashion, except for some real advantage. Their hats are large, and only taken off when troublesome. The women generally wear dark colours; during winter they cover themselves with a grey or black cloak, which reaches to their feet. The Quakers are supposed to excel the other sects in industry and wealth; they support their own poor; have private hospitals for

their sick; and their children are better educated in their colleges than in the public academies.

They neither pay taxes nor bear arms. But as every law may be evaded, so they found an expedient during the war for their independence, to unite their religious principles with the duties of society. When a collector of taxes enters a Quaker's house, he finds upon a table a bag of money, from which he takes the sum required, and departs without leaving any receipt. No one is permitted, under pain of excommunication, to assist at any public spectacle, frequent taverns, or plead. All their disputes are settled by their brethren, before whom the causes of complaint or accusation are laid. Their marriage is as simple as their other ceremonies. It consists in a simple declaration of their mutual intention to live together as man and wife, without being fettered by any vows or oaths. Their marriages are mostly the effect of reciprocal inclination, and the records of their society are said to furnish no instance of a divorce. This society bestows many considerable charities, and sends out a number of missionaries to civilize the Indians of the continent.

The Methodists are as tumultuous as the Quakers are silent; they take in a literal sense the words of scripture, "The kingdom of heaven must be gained by force; cry unto heaven, &c." Their prayers are noisy, and their singing, although agreeable, is remarkable for repeated ejaculations. Their ministers use most outrageous violence of gesticulation. They practise the most furious contortions, and walk up and down a sort of gallery which they mount instead of a pulpit, in a state of delirium. When the preaching is ended, the most zealous of the fraternity utter with a loud voice some of their imaginary inspirations, and the congregation bear witness to the celestial oracles. But the impression is gradual. From gentle expirations, they proceed to sighs, sighs are succeeded by sobs, sobs by loud lamentations, when each abandons himself to every species of extravagance which delirium can suggest.

I cannot forbear describing one of their ceremonies, which will enable us to judge of the elevation to which the human mind may be raised by religious enthusiasm. This ceremony, which takes place every three months, is appointed to receive into their society all those who are convinced of the superiority of Methodism over that which they formerly professed. Twelve women, and as many boys, being presented for admission, all the members began to entreat the Holy Spirit to illumine them. Some cry out, and agitate themselves in the most dreadful manner; others, imagining themselves in the presence of the Holy Spirit, testify their gratitude by immoderate fits of laughter. The new converts soon partake of their delirium, and give themselves up to every extravagance. I could not prevail on myself

to remain to the end of the ceremony, which does not finish until five o'clock in the morning.

The Anabaptists are distinguished by their belief that baptism must be, similar to that of St. John, an immersion in running water; and that it cannot be received with advantage until they have arrived at the age of discretion. They are dipped naked three times in the water by the minister, who repeats some prayers suitable to the occasion. Their other worship possesses nothing in it extraordinary. The Anabaptists are less numerous than the Methodists. They are subdivided into many other sects, which only differ on some particular points.

The Moravian Brethren believe in a communion with spirits; but in a subsequent chapter I shall mention a work, in which will be found an account of this truly curious and interesting sect.

After a long stay at Philadelphia, I proceeded to the interior of the United States. The Federal Town at which the Congress was assembled, attracted particularly my attention. Being desirous of visiting it, I embarked in a packet-boat, which descends the Delaware as far Newcastle, 40 miles below Philadelphia. The weather was cold; but being very clear, I was enabled to contemplate the whole day the banks of the river. The prospect on the right was beautiful; the lands were well cultivated and adorned to a great distance with country seats; on the left, which forms part of Jersey, it presents only a sandy soil, barren, and uncultivated. Having arrived opposite to Wilmington, the wind and tide being contrary, the captain thought proper to cast anchor, and defer our departure to the next day. I therefore went to view this little town, which carries on an extensive commerce in grain. It is celebrated for possessing the best mills in the United States. At a little distance from this place, the famous battle was fought, which occasioned the capture of Philadelphia by the royalist army.

Its population is about two thousand five hundred; the half of whom are Quakers. There are at Wilmington, a court of justice, an hospital and poor-house. The next day, at ten o'clock, I returned to the packet-boat, and descended with the tide, as far as Newcastle, when I took the stage, and reached Charlestown, in the bay of Chesapeak, where there is a packet-boat, which sets out an hour after the arrival of the stage. The village of Newcastle is pleasantly situated on the banks of the Delaware. At a tavern a little distant from Charlestown, I heard of an extraordinary person, whom most travellers visited. This man, whose real name was unknown, had taken an active part in the war for their independence, and was entirely deprived of his reason through an unfortunate attachment. He sometimes received strangers with kindness, and related to them an account of his misfortunes. At

other times, hurried away by the violence of his disease, he spoke and acted extravagantly, although never troublesome to society.

A young Englishman, with whom I travelled, wished to accompany me. Being provided with a guide, we arrived in two hours, just before sun-set. We were informed by his servant that he was on a neighbouring rock. We soon perceived him walking quickly, and talking. At last, being either disturbed by the noise of some dry leaves under our feet, or having finished his discourse, he looked at us, and came to offer us his hand. "Whoever you are," said he, "you are welcome. Come to my cottage, I will relate to you my love, my happiness, for a short time, and the other causes of my grief."

After a frugal supper, during which he spoke confusedly, he made us enter a little parlour, hung round with pictures. "There," said he, is the history of my life; you may read it in an instant. The beauty of the principal person is nothing when compared with the qualities of her mind, and her amiable virtues." I entreated him to explain the pictures. Every one related to the life of his Anna; her birth, her first lesson in music, and the moment he was compelled by his duty to engage in the war. He gave us an animated account of the battle in which he was dangerously wounded while commanding the left wing. Half cured, he had hastened to the arms of his Anna. His reception presented a mixture of love and fear, which was easily distinguished in all his features. After this picture, followed one representing the declaration of his love, their marriage, the birth of a daughter. He passed over these happy moments with joy; but suddenly turning to the opposite side, he shrieked and ran away. We continued to observe them, and saw a long train of misfortunes which had befallen him since his marriage. The death of the parents of his Anna; her long illness, and death. At last we perceived the rock on which we had met him. He was represented with his hand uplifted, and in the attitude of sorrow. Under the picture was written, "Here are the beloved remains; here I shall end my life;—may Heaven shortly put an end to my sorrow!"

The unfortunate man, whom we repented to have so affected, had gone to seek a mat worked by his Anna, on which he hoped to enjoy sleep. What in some measure abated our concern was, to hear that after every time he had related his misfortunes, he continued much better for several days.

The next day, after a sail of eight hours, I arrived at Baltimore, which twelve or thirteen years ago did not contain more than 11000 inhabitants; but at present its population exceeds 30,000, and its commerce ranks it among the most important ports of the United States. Its situation on the bay of Chesapeak is

advantageous for the admission of ships of all sizes, at all seasons. This bay extends two hundred and eighty miles up the country. It receives a great number of rivers; among which are the Pottowmac and the Susquehana: of these I shall speak hereafter.

Most of the inhabitants are Presbyterians. The Quakers are not so numerous as at Philadelphia. The court of justice, the custom-house, and the guildhall, are fine and well preserved edifices. As at Philadelphia, there are an hospital and poor-house, prison, theatre, and a bank, which was not completed on my departure. The principal commercial houses in Baltimore are Scotch. This active, enterprising, economical, and industrious people, carry with them the love of labour and the arts. Strangers are received here with a politeness uncommon in the United States.

Having remained eight days at Baltimore, I set out for the Federal City, at which I arrived the same day. The lands are of an inferior quality, and the villages on the road are so inconsiderable that there is no necessity of even mentioning their names.

Agreeable to the report of the surveyors, who were appointed by the Congress to examine what position offered most advantages for the erection of a city, it was determined, in 1790, to build it on the river Potowmac, which divides Maryland from Virginia. The act of the Congress which had authorised the establishment of the Federal City, had also voted considerable sums for the erection of the different buildings. The palace of the Congress was begun on a most magnificent plan; but the expences required were so large, that it remains unfinished. That of the president, as well as those of the different chiefs of the government, were to be completed against the first of January 1800, at which time the assembly of the Congress was to be held for the first time in the Federal City.

It would require a volume to relate the extravagant speculations to which this new establishment has given rise. The richest individuals, imagining that people would flock to it from all parts, bought the lands at a high price, in hopes of selling them again at a still higher, or of building houses to let; but how have they been deceived! The Federal City, built on a too extensive plan, will not for many years yield any recompence to speculators.

The Potowmac falls into the bay of Chesapeak. The harbour formed by it is good, and ships of all sizes can navigate it at all seasons. The plan of the city would have been superb, if it could have been executed; but every thing indicates that many ages will elapse before this point can be attained. The palace of the Congress has at present only one wing built, and it appears they do not intend to complete it. That of the president, which is distant above a mile, is finished; but the elegant street which communicates from one to the other, contains only a few houses,

indeed handsome, but so distant from each other, that they look more like country houses than those in the principal street of a city destined to be the metropolis of an extensive empire.

The Potowmac, some miles below its entrance, ceases to be navigable. The states of Maryland and Virginia, in proportion to the advantages derived from the Federal City, have undertaken the formation of a canal, by means of which ships will avoid those chains of rocks that render it impassable. The Federal City does not contain above 8000 persons, and they have been less active in building than in most other maritime parts of the United States.

The place opposite to the palace of the Congress would be, if completed, one of the finest in the world. In the centre of this place, which is called the capitol, the statue of Washington was designed to be erected, concerning which so many debates arose in the Congress. But the memory of this truly great man has been well preserved by his numerous friends, who in all the towns of the United States have generously subscribed towards leaving to posterity a monument of their love and esteem for a citizen, whose equal the United States perhaps will never produce. I shall not delay the time in composing his elegy; it is engraven in indelible characters on the hearts of all honest people, who know with what prudence, what courage, and, above all, with what impartiality he served his country.

Georgetown, situated beyond the territory of the Congress, was before the establishment of the Federal City, from which it is only divided by a creek, a very commercial place. It is pleasantly situated on the eastern branch of the Potowmac. Its harbour is good, and capable of receiving merchantmen of all burthens. Its population does not exceed two thousand.

The debate which has so long occupied the attention of the Congress, and which continued during my residence in the Federal City, attracted the attention of every person in the United States. The federalists, strongly attached to the letter of the constitution, maintained that they could not repeal the act of the preceding Congress, which, by virtue of its right, had appointed a supreme tribunal to examine the acts of the different powers against the safety of the republic, and the respect due to its laws. The democrats, on the other hand, affirmed, that the tribunal was only calculated to produce troubles; that its suppression was not contrary to the constitution. Both parties argued with that enthusiasm which party spirit never fails to inspire. The partizans of democracy, like those in France, are generally men turbulent through their speculations, and unwilling to bear any superiority, even of the laws. They are particularly inhabitants of the Southern States, who, being accustomed from their infancy to

rule over slaves, to whom a look is a command, display in all their actions this domineering character, which being restrained by the laws, occasions them to be regarded as abusive and tyrannical.

The democrats have raised Mr. Jefferson to the office of president in the United States, and to them he remains firmly attached. It is certain that he performed some services during the war; that he possesses an accurate judgment, and political talents; but it is equally true, that he is blinded by an excessive self-love, which makes him sacrifice every thing to his own opinion. Jealous of maintaining his authority, he has dismissed illustrious and irreproachable men from their appointments, solely because they were given to them by Mr. Adams, his competitor and rival. Those who have obtained them are for the most part foreigners, whose only merit consisted in favouring democracy. Without being anxious to render his country respectable in the sight of foreign nations, he only wishes it to be agricultural, without commerce or political stability. Popular even to meanness, he has taken off some taxes imposed by his predecessor for the support of the army, which he has reduced to 2000 men; and the navy is in such a miserable condition that it can scarcely defend the commerce from the Barbary powers. The public papers are filled daily with complaints of the merchants, who, without any hopes of satisfaction, experience considerable losses. The populace, intoxicated at a small expence, bless the man who has taken off the tax from strong liquors distilled in the interior. Drunkenness is a vice so common among this class of men, that it would have been better if he had tripled the tax instead of repealing it. Mr. Jefferson is the author of a work on the Statistics of Virginia; but his merit is not greater as an author than as the president of the United States.

The Congress fixes the taxes to answer the wants of the republic. It proposes laws, or examines those proposed by the executive power; but before any law can be put in force, it must be presented to the Senate, which either approves or rejects it. The Senate is a superior authority interposed between the legislative and executive powers. Each province returns two members, who must not be less than forty years of age. The law requires nothing more; but those who obtain the votes are generally men illustrious by their superior acquirements, their great fortunes, or the services they have performed. There are yet in the Senate many members of the Congress, who proclaimed, in 1776, the independence of the United States, and some generals who commanded with distinction in the war which followed.

After having remained in the Federal City a sufficient time to be convinced that private interest is the great stimulus of human

actions, that the favour of the great triumphs over real merit, and that men who have embraced a party are deaf to the voice of reason; I proceeded to the country seat of Washington.

It was in this place that he passed the latter years of his life, and where he was pleased to reflect on the great interests of a country whose independence he had fought for and established. Mount Vernon would have merited no attention, had it not belonged to Washington. The prospect which commands the Potowmac would have been very delightful if the plain were not sandy, and almost uncultivated. The house is large, but without external or internal ornaments; the gardens are well laid out. The library, selected by this great man, contains interesting and useful books. The cultivator, the philosopher, and the statesman are certain of finding here agreeable companions. The French authors whom Washington seems to have most admired, are Buffon and Montesquieu. The notes which he made on those celebrated works, and which Mrs. Washington permitted me to read, prove that his skill and discernment equalled his civil and military virtues.

After remaining two days with this respectable family, I embarked in a packet-boat for Baltimore, where I arrived the same evening, and the next day proceeded with some foreigners, as curious as myself, to view the establishment of Moravian brethren at Bethlehem. This little town is twenty-eight miles from Philadelphia. The Moravian brethren possess all the surrounding lands for more than two miles. There is only one inn, where strangers are received and well treated at a moderate expence. This little place, which more resembles a convent than a town, contains about eight hundred inhabitants. The mildness of their manners, and the regularity of their lives, are perhaps the most remarkable peculiarities of this sect.

On the day of our arrival we visited the convent, which is superintended by the most respectable women of the sect. The buildings are large and well distributed. Young ladies of all religions are educated there. Their employment consists in needle-work, also music, drawing, embroidery, the study of history and religion. One of the mistresses presented to us purses, portfolios, and baskets. We purchased some, and were informed that the profits were employed in charitable works. My limits will not permit me to detail the religious principles of the Moravian brethren; but I refer the curious to the work of M. De Liancourt. Like the Quakers, they enjoy a well deserved reputation for probity and virtue. They are good agriculturists and honest merchants, and extend their humanity to persons of all religions.

CHAP. V.

CHARACTER, MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS OF THE AMERICANS IN THE MARITIME PROVINCES.—AMERICAN WOMEN.

I COULD not leave this part of the continent, without mentioning the manners, customs, and character of the inhabitants. The maritime cities, which are the rendezvous of all nations, have adopted the English customs. Their wants are increased with their fortunes; luxury has been introduced, and the fine arts, although in their infancy, are much more cultivated than in the interior, where they are scarcely thought of. Employed entirely in mercantile speculations, they possess all the qualities and defects which characterise the merchant. They are laborious, active, industrious, and enterprising. When they deal with each other, they do it with suspicion and distrust. Each is conscious that the other will cheat him if he is able; and that no moral considerations will be suffered to stand in his way. If an honest and ingenuous foreigner has any intercouse with them, he is sure to be made a dupe, and the wily American only laughs at the integrity which he ought to reverence. In the late troubles in St. Domingo, many of the planters entrusted their money, their jewels, and valuables, to American merchants and captains, who fraudulently appropriated them to themselves; and at least nineteen twentieths of these unfortunate persons had reason to execrate their perfidy.

The same suspicion which characterises their dealings with each other, is seen in their domestic concerns. They will not trust even their children or their wives. The men go to market themselves, and purchase every thing that is wanted; and nothing is left to the wife but the interior order and neatness of the house. Economical even to meanness, they only make use of their fortunes to procure wine and spirits. A segar, a gazette, and a bottle of Madeira wine are their only comforts. The Americans spend great part of the day in reading the public papers, of which there are immense numbers. They believe themselves the greatest warriors in the world, solely because they have obliged some savage nations to sue for peace.

The Americans are litigious and quarrelsome. The cool manner in which they defend their causes cannot but amuse a

foreigner. In the most important suits you will never see the speaker move his head or his hands, or make the least inflexion of his voice, which may discover him more animated at one time than another. If he is cast, without anger he refers the matter to another court; until he has exhausted all the means of appeal. Their political dissensions assume every day a more violent character.

The Americans are not generally attached to their relations, to whom they seldom afford any assistance. It is not extraordinary to see the brother of a man of fortune in the greatest distress. Their love is always strongest for their youngest child, and disappears when he reaches his twelfth year. When he is removed from school, enough has been done for him: he must then go and provide for himself how and where he is able.

This want of concern originates in the law which deprives the parents of all authority over their daughters at fifteen, and their sons at twenty. Nature wishes us not to be too strongly attached to those objects which are soon to escape us, and to whose happiness we cannot directly contribute. Among all animals she has proportioned the cares of the parent to the wants of the offspring, and has ordained that the attachment of the former shall only cease when the latter do not require assistance. The savage nations observe this law, who forget their children, and are forgotten by them as soon as they are able to procure food and clothing by their arrows.

Such is the general character of the inhabitants of the coasts of the United States, which gains them few friends among strangers, or those that trade with them. There is a great consumption of tea, which is served up four or five hours after dinner. The Americans eat their meat boiled or roasted, and follow, in every respect, the English manners.

Every day convinced me that the women have fewer faults and more virtues than the men. Balls, plays, promenades, and the toilet, entirely occupy their attention. If a young man becomes captivated with a lady, before he thinks of marrying her, he must provide her with every pleasure, and be accessary to all her whims. Certain that their pleasures will terminate on the day of their marriage, they defer it as long as possible, and only yield to the solicitations of their lovers when they are in dread of losing them. I have heard several American ladies answer, to the most sincere declarations of affection, and to most advantageous proposals of marriage, that they had not yet had time to know the world and its amusements; and that they would not retire without having enjoyed them.

The young people are free when single, but slaves when married. Entirely employed in domestic affairs, they only

go out to visit their relations, or to church. With the most conciliating serenity they endure the mortification and disgust of a husband, who is generally morose, and often drunk.

The expences of the women are very limited. If any extraordinary luxury is displayed in their houses, it is to satisfy their husbands, who often only preserve their credit by dazzling the eyes of the public.

The American women always suckle their own children, and can hardly conceive it possible how a mother should abandon to a stranger so essential a part of her duty. Female beauty is here of short duration. There are few countries where the women have worse teeth than in the United States.

CHAP. VI.

DEPARTURE FOR LOUISIANA.—LANCASTER.—ASSEMBLY OF THE STATES OF PENNSYLVANIA.—HARRISBURG.—SUSQUEHANA.—CARLISLE.—MOUNTAINS OF KITUCKTUNY AND SEDLING.—BEDFORD.—ALLEGANY MOUNTAINS.—GREENSBURGH.—PITTSBURGH.—RIVERS ALLEGANY AND MONONGAHELA.—COAL-PITS.—INHABITANTS BEYOND VIRGINIA AND THE WESTERN STATES.—COL. BROWN.—CHELLICOTHEE SALT-SPRINGS.

IN the latter end of February I departed from Philadelphia for Louisiana. The winter, which had been very mild this year, had prepared an active vegitation, and the fields had already assumed their verdure. As we had to pass through the greatest breadth of Pennsylvania, that is, from east to west, we took the stage for Lancaster. The country that I passed was superior to any that I had before seen in the United States. The lands in the environs of Philadelphia are sandy and poor, but better according to their distance; and the county of Lancaster presents to travellers one of the sources of this opulence, of which the Americans are so proud. The farm-houses are near each other, and well built. Their exterior announces abundance, and the interior displays the most complete ease without luxury. The Germans, who inhabit them, are economical, industrious, and good labourers. They are accounted the best farmers in the United States, and although far inferior to the English, or even French, in husbandry, may be deservedly styled the fathers of this art in America.

The States are obliged, on account of the great numbers of German inhabitants, to publish the laws and advertisements in the two languages. Notwithstanding the numerous schools, to which fathers are obliged to send their children to be instructed

in the national language, the greatest part do not understand sufficient English to be able to conduct their business with those that speak it. Brought up in the bosom of their families, and employed from their infancy in labour and agriculture, they are not anxious for public employments, for which they know themselves unqualified. They prefer an active, laborious, and retired life to distinctions and dignities. If the Germans have not adopted the language of the Anglo-Americans, neither have they been infected with their vices. The only one they have in common with them is drunkenness, which they do not carry to the same excess. They are neither quarrelsome nor distrustful.

On the day of our departure from Philadelphia, we arrived at Lancaster to dinner, although this town is more than sixty-six miles distant. The trade of this country being very considerable, and carried on by land, the States have constructed a road, which is regularly kept in repair, at the expence of travellers. There are five bars, at each of which a trifling sum is demanded. Provisions of all sorts are conveyed to Philadelphia in waggons for consumption or exportation. Lancaster is the market of Philadelphia, and the greatest part of the southern provinces. It is well built, and capable of containing six thousand persons. The assembly of the States have for some time met at this town, being the most central. The inhabitants are, for the most part, Germans and Dutch, and profess the reformed religion. The Roman Catholics are also in great numbers.

Four great streets, ornamented with footways, compose almost the whole of the town. Those which are not yet paved, scarcely permit carriages to pass through them. The States have determined, to do this repair, so necessary to commerce, by means of four lotteries, which are to be drawn every year until the work is completed.

The day after my arrival I was present at the assembly of the States. By the politeness of some of the members, I was admitted into the hall, where the door-keeper presented me a chair. I observed that petitions are presented to the president. Having read them, he communicates them to the assembly, who order them, if proper, a second and third reading; or they are referred to a committee appointed to make a report.

The senate is an authority interposed between the governor of the state, and the assembly of the representatives of the people; it is composed of a number of members equal to one-fourth of the representatives.

Each representative, or senator, sits upon a wooden chair, and has before him a little table, on which he places his papers; but many, instead of using it for this purpose, sit upon it, and never change their posture, unless addressing the president; for, by

the laws, they are obliged to stand up, and speak uncovered. All the members, when thirsty, go indiscriminately to drink out of a jug which stands in a recess in the hall, and which the servant keeps constantly filled with water. About ten years ago, not more than one or two glasses were to be found in the richest houses in America, however numerous the company might be, Even to this day, in most taverns, every one is obliged to drink in his turn, under pain of being thought unpolite.

There are at Lancaster men of all trades, and it is probable that considerable manufactories will soon be established. The rivers which intersect this country present to speculators means certain of success. On these small rivers five mills are built, which supply the markets of Philadelphia with flour at all seasons. There are some mills, containing six mill-stones, to which five men are sufficient. By a mill of this kind, one hundred barrels of flour will be prepared in twenty-four hours, for which the cultivators receive, besides other necessaries, money, which they employ in the improvement of their lands. At some distance from Lancaster, a numerous and wealthy company has been formed to promote the culture of the vine in the state of Pennsylvania.

Among the different manufactories at Lancaster, is one for rifles, which the inhabitants of the Western countries, and also many Indian nations, employ for hunting. It is to these arms that the Americans owe many of the victories which they obtained during the war.

After having remained three days at Lancaster, I continued the road to Harrisburg, which is distant forty miles. The adjacent land is good, and well cultivated; and the houses, although distant from each other, announce the opulence of their inhabitants. They are built of large pieces of wood, carefully made square, and the interstices filled up with stones and mortar. The proprietor consoles himself for the want of their solidity by the facility and small expence of rebuilding them. Elizabethtown, eighteen miles from Lancaster, and Middletown, which is a little farther, are two small villages, badly situated, and badly built. The river Susquehana, which is near Middletown, recompensed us in some measure for the unpleasantness of the road. The left bank presents a fine and rich plain well cultivated and populous. That on the right is bordered by hills, ornamented with magnificent forests, which supply Maryland with its finest timber. Although the Susquehana is only navigable in summer, yet the neighbouring countries carry on an extensive trade with Baltimore

Harrisburg is a small town situated off the left bank of the Susquehana. A market-place, supported by columns, forms its centre. The houses which surround it are built of brick. The court of justice is a large and elegantly constructed building; and the churches rival those of the chief towns in the United States.

It contains fourteen hundred inhabitants; one half of whom are Germans, and the other Americans, who have emigrated from the Northern States. Notwithstanding the pleasure that I received in viewing its environs, I was obliged to leave it the day after my arrival; for the only public conveyance, able to be procured, is the mail-coach, which only goes through it once a-week during bad weather.

Carlisle is only eighteen miles distant from Harrisburg. I arrived in it in a few hours, without having seen any thing worthy of notice on the road. It is, in my opinion, the most unpleasant town in the United States. Being built on a dry and unequal ground, surrounded with forests of pines, I endeavoured to discover what could attract the first inhabitants to settle there. I was informed that this place had been chosen during the war for the head-quarters of the American troops, and that the desire of gain had first attracted sutlers and speculators. It contains some churches, a court of justice, and small barracks, which are falling to decay. The water is hard, and of a bad quality. The weather since I left Philadelphia had been mild and agreeable; but the day previous to my departure from Carlisle, it was extremely cold; and during the night there was so great a fall of snow, that the conductors of the mail-coach judged it imprudent to proceed. Having provided myself with a horse and guide, I proceeded to Shippensburg, thirty miles from Carlisle. It is easy to believe, that the country covered with snow could not appear very fine. The forests of pines along the roads, prove the barrenness of the lands. The north-west wind, which blew with uncommon violence, was so cold, that I rather endeavoured to shelter myself than to observe the country. There were scarce ten houses in the thirty miles. Fatigued and benumbed with cold, we arrived at Shippensburgh, which the inhabitants honour with the name of a town, but which cannot be considered more than a village. There are no public buildings; and the inhabitants seem to possess those rustic manners which characterise the people in the vicinity of the mountains.

Through their incivility I was obliged to proceed on foot. The excessive price of horses, which they proportion to the wants of travellers, and the opinions they entertain that Frenchmen will purchase ease at any rate, engaged them not to diminish in their demands. I therefore determined to accompany the waggons

destined for Pittsburgh; so that, in case of fatigue or accident, I might be provided with a resource.

I set out the next day, and arrived in a few hours at Strasburgh, where I found carriages waiting for milder weather to cross the mountains. The village of Strasburgh eight years ago contained only three houses; at present, at least fifty. It is situated at the foot of the Kitucktuny mountains, and exactly divides the road from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh. Although the cold weather continued, the waggons set out the day after my arrival, and I proceeded with them. The quantity of snow collected in some parts of the mountains obliged the waggoners to make a passage with pick-axes. We crossed very slowly the Kitucktuny mountains, the first of which is most rugged. The vallies are every where inhabited, and the lands are carefully cultivated. The number of waggons which pass this road ensures to the cultivator a sale for his provisions at an advantageous price, or in exchange for other articles.

In five days I reached Bedford, a pretty town, which contains seven or eight hundred inhabitants, most of whom are merchants, or proprietors of land, which they sell to the Irish and Germans, who, having arrived in the United States without means of subsistence, have been obliged to pay for their passage by some years of labour*. At the end of their service they buy land in the distant countries, at a low price, and form, by their industry, considerable establishments. The mountains of Alleghany, which we were two whole days in crossing, are the most lofty in North America; but they are hills, when compared to the Alps and Pyrenées. It is in these mountains that the fine river, which bears this name, derives its source. At Pittsburgh, it unites with the Monongahela, to form the Ohio. On the opposite side of these mountains, I saw, for the first time, maple sugar; of which I shall speak hereafter.

From Bedford to Greensburgh nothing appeared worthy of notice. On both sides of the road establishments are forming, and houses building. The houses are constructed entirely of wood; the doors are hung on wooden hinges; in a word, the builders neither employ earth, iron, nor stone, not even for the chimney, which lasts for many years, with only the precaution

* This is one of the most considerable trades in the United States. When a captain arrives with a cargo in Ireland, or any other part, he announces that he intends to take on board a certain number of passengers, and carry them to America, for a stipulated sum. Those who cannot pay for their passage agree otherwise with him. He supplies them with necessaries during their passage, and on his arrival, sells their labour. The length of this slavery never exceeds two years for a single man, and four with a family. At the expiration of this time, he is free, and becomes a citizen.

of not letting the fire reach the enormous pieces of wood, of which it is composed. The expence of building these houses is a dinner, to which the proprietor invites all his neighbours.

The greatest part of the inhabitants in the back settlements of America have no opportunity of exercising their religion. They are so ignorant and superstitious, that they deliver themselves up to any extravagance when new doctrines are preached to them. A few years since, some Methodists having passed through Pennsylvania, made so many proselytes, that the government, dreading the consequences, desired them to desist. Men and women abandoned their homes and their children, to follow these fanatics, who preached in the fields and forests. Their extravagances exceeded those which I have before related.

Greensburgh, at which I arrived in nine days after my departure from Shippensburgh, is situated on a hill. This place, whose name was hardly known twenty years ago, is at present the seat of a tribunal, and the chief town of a rich county. The houses are built of stone and brick. The interior of the town is almost entirely inhabited by Americans who have emigrated from the Northern States, and Germans. Grain and salt provisions are sent from hence to Pittsburgh, by a small river, which falls into the Allegany.

From Greensburgh I proceeded to Pittsburgh, an ancient French possession, known by the name of Fort Duquesne. It was included in the cession of Canada, and given to the English, who, after the war, restored it to the United States, of which it is at present one of the most important places. The rivers Alleghany and Monongahela meet there, and form the Ohio. At the point of their union Fort Duquesne was built, of which some vestiges still remain. The town contains 3500 inhabitants, all either merchants or artificers. The commerce in grain is very extensive, and the number of emigrants who come to embark for Kentucky prove a considerable source of wealth.

Fish and game are very plentiful at Pittsburgh, and provisions of all kinds are sold at a low price. Madeira wine, and French brandies are the only articles which are dear. Most of the inhabitants distil from rye, or maize, a strong liquor, which they call whisky. This liquor is the most disagreeable I have ever tasted: however moderate its use, it acts powerfully on the nervous system. Grog, which is nothing more than a mixture of this liquor with water, is the favourite drink of this people. It is not uncommon to see men so debilitated, as not to preserve their faculties at an age when they ought to enjoy them in their most perfect vigour.

The coal-pits are numerous and abundant in the environs of Pittsburgh, and the coal is of such a good quality, that the inhabitants burn it in preference to wood, which is considerably cheaper. The small hordes of Indians who live near this town, supply it with goats and young bears, whose flesh is delicate and tender, in exchange for spirits, iron ware, and gun-powder. I remained here eight days, which I employed in hunting and fishing. The game most frequent in the neighbouring hills consists in partridges, pheasants, grouse, hares, and squirrels. The fish caught in the Ohio are the dab, which weighs from 60 to 80lbs; perch and tench. The lands near Pittsburgh, although inferior to those of Greensburgh, are sold at a high price.

Being recovered from my fatigue, I proposed to continue my journey, and embarked in a flat-bottomed boat, whose indifferent construction would only agree with a stream as tranquil as the Ohio. I had here occasion to observe the difference which exists between the farmers of Europe and those of the United States. The European, attached to the country which gave him birth, changes his situation with regret; the American, three or four days before his departure, informs his family that he intends to remove one, and sometimes six hundred miles. Twenty carriages would hardly suffice for the former; two horses are sufficient to transport the baggage of the latter. The sale of the lands which they leave produces the sum required to purchase others. For some years the emigration from the Northern provinces to Kentucky have been so considerable, that it at present contains four hundred thousand inhabitants. The proprietor of the boat was an old man, upwards of seventy. His third wife, whom he was bringing with him, was an Irish woman, brought up from her infancy in the United States. He told me, that he had changed his residence eight times; that he had now determined to remove from the mountains of Monongahela to Saint Charles, near the Missouri, where one of his sons resided. Many passengers told me that they were going to Kentucky, because New England, where they resided, began to be too populous: they also said, that if the land were not agreeable to them, they would go to Louisiana. I think this fondness for change is owing to the retired life which they lead.

The Ohio flows from East to West S. West; it traverses a distance of 150 miles. The boats which the Americans employ are constructed of planks of fir, rudely nailed together. They are covered in a manner to prevent the injuries of the weather. The numerous habitations which I saw during the early part of my voyage, confirmed the ideas that I had formed of this agree-

able river, whose banks, ten years ago, were constantly desolated by the incursions of the savages.

The first place of any importance below Pittsburgh, is Weeling, which is distant 100 miles. This little town forms part of the State of Virginia, and does not contain above sixty houses and three hundred and fifty inhabitants. One hundred miles below Weeling is Marieta, a town newly built, which contains above six hundred inhabitants, most of whom are emigrants from New England and Massachuset. There is a court of justice and a church, in which the inhabitants from a great distance assemble. At a little distance from Marieta is a fine island, sufficiently elevated to be secure from inundations, where an Englishman, of an advanced age, probably disgusted with the noise and bustle of life, has built a large and commodious house. Gallipolis, which contains one hundred and sixty inhabitants, is situated on the right bank of the Ohio. The numerous morasses which surround it, render it disagreeable in winter, and unhealthy in summer. The inhabitants are the only remains of six hundred families, who left France in 1790, 1791, to form new settlements on the Scioto. On their arrival in the United States, they discovered that the company which had sold them the lands were only sharpers. They applied in vain to the government for redress; the little knowledge which they possessed of the language and customs prevented them obtaining it. They found themselves 2000 leagues from their native country, without any means of subsistence, except by their industry. Lodged, or rather heaped in huts built for their reception, many perished during the first year. Those to whom any resources were left, employed them to depart; the others remained patiently on a portion of bread and salt provisions, which was granted to them daily by the Congress. At last, after four years of misery, they gave to them a piece of ground, sixty miles below Gallipolis, which being divided among them, produced two hundred and seventeen acres for each. Such were the consequences of this famous emigration, which many men of high rank had encouraged by their example.

The inhabitants of the parts behind Virginia, are unlike any in the world. They live in houses which a single man can build in three days. They do not clear the lands, but content themselves with tapping those trees which are on the spot they intend to cultivate. This operation consists in making a circular notch, of about an inch in depth, around the tree, which occasions it to wither. The maize sown under the trees so deprived of their leaves, receive directly the rays of the sun, and grow exceedingly well. Hunting will for ever remain their only occupation.

I have seen whole families entirely naked, and apparently as contented as those who were not in want of any thing.

Maize beaten and mixed with milk is their ordinary food. The meat which the father obtains by the chase is consumed in a few days, no one appearing to provide for the future. They employ some of the skins of those animals which they kill for cloathing, and the others they exchange for whisky. They seldom remain in the same situation two years.

But it is most astonishing to see men distinguished by their probity and morality, desert their equals, and go to live in the woods. I shall, for example, mention Col. Brown. After having rendered [illegible]ssential services to his country during the war, [illegible]ve commander, whose private and public character [illegible]ly irr[illegible]roachable, travelled into Kentucky, which was [illegible] uninhabited. Being followed by some hunters, of whom I shall hereafter speak, he abandoned his first residence, and buried himself deeper in the forests. The advantageous accounts which he gave of these fine countries, soon attracted a numerous population. He afterwards passed on the Mississippi, and remained in a part of Louisiana, then uninhabited; but some new neighbours arriving he quitted it, and is now on the Mississippi, at a great distance from its mouth, from whence it is supposed he will shortly remove, although he is of an advanced age.

Great Kanhawa, which I next visited, is a village of Virginia, and derives its name from the river on which it is built. It is the most ancient establishment in this part of the Ohio. At a little distance from the entrance of the river is a field, in which, after a great slaughter of the Indians of these countries, the Americans buried their dead, which, from its extent, must have been very numerous.

Chellicothe, about sixty miles of Gallipolis, is one of the principal places in the N. W. Territory. It is built on the left bank of the Scioto, in a fine and rich plain, and the rapid increase of its population, would have placed it among the most important cities, if its inhabitants had not been destroyed by malignant fevers.

It contains a court of justice and a Protestant church. The streets are not paved, but the footways are well preserved.

Between Chellicothe and Gallipolis, salt springs are found of a good quality, and in great abundance. Money being very scarce, trade is carried on by barter.

CHAP. VII.

DEPARTURE FROM GALLIPOLIS. — LIMESTONE. — CINCINNATI.—FRANCKFORT. —LEXINGTON.—VERSAILLES. —LOUISVILLE.—FALLS OF THE OHIO.—INDIAN HUT. GREAT CAVE.—FORT MASSAC. — WILKINSONVILLE.— ENTRY INTO THE MISSISSIPPI. — DANGERS OF ITS NAVIGATION. — ITS RAPIDITY.—SAINT GENEVIEVE.— CAUSES OF ITS ESTABLISHMENT. — CHARACTER OF ITS INHABITANTS.—PIORIAS.—RESIDENTS IN SAINT GENEVIEVE.

ON the 22d. of April I embarked in a pirogue thirty feet long, and three broad. A pirogue is a sort of boat made of a hollow tree, which many savage nations employed at the time of the discovery of America. The sycamore which grows in these countries to an extraordinary size, is the tree most frequently used. When dried, it is extremely light, and useful for no other purpose. Some of these pirogues are so small, that a man, unaccustomed to this manner of navigation, cannot stand upright in them, without fear of falling; others on the contrary carry besides a number of men, provisions sufficient for a voyage of many months.

Maisville or Limestone is the first place of any importance below Gallipolis, from which it is 140 miles distant. Notwithstanding its advantageous situation, it has improved very slowly. It scarcely contains sixty houses. Flat-bottomed boats are built here in great numbers, and are sent to New Orleans in exchange for grain and salt provisions.

Cincinnati, 100 miles from Limestone, is the capital of the *state of the Mississippi territory. During the long and fatal dispute between the United States and the Indian nations, which* only ended in 1797, it was the head-quarter of the Americans. This town contains about three hundred houses. Slavery, which was not until that time tolerated in this state, has been authorized by the laws. The excessive price of labour has been the cause of this innovation, contrary to the constitution of the United States, and particularly of that of the Mississippi territory.

Cincinnati is the depôt of all kinds of merchandise necessary

for the consumption of the back settlements. The inhabitants give in exchange the products of their lands, dollars, and skins. These skins are received in payment by the inhabitants of Baltimore and Philadelphia, and prepared for the consumption of the interior. Fort Washington, which is built at the upper extremity of the town, is the first of the chain of forts which extends as far as the western extremity of the United States.

For a long time I had been very desirous of visiting Kentucky; its rapid increase of population, its immense wealth, and the number of its towns, all excited my curiosity.

Eight miles below Cincinnati, is the mouth of the river Kentucky. On both banks are some ill-built cottages. The lands are, however, cultivated with the greatest care; the beauty of the corn, the activity of the inhabitants, and the number of waggons—in short, every thing contributed to convince me that it merited its reputation.

Franckfort is a small town on the river Kentucky. Since the establishment of Lexington, its population has increased but slowly. It is the depôt of grain and salt provisions which are sent to New Orleans. The number of flat-bottomed boats built here, may give an idea of the astonishing exportation carried on by this country. Last year they exceeded 350, most of which were capable of carrying 250 barrels of 200 pounds weight each. Besides grain and salt provisions, Kentucky trades in tobacco, cordage, iron, potash, salt-petre, gunpowder, and earthen ware. At Franckfort the assembly of the states is held. After remaining in this little town, which contains 1100 inhabitants, twenty-four hours, I proceeded to Lexington, which was distant eleven miles. On my arrival at Lexington, I was not a little surprised to find the houses as well built as any in the United States. The streets are paved and ornamented with footways. The shops are supplied by the merchants of Philadelphia and Baltimore, who receive dollars and skins in exchange for the productions of the country.

During my residence in Kentucky, I visited all the establishments in its environs, which contribute to the prosperity of the country. I was accompanied by an Englishman, a rich and well-informed proprietor, who foretold all the difficulties to which the cession of Louisiana would give rise. He conducted me to the governor of Kentucky, with whom I had a long conference on the subject. There are at Lexington 2500 inhabitants, most of whom are emigrants from the Northern States. They are in general more hospitable and sociable than in most parts of America. A taste for the sciences and the fine arts particularly distinguishes them from the inhabitants of the interior. Provisions are sold at a low price; clothing only is expensive.

Kentucky sends five deputies to the Congress, which, at the rate of 33,000 men for each, gives 165,000 citizens. Those who consider that this country twenty years ago formed part of Virginia, and contained only 8000 inhabitants, will be astonished at its population, especially when they remember that it has not prevented the increase of the other states, although in less proportion. The village of Versailles, which I passed in my road to Louisville, is pleasantly situated, and the land cultivated with care. It is difficult to persuade oneself, that a few years ago trees grew where towns are now built; and that the bear and the panther dwelt in those fine countries which at present contain so many inhabitants. The greatest part of Kentucky, as well as those countries near the Ohio, experience annually great losses in their harvests from the squirrels, of which there are prodigious numbers. To encourage the destruction of these animals, the assembly of the different states has offered a reward for their heads.

Louisville, fifty miles from Lexington, is a pretty little place, containing from 4 to 500 inhabitants. It is built on the banks of the Ohio, on an eminence of more than 100 feet above the level of the river. It is, however, reputed unhealthy, on account of the numerous morasses which surround it. The constition of Kentucky is similar to that of Virginia. Slavery is tolerated, but the slaves are treated with humanity and kindness.

Two miles below Louisville are the falls of the Ohio. They are occasioned by a chain of rocks, which divide the river from one side to the other, and which prevent the passage of vessels at low water. At this place I met with some of my companions who were waiting for me.

From Louisville, the right bank of the Ohio as far as its mouth belongs to the Indians, and we no longer saw any habitations. The land is flat and subject to inundations. After travelling three days, we had exhausted all our fresh provisions, and wished to find some huntsmen, from whom we might procure a supply. In this we were soon gratified. We entered the first cottage we came to, and they presented to us a piece of bear and a turkey, for which we gave some spirits and bread. I shall give an exact description of their cottages.

On six large stakes are placed two poles about ten feet long, which support some light wood. Large pieces of bark, which are joined as regularly as tiles, preserve it from rain; and some bears' skins fixed around it, shelter it from storms. These huts, which are built in less than an hour, are ornamented in the interior with small branches and leaves. Such are the houses of some of the Indians. Others content themselves in

strewing leaves under them, and covering themselves with a buffalo's skin, without being anxious for the morrow.

Twenty-four miles from Louisville is Yellow Bank, and sixty miles lower Red Bank. These two places, situated on the left bank of the Ohio, present nothing remarkable. They seem to have derived their names from the nature of the soil on which they are built. The original inhabitants were pirates. The large cave, which is distant only 130 miles from the mouth of the Ohio, is considered one of the greatest natural curiosities in North America. It is about twelve feet above the level of the river, and fronted by cypresses of surprising height, planted as regularly as if they had been disposed by the hands of men. The mouth of the cave is twenty-five feet high and eighty broad; it keeps gradually diminishing to the extremity, which is about 180 feet distant, where the two sides approach each other within six feet. The arch of this vast cavern, viewed by torch-light, has an enchanting appearance. The crystals on the top reverberate the light, and dazzle the spectator.

We next proceeded to Fort Massac, which was built by the United States in 1781, to protect the commerce of the Ohio from the savages. The fort is at present entirely destroyed. Ten miles lower is Wilkinsonville, where there is another fort. It is the residence of those employed by the custom-house, and is the only one which has maintained a garrison, destined rather to watch the entry of boats, than to exercise military functions. At this place we provided ourselves with a vessel suitable to the Mississippi, and skilful boatmen; and in three hours after our departure we arrived at the mouth of the Ohio. Prior to this, our voyage had been pleasant and agreeable, but it was now troublesome and dangerous; the Mississippi being accounted one of the most rapid rivers in the world.

The Mississippi, navigable to an extent of eight hundred leagues, is indisputably one of the finest rivers in North America. The numerous rivers which flow into it, render its proprietor the sole possessor of all the commerce of the North-West part of this continent. By means of the Ohio, the inhabitants receive the products of the Western provinces of the United States; by the Illinois they proceed to Canada; and by the Missouri, there is no doubt but that they may penetrate as far as the countries near the Pacific Ocean.

It is difficult to describe the rapidity with which the Mississippi flows, when swelled by rain, or the melting of the snow. It is then so great, that boats have often descended from Upper Louisiana as far as New Orleans in six days, which is a distance of 1300 leagues. Its banks are covered with the trunks of trees, which being concealed by the water, present continual

danger to navigators. For this reason, captains are obliged to keep an attentive eye, in order to prevent accidents, which notwithstanding their vigilance often occur.

During the six days that we were in ascending the Mississippi to Saint Genevieve, the first establishment of any importance in Upper Louisiana, the men never ceased rowing from morning to night. In the evening, two of the men lighted a fire and cooked the supper, and dinner for the next day. It consisted of a piece of bacon and maize, which they call *gue*. This they seem to prefer above every thing. Their beds are the skins of bears or buffaloes, in which they wrap themselves in winter, and on which they lie in summer. They make use of a covering of coarse canvass to prevent the bite of insects.

The village of Saint Genevieve, built on the banks of the Mississippi, experienced in 1782 a terrible inundation, which obliged the inhabitants to retire two miles into the country, and build a new village. Its situation would have been more agreeable and healthy, if the houses, instead of being built at the foot of the hill, had been erected on the hill itself. The village contains three hundred inhabitants, most of whom are families that have come from the left bank, since the limits have been fixed between England and the United States. The right bank of the Mississippi, scarcely known fifty years ago, contains only a few huntsmen, who have built cottages near the savages with whom they trade; that on the right is well cultivated and populous. A large village built on the river of the Kaskaskias, the ruins of which only remain, prove that this country, previous to the cession of Canada to the English, contained numerous and opulent inhabitants. The Jesuits had erected an elegant convent, and sent missionaries to propagate their religion among the Indian nations.

But on the conclusion of the treaty in 1763, part of the inhabitants returned to France, some went to Lower Louisiana, and others crossed the river, and formed an establishment in an uninhabited country. This was the first foundation of St. Genevieve. The inhabitants of St. Genevieve are entirely addicted to agriculture. Possessors in common of a portion of land, the fertility of which is wonderful, they sow and reap in a few days their year's subsistence. They obtain lead from the neighbouring mines, with which they procure clothing and other necessaries. Without learning, or the desire of learning, the youth occupy themselves in hunting, riding, and dancing. They live in the grossest ignorance, even of those things which relate to their dearest interests. The children brought up among the savages, contract their manners, and especially their indolence. The Indians that inhabit St. Genevieve, known by the name of

Peorias, are the remains of a numerous race, almost extinct by war, small-pox, and especially by the use of spirits. Their clothing, which formerly consisted of a small apron, mitasses* and moksines† made of skins, has been exchanged for a dress of blue cloth, and mitasses either scarlet or blue. Indolent, drunkards, and thieves, they only hunt in order to procure spirits; the rest of their time they spend in eating, drinking, smoaking, and dancing. The women are clothed nearly in the same manner as the men: only instead of mitasses, they use a sort of apron, which reaches to their knees.

CHAP. VIII.

CHAWANONS.—HOMAGE PAID TO THE SUPREME BEING.—TREATMENT OF PRISONERS.—COQUETRY OF THE WOMEN.—MARRIAGES.

THE Chawanons, the most numerous and brave of the savages, are divided into tribes very distant from each other. One part of the nation, and that which is most considerable, inhabits the environs of the lake Mechigan; the other is established in Upper Louisiana, where two villages are built, known by the names of the Large and Small Savage Village, the former thirty-six, and the latter forty-eight miles from St. Genevieve, They only go out to hunt in the early part of November.

The large village contains four hundred and fifty inhabitants. It is built on the top of a hill, at the foot of which flows the Pomme river. Their cottages, which are constructed of posts near to each other, and the spaces filled up with clay, defend them from the inclemency of the weather. Active, industrious, and good hunters, they obtain without trouble clothing and trinkets, of which they are very fond. They have always a certain number of horses ready at their doors, to pursue the enemies that come to seize on those that are feeding. They breed cows and pigs, and cultivate maize, pumpkins, melons, potatoes, and corn, sufficient for their support the whole year.

They are often engaged in war with the Osages, a numerous and ferocious nation, whom they never fear, except when surprised in the chace. At all other times they never refuse them battle, which has so often terminated in their favour, that they have now ceased to harass them. In the last war which the

* A sort of pantaloon divided into two parts.

† A sort of sock made of squirrel skins, which reached to the ancle, and was fastened with a piece of skin.

United Indians waged against the United States, the Chawanons were particularly distinguished for their intrepidity and hatred of the Americans.

The Chawanons are tall, handsome, and well-made. The women, although not handsome, are far preferable to those of the surrounding nations.

The Chawanons, as well as all the other Indian nations, have an idea of the Supreme Being, which they have received from their ancestors. Twice a year they invoke him with feasting and dancing. Once at the beginning of spring, when the grain is sown, and also when the maize begins to change colour. They believe the immortality of the soul, and that after death they will come to life again in another country, where they will be in want of nothing:—that they will then meet their friends and relations; and that those who have been brave, will be distinguished with the greatest happiness. Generally mild and humane, they treat their prisoners with kindness and compassion. If they have departed from this principle, it was only during their war with the Americans, at which time they burned great numbers, after causing them to endure every torture which revenge or hatred could suggest. When a prisoner is doomed by them to die, he is in general burned. If this barbarous ceremony takes place in the village, the women prepare the instruments of his punishment, and erect the stake to which the wretched victim is to be affixed. The women, children, and even warriors load him with injuries and ridicule, and after making him pass several times around the village, they conduct him to the stake. They there beat him, and wound him with spears and arrows; the women cut his nose, his ears, and his lips. In a word, they all endeavour to make him undergo a thousand deaths, before they entirely destroy him. During all this, how does the victim behave? Not content in braving the punishments, he encourages his enemies to proceed, laughs at the pain they cause him to suffer, relates to them his exploits, threatens them with the vengeance of his nation, and perishes in the midst of torments, without uttering a sigh.

Of all the savages, the Chawanons are the most attentive to their dress. Like the other tribes, they cut the cartilages of their ears, and lengthen them as much as possible, and suspend from them silver trinkets in form of stars. They wear on their necks large crosses, and on their heads bands and crowns covered with spangles. They use great quantities of vermilion and black, with which they paint their bodies on festive days.

The women wear long hair tied close to their heads, and covered with skin. They are more careful of their children than the other Indian nations.

The young women among them, who have any pretensions to beauty, practise a peculiar kind of coquetry. As soon as they arrive at the age of puberty, which commonly happens before they are twelve years of age, they either keep themselves quite secluded at home, or muffle themselves up so, that when they go abroad it is impossible to see any thing but their eyes. On these indications of beauty they are eagerly sought in marriage, and those that have gained the greatest reputation as warriors or hunters, generally obtain the consent of the family. After this the lover repairs to the cabin, where the beauty is lying closely enveloped on her couch. He gently approaches and uncovers her face, so that his person may be seen. If this be to her mind, she gives a smile of approbation, and invites the youth to lie down by her side; if not, she again conceals her face more closely than before. The lover instantly retires, and no longer thinks of gratifying a passion, which, among this people, is always approved when it is reciprocally felt.

When the nuptial ceremony is ended, the new son-in-law is admitted into the cabin; but is obliged to engage in the chase for the benefit of his father-in-law, till the birth of his first child. He has the power of marrying all his wife's sisters as they arrive at puberty, or of disposing of them to whom he pleases. But the young savage seldom lives long with his first wife. Often before the age of thirty, or thirty-five, he has married and abandoned at least a dozen.

CHAP. IX.

SAINT LOUIS, CAPITAL OF UPPER LOUISIANA.—CAUSES OF ITS ESTABLISHMENT.—ST. CHARLES.—FLORISSANT.—JUNCTION OF THE MISSOURI AND THE MISSISSIPPI.—VIDEPOCHE.—COMMERCE IN SKINS.—DEPARTURE FOR UPPER MISSOURI.—ARRIVAL AT THE KANCES.—TRADE.—OTTOTATOES.—GREAT PANIS.—MAHAS.—PONCAS.—ARRIVAL AT THE WHITE RIVER.—CHAGUYENNES.—DEPARTURE FOR ST. LOUIS.

AFTER remaining a few weeks in Saint Genevieve, I proceeded to Saint Louis, which is seventy miles distant. This is the most important town in Upper Louisiana.

Saint Louis, which, both in population and extent, is equal to Saint Genevieve, ought to be considered rather as a little town, than a large village. The inhabitants, employed in trade and the fine arts, seldom occupy themselves in agriculture. The trade in skins would have rendered this a considerable town under any other government than that of Spain. Instead of

adding to its prosperity, they endeavour even to destroy the sources of wealth which nature has placed within their power.

Saint Louis, founded on a rock on the banks of the Missisippi, and considerably above the level of the river, is a highly beautiful and salubrious situation: surrounded by a country of exuberant fertility, it might long since have become the granary of Lower Louisiana; though the indolence of the Spanish colonists hardly produce grain enough for its own consumption. Squirrel-skins are used in place of money. The king alone pays in dollars the expences of the garrison, which does not exceed sixty men, the galley, and the hospital. Saint Louis, as well as St. Genevieve, was only inhabited, forty years ago, by hunters. The same circumstances which induced the inhabitants of Kaskaskias to remove to St. Genevieve, determined those of Kaokias to go and reside at Saint Louis. The village of Kaokias, which derives its name from the river passing through it, was deserted by the French that inhabited it at the time of its cession to England. The country, to a great distance, has been carefully cultivated by the Americans, who have bought it at a moderate price.

St. Louis was very vigorously attacked in 1780, by a numerous party of savages, armed and commanded by the English. Previous to this there was no kind of fortification; but on account of so great a proportion of the inhabitants losing their lives, the government erected a wooden fort on the most elevated part of the town, and planted some large pieces of cannon.

After Saint Louis and St. Genevieve, Saint Charles is the most important place. It is built on the Missouri, three leagues from its mouth, and was the result of the emigration of some families from St. Louis, who, being hunters by profession, came to reside there, in order to be near a country the most abundant in game. But notwithstanding the beauty of its situation, the salubrity of its air, and the richness of its soil, they have not been permitted to enjoy these advantages long. The Americans came in crowds into the surrounding country, which already contains above four hundred families. They would have amounted to two thousand, if the government had not placed bounds to the progress of emigration, by subjecting strangers to the oath of conformity to the catholic church. St. Charles is surrounded with meadows superior to those of St. Louis; and the lands, which are better cultivated, produce corn, barley, maize, potatoes, in a word, every necessary for man and beast. Florissant, which is a village twelve miles farther, was established eight years ago by some of the inhabitants of St. Louis, who were particularly fond of agriculture. From this place the merchants send grain to New Orleans. Florissant would have been more agreeable,

if the original inhabitants had not sacrificed every thing to the proximity of a stream, which, however, contains water only half the year. They would live in opulence, if they were able to exchange, at a reasonable rate, the productions of their lands for clothing and other necessaries. The cultivation of tobacco, which the traders are obliged to bring from Lower Louisiana and Kentucky, offered to them a resource; but, like the French peasants, they blindly follow the customs of their ancestors, and are enemies to all innovation.

The lands bordering the Missouri in this part of Upper Louisiana are fine, rich, and healthy; and the farther we ascend this river, the more these advantages seem united. The junction of the Missouri with the Mississippi is a curiosity which no traveller can pass by without admiration. These two powerful streams, of which the one is always tranquil and limpid, and the other muddy and turbulent, seem just before their union to dread the approach of each other. Their course, which to a certain distance is entirely opposite, takes an almost perpendicular direction, which continues to the moment of their junction. Then, like a furious enemy, the Missouri rushes on his adversary, which for some time repels him with a tranquil dignity, and permits not their waters to unite; and, except in case of floods after the melting of the snows, the two streams are said to flow for sixty miles without mixing, so that the water may be drunk clear on one side, and muddy on the other.

I had almost finished the chapter without mentioning Videpoche; but the omission would have been excusable. Although built in a pleasant situation, and one very well adapted for commerce, the inhabitants possess nothing worthy the observation of a traveller: they display neither industry nor activity; and if they labour, it is only through necessity.

Videpoche contains two hundred and fifty inhabitants, not including the slaves, who are to the number of about fifty.

The chief commerce of Upper Louisiana is carried on with the savages, who inhabit the parts contiguous to the Missouri. The principal rendezvous of the Canadian merchants on the Mississippi are the Dog-field, which is distant about five hundred miles from Saint Louis, and Saint Peter's River, which is three hundred miles farther. The Sioux who assemble here every year, bring with them skins, for which they receive in exchange gunpowder, guns, lead, vermilion, and trinkets. Being desirous to be acquainted with the manners of these uncivilized nations, and the mode of their dealings with the Whites, I fitted out a boat, and took on board an old trader of the Illinois river. He had formerly been employed by the Company of Upper Missouri, and had ascended this river farther than any one in the country,

and was well acquainted with the different dialects of the savages. He informed me of their manners, customs, and ceremonies.

During his residence in these distant parts, the king of Spain offered rewards to those traders that would give him the best account of these then unknown nations. But notwithstanding these, the government have done nothing for the advancement of trade or public information. All these memoirs are kept in the archives, from which I have made some curious and interesting extracts.

On the 18th of May, 1802, having received ten men on board, and loaded my boat with every thing required for the savages, viz. woollen clothing, blue and scarlet cloths, guns, gunpowder, lead, vermilion, copper cauldrons, knives, wines. and silver trinkets, I proceeded on my passage. The banks of the Missouri, for six miles, contain neither villages nor houses; but the lands appear of an excellent quality. At 117 miles from the mouth of the Missouri, is seen the river of the Great Os or Osages. Having ascended it 240 miles, we saw two villages, which were the most populous on the south bank. Thirty miles farther we found their old villages, which are now almost entirely destroyed. They were forced by the Sioux to abandon them, and to retire into the interior.

At a little distance from the old villages, on the opposite bank, is seen the Great River. It is above forty fathoms wide at its mouth, and navigable with boats above 300 miles. We remained here twenty-four hours, in order to renew our stock of provisions, which was now nearly exhausted. Two or three miles from the Great River is a place, called by the savages Wachanto (harbour of serpents). I was desirous of knowing whether it deserved the name, and therefore walked with my interpreter to the place. But on this point I was in a short time perfectly satisfied. We embarked next morning, and arrived in three days at the river of the Kanees. This river is navigable at all seasons to the extent of 500 miles.

The Kanees are tall, handsome, vigorous, and brave. They are active and good hunters, and trade is carried on with them by the Whites without danger.

When a trader arrives at a village belonging to these nations, his first business is to make presents to the chiefs, before he lands his merchandise. He is then permitted to construct his cabin in any part of the village which he pleases, and to open his shop. When the prices of the articles which he brings for sale are once fixed, no variations whatsoever are afterwards permitted. When a savage enters the trader's cabin, he lays down the skins which he has to dispose of, and fixes on the

articles which he prefers. Each skin has a conventional value. What they call a *plu*, is equal in value to a dollar. Thus, two goat-skins make a *plu*, an otter's skin two *plu*. As the prices are regulated by the *plu*, there is never any difficulty in the traffic.

All the persons of distinction seemed anxious to shew their regard for me. They feasted me by turns; and, according to their customs, offered me their daughters. I accepted those of the great chief, whom I was afraid of displeasing by a refusal, and made presents to the rest. Among the questions which this people put to me was the following: "Are the people of your country slaves to their wives like the Whites with whom we trade?" Being fearful of losing my credit if I did not appear superior to the other Whites, I replied, that they loved their wives without being their slaves; and that they abandoned them when they were deficient in their duty. The trifling presents that I made to the chief's daughters gained me great reputation for generosity, which in no country can be obtained at a cheaper rate.

After remaining here twelve days, I departed for the mouth of the river Kanees, where we dug a hole, in which we deposited our skins, so that they might not incommode us in our voyage. Thirty-five miles farther we found one of the old villages of the Kanees, and twenty-two miles beyond the other. Three miles before we arrived at the last village we perceived some iron ore. I intended to have essayed it on my return, but an accident unfortunately happening, prevented me. The savannah of St. Michael commences a little higher up, extending to a great distance into the country, and occupying an extent of twenty-four miles on the river. From thence to the Weeping River, (which is one hundred and forty miles distant) nothing is found worthy the attention of a traveller. As I proposed visiting the Ototatoes, and afterwards the Great Panis, I left the boat, accompanied by my interpreter and a sailor, and pursued a path along the forest as far as the river The following evening we arrived at the old villages of the Ototatoes. There were scarce any remains of this nation existing. The Sioux have forced them to retire to the north, where they have fixed their residence for many years. We saw some of them, who received us with kindness, and supplied us with fresh provisions in exchange for trinkets, &c.

If I may judge of the rest of this nation by those that I saw, they are ugly and ill-formed. The Plate River, on which their village is built, is nearly as large as the Missouri; but it is so shallow, and its current so rapid, that it can only be navigated from spring to the beginning of summer. Its sources are in the mountains of Upper Mexico, not far from that of the Santa Fè. We only remained thirty-six hours with the Ototatoes, and continued our voyage on the Plate River to the Great Panis, where we

arrived in three days. As there was very little water, the sailors were obliged to raise up the boat, and haul it thirty or forty fathoms on the gravel. We were better received by the Great Panis than we had even been by the Kanees. They were at war with the nation called Republicans, and had only a small number of fire-arms, without any powder. We supplied them with some, in exchange for beavers', wolves', and squirrels' skins. When any one arrives among those nations that are engaged in war, he must be careful not to shew any arms except those he intends to sell, otherwise he will be in danger of having them seized. The Great Panis are not so tall as the Kanees. They are active, and good hunters; and they would kill more game if the Whites came more frequently to trade with them. Their manners very closely resemble those of the Kanees. I was present at the burial of a person of distinction among them; but as this ceremony is the same among all the savage nations, I shall defer the account of it for the present. We only remained eight days among the Great Panis. On our return to the Missouri, we landed at the mouth of the Plate River, at a fort built by the company of the Upper Missouri, in the year 1792. We left there some furs, and proceeded on our voyage. Twenty-six miles higher up is seen the first river of the Sioux. It is navigable only to a small distance, and derives its source near to the Monis, which flows into the Missisippi.

Ninety miles beyond the first river of the Sioux, seven hundred and thirty-five miles beyond the mouth of the Missouri, is the Mahas river and villages. This nation suffered exceedingly in 1801 by the small-pox. The village is situated in a fine plain, one league from the Missouri. The Mahas have nothing to distinguish them from the other savages. They have few fire-arms, and are therefore obliged to restrain their love of war. Although I had no personal motives for complaint, yet I found them less affable than the Kanees and the Great Panis. We supplied them with gunpowder, bullets, vermilion, and trinkets, in exchange for some buffaloes' flesh, of which we salted about three hundred pounds weight.

Two days previous to my departure I was present at their preparations for a war expedition which they were going to make against the Miamis nations. I ate there, for the first time in my life, dog's flesh, with which they always regale themselves on these occasions. Although this food was extremely disagreeable to me, I was obliged to commend and praise it. I frequently enquired of them the reasons of this custom, but could never obtain any thing satisfactory; they said that they derived the custom from their ancestors, and that, if they omitted it, they would fail in their undertaking.

Twenty miles from the Mahas River, is the second river of the Sioux, and sixty miles farther, the remains of the village Petit-Arc. It was built by a Mahas chief of the same name, who, in consequence of a dispute with some of his tribe, came with his family and friends, and formed an establishment. These, after his death, finding themselves too weak to resist the Sioux, who came to lay them under contribution, joined themselves to this nation, from which they are no longer separated. Three miles below the Poncas village is the Rapid River, which is at its mouth seventy fathoms wide. It is so rapid and shallow, that it cannot even be navigated by a boat. The Poncas nation, to which I walked from the Running River, contains three hundred and fifty warriors, notwithstanding the ravages of the small-pox. One of my crew had a pair of silver ear-rings, on which a young savage appeared to have fixed his heart. He offered him in exchange furs of more than twenty times their value. But no offer seemed sufficient, and no importunity could prevail. He waylaid the possessor, shot him in the neck with an arrow, and left him for dead. He stripped off the ear-rings, and proceeded with an air of satisfaction to me, and presented what he had before offered for the trinkets, which were then suspended from his ears. As soon as I was informed of what had happened, I hastened to the spot, and found the sailor motionless, and almost dead; the arrow still remained in the neck. One of the savages extracted it from the wound, on which he laid a plant which he had previously masticated, and made some signs to implore, as he said, the aid of the great Manitou *.

On my return I found the whole crew under arms, preparing to revenge themselves on the supposed murderer. I assured them that the wounded man would recover, and by this means rendered them more calm. The next day he was perfectly recovered, and therefore we judged it proper to embark, and ascended the Missouri as far as the White River, which I had fixed as the boundary of my voyage. We here found a part of the Chaguyenne nation, composed of about one hundred and twenty men. The greatest part of them having never seen a white man, looked at us and our clothing with the greatest astonishment.

At a little distance from the mouth of the White River, I perceived a mountain, more elevated than any of those on the banks of the Missouri. The weather being extremely fine, I took with me two hunters, my interpreter, and a young savage for a guide. When we had ascended it half way, the cold became very sensible, and we had brought nothing to defend us from it. My companions lighted a large fire, near to which we slept during the night.

* The title which they give to the Holy Spirit.

At day-break we continued, and before sun-rise had gained the summit. The green which surrounded us, presented the appearance of a calm sea. Some of my companions having shot a calf and some squirrels, we regaled ourselves on them.

I proposed to employ some little time in raising a monument, which might one day attract the attention of travellers in those distant countries. For want of stone I used wood, and having cut some cedars, 20 inches in diameter, cleared the trunks, and made them square; these we fixed in the ground, so that each side was turned towards one of the four cardinal points. On one side I engraved my name, with this inscription, *Sitis cognoscendi*; on another, those of all my companions; on another, *Deo et Naturæ*; and on the fourth the date of our arrival.

On the 26th of August we set out to return to St. Louis; from which we had been absent three months. When we reached the river of the Kances, and were occupied in taking on board the furs that we had deposited there, we saw a party of the Sioux approaching; we therefore immediately reimbarked, leaving some of the least valuable furs behind. We had hardly gained the opposite shore when we were saluted with a discharge of musquetry; but night coming on, the savages abandoned their pursuit.

This was the only act of hostility that we experienced on our return to St. Louis, where we arrived on the 20th of September. It is unnecessary for me to say, that after a voyage of four months, during which time I had no other bed but the ground, no other drink but water, I required some rest.

CHAP. X.

TRADE OF THE ENGLISH IN NORTH AMERICA.—TRADE OF LOUISIANA ON THE MISSOURI.—FURS FURNISHED BY EACH NATION.—ADVANTAGES OF FRANCE OVER ENGLAND IN THE FUR TRADE.—DIFFICULTIES EXPERIENCED BY THE ENGLISH IN REACHING THE MISSISSIPPI.

THE countries to the north of the United States, which present to the view of travellers nothing but immense lakes, unnavigable rivers, mountains of ice, and desert plains, covered the greatest part of the year with snow, have opened to the English a greater source of wealth than even the mines of Mexico and Peru.

Canada, ceded to the English in 1763, has assumed a new form. The lands, which are cultivated with care, rival all others, and the superb rivers that water it, bring to them, daily, articles of the greatest value. Surrounded by savages, against whose attacks they must always be prepared, the French, only trusting

to their own strength, went out from their habitations with fear, and dared not cultivate lands which they were unable to defend. The English, on the contrary, have obtained friends ready to assist them, if required. Encouraged by their successes, they have penetrated farther into the country; not a single stream but is covered with their boats, not a lake but they have crossed, although some, from their extent and depth, may be compared to seas. At present they are still advancing; every year increases their trade and their wealth; and their desires seem to enlarge with their abundance.

After the cession of Canada, a resource still remained to France to enter into a competition with England in the valuable commerce of furs. Why did the government, badly informed of its true interests, give up to Spain a colony, expensive to them on account of its bad administration, but which could not fail one day to be of the greatest importance? The Mississippi, which remained in their power, offered sufficient resources to make up for the sacrifices of 1763. But complaints are vain. What the government then did, was thought most advantageous to the general interest.

Trade is carried on by barter with the different savage nations, by whom the greatest part of America is at this day inhabited. Since their intercourse with the Whites, their wants have induced them to adopt a more active life. They have thrown off their old clothing to adopt a new; their bows and arrows have been replaced by guns and rifles; the juices of plants, with which they painted their bodies, have been exchanged for colours manufactured in Europe; and lastly, the refreshing beverage which preserved their healths and lives, have given place to strong spirits, which burn and destroy them. The English, to satisfy these new demands, have established depôts in many parts of Canada; by means of which, the produce of their manufactories is circulated in the western and northern parts of North America: to which the merchants of Upper Louisiana go, at a great expence, to provide themselves with necessaries, in exchange for furs of the finest quality.

The objects of trade are, blue and scarlet cloths, vermilion, guns, balls, gunpowder, copper kettles, knives, black feathers, hats for the chiefs, silver and tin trinkets, and blue, red, black, and white ribands, which are used exclusively by the women.

These are all the articles sent by the English, which are sold to the traders of Louisiana, at a high price. The merchants who come from Quebec or Montreal to this depôt, are subjected to much trouble, delay, and expence, as their boats must be loaded and unloaded thirty-six times, and carried, as well as the merchandise, on the men's shoulders to different distances. From St. Louis, the centre of the commerce of Upper Louisiana, to

Michilmakina, there is not, it is true, but one transportation; but each boat, provided with five men, only carries three thousand weight of merchandise, and cannot return in less than three or four months. Besides the profit of the merchant, which is 80 or 90 per cent. on the London prices; three thousand weight bears an augmentation equal to the wages and expence of five men for four months.

Some, no doubt, will be surprised to hear that five men belonging to the boat, after it is cleared, carry it on their shoulders for many miles: but their astonishment will cease when they are informed that these boats are constructed of the bark of the birch tree, strongly joined with rosin, and supported by slight ribs. These are only employed for the navigation of the lakes and rivers. Some are twenty-five feet long and five broad, and only weigh four hundred pounds.

The nations inhabiting the bank of the Missouri, with whom alone the merchants of Louisiana trade with advantage, are the Osages; the number of whom able to bear arms are, one thousand two hundred; the Kanees, four hundred and fifty; the Republicans, three hundred; the Ototatoes, three hundred and fifty; the Great Panis, five hundred; the Loups, two hundred; the Mahas, six hundred; the Poncas, three hundred; the Ricaras, one thousand. The Mandannes, Chaguyennes, and Maniataris partake very little of trade. They only carry it on by means of other nations, that buy their furs to sell to the Whites.

All these nations united, form a mass of about five thousand hunters, who supply Upper Louisiana in the following proportion: The Osages, eight hundred bundles of squirrel-skins, and one hundred and fifty of fine skins. The Kanees, two hundred squirrel skins, and forty fine; the Republicans, one hundred and forty, of which ten are fine; the Ototatoes, one hundred and sixty, of which 20 are fine; the Great Panis, one hundred and forty, of which 10 are fine; the Loups eighty; the Mahas, three hundred and ten, of which 40 are fine; the Poncas, seventy, and six fine; the Paducas, fifty, and six fine; and the Ricaras, fifty, almost all fine, and of a superior quality, on account of the animals being taken very far north. Thus the commerce with the people of the Missouri amounts to about 20,000 French livres annually.

To the trade of the Mississippi the English can have no claim, since the people with whom they trade pursue their game entirely on the right bank; and their rendezvous are, as before stated, at the Dog-field, and at the mouths of the rivers situated in the territory of Louisiana. The French merchants pass from New Orleans in flat-bottomed boats, which are able to reach any part of the Mississippi, without obtaining an advantage of more than ten or twelve per cent. as well on account of the

small numbers of men employed, as their not being obliged to be unloaded.

The English merchandise, on the contrary, from Quebec to Michilmakinas, is increased 25 per cent. From thence to the Dog-field, it experiences an advance of 7 per cent. The French then possess an advantage of 20 per cent.; and do not employ above twenty-five men to conduct the same quantity, for which the English require ninety.

Besides, the boats employed by the English are small, and incapable of carrying heavy loads; therefore, great numbers are required, while those of the French are considerably larger. In the second place, the English require the same time to return as to go, viz. four months; while the French return from the Dog-field to New Orleans in one month.

To render this truth more clear, let us suppose eight thousand weight of merchandise set out from Quebec and New Orleans on the first of August: the English will require sixteen boats, each with four rowers and a captain. That which left New Orleans is embarked in a large boat, which only requires eighty rowers and a captain. The French will arrive in three months, while the English require four and sometimes five.

The nations with whom the English trade on the Mississippi are the Scioux, who furnish them annually with two thousand five hundred bundles of skins, one fourth of which are of the finest quality. The Sues and Renards also furnish about one thousand bundles of squirrel-skins. The Monis to the number of three hundred hunters; the Oyoa, four hundred and fifty; and the Perans, three hundred; barter about eight hundred bundles, most of which are fine. These nations, who inhabit the banks of the rivers from which they derive their names, are less ferocious than the Scioux, and trade is carried on with them without danger.

CHAP. XI.

GOVERNMENT OF UPPER LOUISIANA.—EXCLUSIVE PRIVILEGES.—PLANTS PECULIAR TO LOUISIANA.—MAPLE SUGAR.—DANGEROUS REPTILES.—BLACK BEARS.—CHASE.—JAGUAR.—BUFFALO.—MAMMOTH, OR AMERICAN ELEPHANT.

THE government of Upper Louisiana, like that of all the other Spanish colonies, is military. Retaining within itself the civil and judicial powers, the delegate of the government may be either good or bad, just or unjust, abuse his authority, or keep himself within the limits of his office. He is in no dread of

being reprimanded by his superiors, who are frequently as culpable as himself.

Far from encouraging population, they seem already burthened with the few people that inhabit it. In vain does the Spanish government assert that the interest which it takes in Louisiana, is on account of the produce which it yields; instead of being any advantage, it is a great expence.—But this country is a barrier which the prudent proprietor supports at a great expence, to preserve his fields from a dangerous neighbour. These reasons, specious in appearance, are futile, when attentively examined In the first place, Louisiana produces nothing. I have heard a rich proprietor complain that he had not reaped any thing, when he ought to begin by stating that he had not sowed any thing. One tenth part of the sums expended for forty years would have entirely changed the appearance of this country, if it had been wisely employed. It pays no taxes! but what are moderate taxes to a people protected in their labour and industry? Money in circulation, which is continually returning to its source, far from injuring the prosperity of a country, contributes to the public wealth and opulence. Louisiana is, I grant, a barrier to preserve the rich Spanish possessions in Mexico: but why remove its guardians? Why, under the pretext of religion, stop those that offer themselves, while they ought to be assisted and encouraged? In fact, if there exists a government blind to its own interests, and those of its subjects, it is undoubtedly the Spanish. It is poor, while possessing mines that enrich the universe; without bread, while enjoying the most fertile lands; without manufactures, with thousands of hands unemployed; in a word, without weight in the political balance of Europe, while it has the means of making itself feared and respected.

Agreeable to the Spanish system, the trade with the savages is carried on by exclusive privileges, which the governor-general ought to grant as a recompence for services, but which, in truth, are disposed of to the best bidder. This right of sale is reckoned among the emoluments of the office; the salary of which is barely sufficient to maintain him, although designed to make his fortune.

The exclusive privileges ought politically to be considered as a disease tending to dissolve the social body, by encouraging an estrangement of the people from a government which tolerates them. As relating to commerce, they must be regarded as the source of indolence, and abolition of industry. The Spanish government, in order to justify exclusive privileges, adduces true or apparent motives. In the first place, the necessity of keeping the savages in Upper Louisiana in a state of dependance; so that, on the first symptoms of discontent, all communication might be

stopped, and all means of attack or defence removed. Secondly, the immorality of most traders, whose jealousies and competitions daily give rise to crimes; and who often remain unpunished by the facility of escaping the laws. Thirdly, the means which exclusive privileges afford to recompense services to the state, without exhausting its coffers, or diminishing its revenues.

The two former reasons bear in them some appearance of reality, but these are far from counterbalancing the abuses that result from exclusive privileges. As to the third, it is so opposite to received principles, so adverse to good sense and sound policy, that it is scarcely credible it would have been advanced in the nineteenth century. It is only necessary to behold the languid state of Upper Louisiana, to be convinced of the abuse. The inhabitants, jealous of each other, instead of employing means of acquiring property, only think how to destroy it. Those only being respected whom the government favours, they are continually calculating by what calumny or intrigue they may obtain that favour, which alone opens to them the paths to fortune: and when these reflections do not give birth to crimes, there always arises an apathy and indifference, the best consequence of which is an unbounded idleness. From this source flow intemperance, drunkenness, debauchery, gaming, in a word, the total corruption of public manners. Forced to linger in indigence, their talents remain hidden; and those happy dispositions which nature has implanted, produce no advantages either to their families or their country.

Upper Louisiana, situated in a temperate climate, produces the same plants as France, and also some that are peculiar to the country. Among the latter, the maple seems to merit particular attention. This tree, which grows in low and rich lands, furnishes a sweet juice, from which sugar is extracted, although in some degree inferior to that obtained from the sugar-cane. In February and March, the inhabitants of Louisiana and the Western States of America reap this profitable harvest. As soon as the rays of the sun have acquired sufficient force to penetrate the earth, the sap circulates in the maple in such abundance, that it would force an outlet if one was neglected to be made. From this flows a liquor, which being collected by travellers gave rise to the opinion that it contained something more than the common sap of plants. Experiments soon discovered its valuable qualities. The following is the mode of preparing the sugar:—

As soon as the winter has given place to a milder season, the inhabitants who wish to obtain sugar, transport their families to the woods, and there erect huts. Their first care is to provide themselves with troughs. Afterwards they pierce each tree with an auger of about half an inch in diameter. Some require to be

pierced in six places, others only in two. When the season is favourable, that is to say, when cold nights succeed fine days, the maples fill the holes so pierced, three times in twenty-four hours, with a juice very strongly impregnated with sugar: but when, on the contrary, the weather is rainy, it loses in quality and quantity. When enough is collected, it is placed in a pot over a fire and evaporated. The residue forms a pleasant syrup, which has been employed with success at Paris, for colds, &c. under the title of the "Sirop du Canada."

It would be difficult to relate the numerous plants which grow in this fine part of the New World. The Indians have no other pharmaceutical preparations than those which nature has provided, and yet there is hardly a wound or bite, however venemous, which they have not simples that will cure. With some of these they will often remove the most obstinate maladies; and even the venereal disease is said, when in its worst state, soon to yield to the virtues of their plants.

I saw an Indian who had been wounded in a skirmish, and continued his retreat with his comrades, though they went at the rate of sixty miles in twenty-four hours. Whenever they halted, one of the chiefs applied a plaister, made of a root, which he bruised in his mouth, to the wound, and fastened it with a thin slip of bark, so as not to impede the motion of the part.

Among their less important plants, are those from which they procure their various and lasting dyes. One plant they have, which possesses so singular a property, as almost to exceed belief. It destroys or moderates the action of fire. A savage made the experiment in my presence. He took a piece of the root, which he chewed for some moments, and then rubbed over his hands. He next took three coals in the state of the most vivid combustion, which he successively extinguished by a gentle friction between his hands, without the least perception of pain, or the smallest appearance of any burn, or excoriation of the part. He afterwards took some coals in his mouth, blew them into a flame with his breath, held them between his teeth, and bit them in pieces without exhibiting any symptoms of pain or injury. The Osages are best acquainted with the mode of using this plant. These experiments may, I think, serve to explain how our ancestors passed unhurt over the different ordeals, to which for various crimes they were condemned.

They have another extraordinary plant, which possesses the property of coagulating water, and reducing it in a few moments to a curdy mass. A few drops of the juice are sufficient for the purpose.

The only venomous reptiles which Upper Louisiana produces, are the rattle-snake and the hissing-snake, or copper serpent; but to these, nature has furnished a natural enemy in the hog, at whose sight they fly, but whom they rarely escape. The black bears, far from being dangerous, furnish when young an agreeable and wholesome food, and when old a great quantity of oil. The chase is most advantageous in winter. As soon as the snows commence, they retire to hollow trees, or excavations in the rocks, where they remain without food or drink until April or May. At this time the chase begins. Four or five men are employed to discover the places where they are hidden. The most intrepid of the company provide themselves with torches and cutlasses, and enter the cave, followed by others, armed with guns or carabines. The bear, benumbed with cold, is only awakened from his lethargy when burned. If surprised while sleeping, he is killed without danger; but, if awakened by any cause, he darts towards the mouth of the cave, overturning every thing that opposes him. He, however, seldom escapes the hunters without, who are stationed for the purpose of intercepting him. Some of these bears yield two hundred pounds weight of oil.

The Jagars, called by the inhabitants of Louisiana panthers are found in great numbers in all the temperate parts of North America. They are only to be dreaded when hungry, or deprived of their young; and then they make the woods resound with their cries. The flesh of the young Jagar is tender and delicate, and is in my opinion preferable to that of the squirrel, or even veal.

The wild bulls or buffaloes were formerly so numerous in Upper Louisiana, that hunters were contented to cut out their tongues, and to leave the carcases for carnivorous animals or birds. This animal, which frequently weighs one thousand pounds, affords excellent meat. Its skin is used by the savages, both as a covering and a bed, and the length of the hair renders it impenetrable by rain. Besides the above-mentioned animals, this country produces game in great abundance. The wilds turkeys here attain a great size, and are found in large flocks. In the autumn and winter, they weigh from twenty-five to thirty pounds. The rivers abound in fish of an excellent quality.

Another animal that seems to have existed in great numbers, in North America, is the Mammoth. The quantity of bones found in different parts, prove that this animal was a native of this part of the globe. Like the elephant, it measures ten or eleven feet in height, and fifteen to eighteen in length. And the impossibility of its being able to reach the ground with its head, leaves no doubt that it received its food by means of a

trunk. The only difference of these species seem to consist in the position of their tusks. In the elephant they are flattened, more vertical than horizontal, and placed on both sides of the upper jaw. In the Mammoth they are round, and at some distance from each other. Their substance is different from ivory, being on the surface of a brown colour. They are decomposed by the air, and when thrown into water occasion a bubbling, similar to that produced by calcareous stones. Of this animal various skeletons have been found, between the 35 and 45 degrees of North latitude. What have been the causes of the total extinction of this gigantic race, it is impossible to say: since no animals are known in this part of the continent, able to combat or overcome them. I leave this, therefore, to be decided by naturalists: and only add, that where any bones have been found, they are always in great quantities, so that this animal either lived or fought in companies.

CHAP. XII.

SAVAGES OF UPPER MISSOURI.—THEIR BELIEF.—WORSHIP.—RELIGIOUS CEREMONIES.—CUSTOMS AT THE DEATH OF A PARENT.—BURIAL, &c.

THE Ricaras, formerly the most populous nation of North America, possessed thirty two villages, most of which have been destroyed, either by the Scioux, or the small-pox. The few that escaped formed themselves into one tribe. As well as those farther north, they have little communication with the Whites, and have retained the manners, customs, and dress of their ancestors. Two leagues from the village of the Ricaras, flows the Chaguyenne river, broad but shallow. It derives its source, according to the account of the savages, in one of the mountains on the west. The Chaguyennes, who are continually wandering on both its banks in pursuit of buffaloes, are divided into three hordes, the largest of which preserves the name Chaguyenne; the second is named Ouisy, and the third Chousa. Not content with hunting on the banks of this river, they pass on to the immense savannahs near the Plate River. The lakes and morasses beyond these savannahs abound so much with castors, that they are considered by this credulous people to be the original residence of these animals.

"In the midst of these lakes," say they, "is one much larger than the rest, and to which no animal dare approach. The buffaloes will not venture to graze on its banks, or allay their thirst in its waters. In the middle of this lake is a cottage of an extraordinary size, surrounded by a number of smaller ones.

Every night at the same hour, the waters are agitated in a dreadful manner, and a noise heard resembling that of an impetuous torrent. There the king of the castors resides. Two young savages one day being desirous to see this wonderful animal, hid themselves in a thicket, at a little distance from the lake. During three days, they remained there, without seeing any thing, but always heard the noise of the waters. They were on the point of departing, when they suddenly perceived on the summit of the cottage, a beaver of an immense size, and white as a swan, who, after looking around him for some time, cried out, and immediately the waters were agitated: the young men being terrified, fled and told this to their companions."

The Chaguyennes, although wanderers the greatest part of the year, sow near their cottages maize and tobacco, which they come to reap at the beginning of autumn. They are in general good huntsmen, and kill great numbers of castors, which they sell to the Scioux. Many other wandering nations that are allied to the Chaguyennes, hunt in the same country. They are the Cayowas, the Tocaninambiches, the Tokiouakos, the Pitapahatos. The great nation of the Padaws, is only distant twenty-five miles from that of the Ricaras. The Halisanes or Bald-heads, are a wandering people, who hunt on the opposite side of the Plate River, as far as that of the Arkansas, and extend to the foot of the mountains of New Mexico. From the White River, which flows into the Missouri, two hundred and forty miles lower than that of the Chaguyennes, as far as another eighteen miles distant, whose name is unknown, all the eastern banks is occupied by the Scioux or Thous, who are divided into four wandering tribes. This people, who are deceitful and cruel, often plunder the Ricaras and Chaguyennes of clothes and horses, and the Mandanes of maize and tobacco.

The Mandanes, who formerly were very numerous, at present only amount to about three hundred warriors. They are divided into three villages, the most considerable of which is on the western bank, and the two others on the eastern bank of the Missouri. The Asseniboines, a wandering nation on the north of the Missouri, traffic with the Mandanes, whom they supply with guns, gun-powder, balls, &c. in exchange for horses, maize, and tobacco.

One hundred and fifty miles west of the Missouri, is the mouth of a large river called Yellowrock. Its banks abound in buffaloes, and all kinds of deer.

The Savages on the western banks entertain a great veneration for the Whites, and trade is carried on with them in safety. It may be regarded as a certain rule, that the less the Indians have had communication with the civilized nations, the more they are good, generous, and kind. The bad selection of

men to trade with them, soon makes them lose that respect which it would have been so important to have preserved

Their belief concerning the origin of the world and man, is so closely connected with absurd and ridiculous fables, as scarcely to merit a relation. They all know that there was an original man, but they differ with respect to his creation: some affirm that he came from the bosom of the waters, others from the earth, and that the rays of the sun gave him motion and existence. They all adore a Supreme Being, whom they call the Great Spirit. The following is the manner in which many nations of Upper Missouri say, that they became acquainted with him.

"The ancient savages," say they, "neither knew or reverenced the Great Spirit, neither prepared for him feasts or sacrifices. They had become so wicked, that he resolved to exterminate them, which he effected by lightning. Being moved with compassion towards those that were spared, he resolved to make them good. To accomplish this, he inspired two young girls to go to a little distance from the village. He there plunged them in a deep sleep, during which one was raised up into heaven; the other soon after awoke, but not seeing her companion, she ran to the village, but she could not find her. Men, women, and children, were bewailing her fate, when a cloud of an extraordinary form appeared at some distance, and filled the spectators with terror. On the cloud was seen an eagle, carrying the young girl, whom it placed on the summit of a neighbouring mountain. Upon this they all ran and enquired of her, to which she replied. "Having been carried while asleep into heaven, I found myself on waking, at the feet of a man of dazzling beauty and gigantic form. Young girl, said he, look at me: I am the Great Spirit, Lord of men and animals; with a single word, I give to them life or death. It is to me that men ought to offer feasts and sacrifices, but they do not so. Return to them, and tell them that you have seen me, and what I require of them. Those that are obedient shall enjoy prosperity; those that are rebellious, I will destroy." "Since that time," say the savages, "we have worshipped the Great Spirit. and have offered him the first fruits."

The savages particularly reverence the sun, because it is the most brilliant and bountiful being in nature. They adore the morning star, which they always entreat to be propitious, before they attack their enemies. They respect the cedar, because it is the only tree that remains green during the whole year. The Ricaras every year, on a certain day, plant one of these trees, with great ceremony, at the entrance of the lodges of old men.

In all the villages up the Missouri, there is a large cabin, called

the Lodge of Old Men, and which is consecrated to feasting, dancing, and religious ceremonies. Here they give audience to strangers, and deliberate on the interests of their nation. It is also called the Lodge of Mercy; for if their most cruel enemy take refuge in it, his life is not only spared, but he is secure from every insult.

When the young men wish to obtain from the Great Spirit the gift of courage, or the favour of killing one of their enemies, they retire to a hill, where, without provisions, they pass several days, uttering all the while the most hideous cries. On the last day of this religious ceremony they cut off a joint of one of their fingers, or gnaw it off with their teeth, and leave it on the hill.

Others bore holes in their arms and shoulders, into which they pass wooden pegs, and to them they attach long cords, from which their military weapons, and many heads of oxen, are suspended. In this state they make the circuit of the village, and having repeated the ceremony for five successive days, they depart for the war.

All the savages believe in a future life. They say, that after death they shall go to a village where all their wants will be supplied; and that those who are the bravest will be dignified with the greatest honour.

They are more or less sensible to the loss of their parents, and express in various ways their sorrow. The Ricaras and Mandanes very seldom bewail the dead. The Scioux, the Tocaninambiches, and the Chaguyennes, are, on the contrary, inconsolable for the loss of theirs: night and morning they bewail around their cottages, sometimes for a whole year. The women cut off their hair, and distribute all that they possess among those that will come and weep with them.

An old Scioux, having lost his son in a battle with the Osages, cut off, every month, a piece of his ears, so that at the expiration of the year, he had nothing left but the orifices.

When a warrior dies, or is killed in battle, his body is rubbed with a red earth, and wrapped in a skin. A hole four feet square is then dug, in which it is deposited. On each side are placed his arms and clothes, and some meat; not that they believe the dead man eats it, but because the custom is derived from their ancestors. The women are interred with less ceremony; whatever they have a particular regard for in their lives is generally placed by their side.

CHAP. XIII.

MANNERS OF THE SAVAGES OF UPPER MISSOURI.—EXAMPLE OF JUSTICE EXERCISED BY THE SCIOUX ON ONE OF THEIR GREAT CHIEFS.—DOMESTIC MANNERS OF THE SAVAGES.—EMPLOYMENT OF THE WOMEN.—WAR OF THE SAVAGES; MANNER OF COMMENCING IT.—RETURN OF A CONQUEROR.—SCALP-DANCE.—SORROW AFTER A DEFEAT.—TRAITS OF COURAGE AND INTREPIDITY.

AMONG the savages little distinction or subordination is known. They live, although in society, in a state bordering on perfect equality, without established laws or judges. They are naturally generous, and will divide their superfluities, or even necessaries, with those that are in want of them. Not anxious for the future, they enjoy the present. The indifference which they shew to riches is the cause of theft being unknown among them. Their cottages are open at all hours, and any one may enter that pleases. There are among them neither liars nor calumniators; and if any one should be discovered in either of these faults, he would be considered as a man of a bad disposition and a bad heart. If any dispute arises among them, they all become judges and mediators.

The savages live in their villages without care. They are always eating, drinking, sleeping, or dancing. They eat their meat roasted or boiled, and drink the broth. If a person who is invited to a feast neglects to come, it is considered a breach of politeness, which cannot be pardoned. They like both to eat and smoke in company. The savages reason with judgment on the affairs of their nation, and the best means of success. In their conversation with strangers, they are grave, and affect to speak in monosyllables. Their ruling passions are, hatred of their enemies, and desire of revenge. Their only ambition is to be accounted brave. They have a memory which nothing can escape. If they see a tree or a stone, which at all excites their attention, they will remember it for ten years to come. This species of memory they never lose.

All their animal senses are in the highest degree of culture and perfection: this is particularly seen in their powers of vision. In the darkest night they will pass the most extensive savannahs and plains, as if instinctively, to the spot which they wish to reach.

Where the European can barely discern the trace of a single footstep, the Indian will teach him that ten, twelve, or fifteen men have placed their feet there, and he will follow the track through the thickest forests, and over the driest rocks, without any deviation. A leaf moved out of its place, or a flint turned up, is sufficient to awaken his suspicion.

The old men, who have been brave in their youth, employ themselves in exhorting the young to follow their example, by stating, that the Great Disposer of Life loves those that are just, generous, and brave; and that he despises the crafty, the avaritious, and the coward. "Imitate," say they, "your ancestors; they were illustrious by their courage: never eat or smoke alone, but divide your provisions among those who have none, and you will be great and respected." They recommend to the women labour and good conduct, and encourage them to marry.

The savages, without possessing any geographical knowledge, mark on skins those countries that they have traversed, and those rivers they have descended or ascended, with a precision scarcely to be credited. They distinguish the north by the polar star, and calculate distances by the number of days employed to reach them. They divide the year into four parts, and reckon the months by the moons.

Although the savages have no laws, yet they have rules of conduct, from which they never depart. In some cases, the old men having deliberated on what regards the public welfare, make it known; if the whole village approves it, it must be executed. When, for instance, a whole nation goes to hunt buffaloes, they select the bravest warriors, and mark out the distance. If any one goes beyond it, he is beaten, and his horses and dogs are killed. Each village contains a great chief, and as many people of rank as there are brave or wise men; to these every thing that relates to the public interest is addressed. A warrior frequently receives as great respect as the chief.

An example of justice exercised on a great chief by a part of the Scioux nation, called Chaony, will shew how a man may deceive this credulous and superstitious people, and also how terrible they are in their revenge. This savage, in a voyage with some English traders, had acquired some knowledge of medicine, so that on his return he was considered by them as a sorcerer. Profitting by the terror that he inspired in some, and the admiration of others, he seized their best horses, bore off their women, and committed other outrages, without any one daring to oppose him. Encouraged by his success, he one day seized two women, who refused to consent to his desires. After having exhausted all the means in his power to seduce them, he darted upon them like a tiger, cut off their noses and their lips,

killed them, and scattered their bleeding limbs in different parts. The inhabitants of the village, incensed at this act, unanimously condemned him to death. Without any deliberation they surrounded his cottage, and massacred him. Then they tore his body in pieces, and gave it to the dogs, and set on fire his cottage.

The savages relate many examples of the like punishment; but this will be sufficient to shew, that a person abusing his power among these uncivilized nations, is always punished as his crimes or tyranny deserve.

The savages have no customs that in any shape resemble those of civilized nations. They obey no laws but those of nature. The word politeness is unknown among them, and probably always will remain so. They go into each other's cottages, to sleep, eat, drink, or smoke, as freely as their own. The women lie naked, and often rise on certain emergencies without caring who sees them. They are generally covered with vermin, which they kill between their teeth. They never wash their clothes, but suffer them to rot upon their backs; they never cut their nails; and eat, without any repugnance, out of the same dish with their dogs; and what renders them particularly disgusting to the Whites, they rub their bodies with the fat of the meat which they eat.

The savages eat their food raw, and without any seasoning. They very seldom employ any salt, and never any herbs that are strong to the taste, like spices, although they are very abundant in their countries. They are extremely fond of idleness, and almost always eat in a recumbent posture. The children, far from respecting their fathers, often ill-treat them with impunity. To beat a child, say they, renders him a coward, and deprives him of that courage which characterises a warrior.

The women, among all the nations of Upper Missouri, are considered as subaltern beings, created only for the wants and pleasures of man. Besides the work in the interior of the cottage, which naturally devolves on them, they cultivate the lands, carry water, and cut wood. If they go to the chase, they must carry on their backs the animals that are killed.

The children at fifteen are permitted to go both to the chase and war. The women suckle their children as long as they wish. Immediately after birth, they are wrapped in a soft skin, and laid upon a piece of bark, which is suspended by four ropes from the roof of the cabin. On this the mother, by a gentle motion, sends the child to sleep. When the infant begins to acquire strength, they carry it on their backs, fastened by the same skin as is employed for the bed. They even work with these burthens in the most laborious manner. The savages are

tall and swift walkers. The men have a long visage, bright eyes, and aquiline nose; but the women are, on the contrary, ugly. The surprising agility of the men is imputed to the necessity of exercising themselves in the chase, or in escaping from their enemies.

The chief, and sometimes the only motive of the savages for commencing war, is the desire of glory and praise, which is bestowed on the man who achieves any brilliant exploit. The warrior is respected more than the legislator, and the conqueror more than the philosopher who silently labours to alleviate the miseries of human life.

Another still more powerful motive is, the love of revenge. This passion is so violent among them, that if two nations are once enemies to each other, they will never be reconciled, without having previously done to each other the greatest possible injuries.

The old men and mothers constantly relate to their children those that have been killed by any tribe, and exhort them to be brave, and seek revenge. This desire, which increases with their years, seldom fails to produce its effects, which again give rise to murders and revenge.

Among the savages of North America, any one may form a war-party, and put himself at their head; the chief of such an expedition is called the leader. When these leaders have not acquired any military fame, they are seldom accompanied by any except their relations, or some who are desirous of making their first attempts. Those small parties, termed marauders, set out in the evening, and return in a short time, when they have only seized some horses from their enemies.

The chiefs of the first class determine to commence war either to revenge an insult offered to themselves; or at the entreaty of the old men, to revenge the death of their sons; or at the solicitation of some young men, who are anxious to acquire fame, and have them for leaders.

In the latter case, he who solicits this favour, after having walked several times weeping around the cabin of the warrior, enters, holding in his hand a pipe filled with tobacco. Without uttering a word, he sits down by the fire, and places the pipe at the feet of the warrior, and awaits his answer. If he intends to accede to his solicitations, after a long interval he takes up the pipe, lights it, and smokes; after which he returns it in silence to the person who brought it. If he intends to refuse, he throws the pipe from him, after stating the reason for such refusal.

The chief who has accepted of the pipe, or who has formed the intention of commencing war, chooses a day, on which he prepares a feast, (commonly of dog's flesh,) to which he invites

the bravest of his nation. He informs them of his intentions. Many successive days are employed in the same manner.

On the evening preceding his departure, the last feast is made in the cabin of the great chief, to which all his followers assemble, and the war-mat is displayed. This mat is made of the feathers of different birds, stained red; to which is affixed a blade of white maize. This is worn round the neck of the great chief.

When the hour of departure arrives, which is always at daybreak, the chief goes from his cabin with tears, and awaits, at some distance from the village, his companions. As soon as they are all met, he ceases to weep, and then, assuming a martial tone and air, harangues his little army. He always walks last both in going and returning; and only carries his arms at the moment of battle.

The young men light the fires at the time of encampment, carry wood, construct cabins of bark or rushes, fetch water, and roast the meat. It is astonishing to behold the activity with which the wishes of those whom they have made their superiors, are complied with.

The war of the savages is a war of surprise; and in this consists the chief talent of the warrior. He who can attack his enemy while unprepared, is sure of overcoming him. They take every precaution to conceal their marches, send scouts, and pass through low lands as much as possible, in order to prevent being seen. Small companies only go out in the night, and during the day conceal themselves in the woods. The scouts are generally covered with skins of wolves, or other animals. If they perceive any footsteps, they immediately give a signal to the chief, who halts, and deliberates what is best to be done. If the footsteps are those of men, he deputes some of his most skilful attendants to follow them, until they reach their cabins or village. This is executed with a patience which only belongs to savages. Having followed the track, and reached the cabin or village, they examine which side is best suited for attack, and return to inform the chief. They remain during the night at a little distance from the enemy, and as soon as the dawn begins to dissipate the darkness, the chief gives the signal by firing a gun, or drawing his bow. All the warriors follow his example, and make the village re-echo with their shouts. The enemy seldom resist this unforeseen attack, but seek safety in flight. During the heat of action, men, women, and children, are indiscriminately massacred. After a great slaughter, some are taken prisoners, who are employed as slaves. Formerly they sold them to the Whites, but this trade has been prohibited by the English and Spanish governments.

The action being ended, the conquerors scalp those that are killed, plunder the vanquished, seize the horses, and hastily retire; marching day and night until they reach their own country. Certain that they are then secure from danger, they halt and divide the spoil. When the conquering party is within one day's journey from the village, they light fires on elevated grounds, as tokens of success. Upon this, all the old men advance, to hear an account of the expedition; after which, the chief commands them to go and announce it in the village. The women, on hearing it, make the air resound with their songs. The old men carry the scalps fastened to long sticks painted red, and are followed by the warriors, who are thanked for having revenged their nation, and are held up as examples to the youth. In short, they all seem more like drunken people, than those animated by any sentiment of pleasure: these demonstrations of joy being ended, the scalps are deposited in the Lodge of Old Men.

The women and children that are taken prisoners, never experience any bad treatment. The savages of Canada, on the contrary, either burn or eat theirs.

On the following day, a great feast is prepared for the warriors, and the old men announce the scalp-dance. On this, the women adorn themselves in the finest manner; and the warriors assemble at the Lodge of Old Men, and again relate the particulars of their victory. Afterwards they depart, carrying with them the scalps and their prisoners. Three old men follow, bearing each a kettle-drum. They are met by the women, who proceed with them to the destined spot; the men form a circle, and place the women before them. A fire is then lighted in the centre, near to which is laid a large piece of meat, an ox's tongue, a scalp, and a human heart dried. Silence being procured, the oldest men begin the song; which being ended, three old men advance; one takes the meat, another the tongue, and the third the scalp and heart; and holding them up, they walk three times round the fire, and then cast them into the midst of the flames. To this succeeds the dance, which continues for many days.

As the savages celebrate their victories with the most extravagant marks of joy, so do they also bewail defeats with the deepest sorrow. Some never cease lamenting the slain, until their deaths have been revenged. Others are only afflicted for a few days, and then are comforted by the old men, who remind them that those killed in battle will be received by the Great Spirit with the greatest honour. These principles are so deeply engraven on their hearts from their earliest years, that fathers often rejoice at the death of their sons, and wives at that of their husbands.

If a chief, formerly victorious, should avoid death by flight, all his property is seized, and he lives alone, despised by his whole nation. The contempt is so great that none ever return under such circumstances. Before I conclude this chapter, I shall relate some distinguishing traits of courage, which prove how little the savages dread death, and how highly they prize and esteem honour.

The Ototatoes, during their summer chase, were attacked by a numerous party of Halitanes, and were on the point of being taken prisoners, when a young chief of the Ototatoes, named Blue Eyes*, who was mounted on a horse, advanced into the midst of the combatants, and desired the action to be suspended. He then challenged the bravest of the Halitanes to fight with him hand to hand. They laid down their spears, and only kept their daggers. After remaining some moments, deliberating where it would be most advantageous to strike, they both rushed forward and seized each other, aiming at the same time many blows. The Halitanes, seeing their chief ready to fall under the superior force of the Ototatoe, pressed forward and extricated their chief, half-dead with his wounds, from his grasp. The Ototatoes also ran, but too late to save their valorous chief. Both expired at the same instant; upon which the Halitanes were put to flight, after experiencing a considerable loss.

If the foregoing proves the intrepidity, the following will also the coolness and firm resolution of this people in moments the most perilous.

A party of eighty Chaguyenne Indians had attacked eight or ten families of the Halitanes, with whom they were at war, and defeated them without difficulty. Enough, however, escaped to give the alarm to a large village of the same tribe in the vicinity. In a moment all the warriors mount their horses, and proceed to the spot, where the Chaguyennes are off their guard, and busy in collecting the spoils of the vanquished. Hardly twenty men of their little party survived the unexpected attack, when one of their warriors, by the following noble display of sagacity and resolution, saved both their lives and his own. He had observed a ravine near, where the horse of the Halitanes could not penetrate; here he retired with his little troop, whom he ordered to dispose their fire-arms near him. He was not willing that any should discharge them but himself. When any of the enemy approached, he took his aim with so much coolness and precision, that every ball told. His own party had nothing to do but to keep loading

* The savages derive their names either from their general form or appearance, or from those animals that they most prefer.

his guns. Enraged by this obstinate resistance, and ashamed of being vanquished by such a handful of men, the Halitanes dismounted from their horses, cut down some bushes, which they held before them as a protection, and advanced. The Chaguyenne chief instantly adapted his plan of defence to the new mode of attack. He made his people resume their arms, but ordered them not to fire till the enemy drew very near; and then only half to fire at once, in order to give time to those that had fired to reload their pieces. This manœuvre was so promptly executed, and succeeded so well, that the assailants, most of whom were wounded, made a precipitate retreat. The great chief of the Halitanes, inflamed with revenge, and stung with shame, resolved to kill the Chaguyenne chief with his own hand, or to perish in the attempt. With his buckler and his lance he rushed impetuous towards the foe, who awaited his approach with a serene look; and when he got so near that he could not miss his aim, the Chaguyenne warrior discharged his piece, and struck his enemy in the heart. He instantly fell dead; and his comrades retreated in dismay, without attempting to offer further molestation to the return of the Chaguyennes.

CHAP. XIV.

TREATIES OF PEACE.—MANNER OF CARRYING THE CALUMET*.—RECEPTION OF THE WARRIORS SENT WITH THE CALUMET.—CALUMET-DANCE.—SUN-DANCE.—OX-DANCE.—DRESS—HABITATIONS—COMPLEXION AND TEMPER OF THE SAVAGES OF UPPER MISSOURI.—THEIR ARMS.

TWO savage nations seldom resolve to make peace until they have done the greatest possible injuries to each other. That nation which is in want of the privilege either of hunting on the other's lands, or of exchanging various articles with them, commonly makes the first proposals.

In each savage village there are some, who, through caprice or marriage, have left their own nations to come and dwell among strangers, by whom they are considered, especially in war time, as natives. These are employed to carry the first proposals of peace.

After mature deliberation on the advantages and necessity of

* Calumet signifies a pipe.

peace, they send by the ambassador a leathern bag filled with tobacco, and tied with a cord, on which are made as many knots as there are villages in the nation with whom they wish to treat. He enters in the night as secretly as possible the cabin of the chief, to whom he explains the motives of his embassy, and presents the bag of tobacco. The next morning the chief convokes a meeting of the old men, warriors, and others of distinction, and relates to them the message, gives his opinion, and presents the bag. If the assembly think proper to accept of it, the bag is presented to some one of the warriors, who is known to bear the most violent resentment against the nation that has made the proposals; he unties it, takes out some tobacco, and fills his pipe. After this ceremony, the chief informs the ambassador that they may bring the calumet, and that they will be kindly received; if the terms are not acceded to, the bag is returned untouched. When peace is agreed on, one of the nations deputes a chief, who is accompanied by, at least, twenty-five warriors. Previous to their departure, all the chiefs and people of distinction assemble at the Lodge of Old Men, and the calumet is taken from the mat in which it is wrapped, and carried by one of the bravest, with marks of extraordinary respect. The deputies are then intructed what to do. During which time a large kettle of meat is placed on the fire, and the calumet is filled with tobacco, which must only be smoked by the nation with whom they are treating. The tube of the calumet is painted blue, the symbol of a serene sky. When the meat is cooked, a servant * divides it into pieces, and presents it to the warriors and others in the cabin. Before any one begins to eat, the most distinguished person present cuts three pieces, and, taking them in his hands, entreats for success to the embassy, and then casts them into the flames. At the close of the feast they all smoke: and the person who is to be the bearer of the precious object receives it, standing, from the hands of the chief.

When they have arrived within sight of the village, they announce by signals their approach, and remain until a warrior comes to invite them. They then advance a little, and are met by the nobles, bearing or leading the presents, which generally consist of horses or arms. The ambassador having made them smoke, the children offer the presents; after which the chief invites them to enter.

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* Men apparelled like women, and are not only made to perform all the low drudgery to which the savage women are condemned, but are even employed to gratify certain unnatural propensities.

The bearer of the calumet is made to sit on a fine skin, in the most honourable place. The warriors of both nations intermix, and give and receive marks of friendship. They serve up the meat, maize, gourds, potatoes, &c. After the repast, the proposals are related, which often consist in securing to them the privilege of hunting on their lands, eating or smoking together, and of exchanging with each other various articles.

These things being granted on both sides, they promise to live amicably, and the calumet is smoked by the whole assembly. The ambassadors return in few days to the village, and carry the news of their success.

The savages have different sorts of dances, which differ either by the ceremonies which precede or follow them, the actions they represent, or the objects for which they are designed. The principal ones are, the scalp-dance, of which I have before spoken, the calumet-dance, the sun-dance, and the ox-dance. Their gravity in these amusements bears such a decided contrast with their quick motions and burlesque appearance, that a foreigner is unable to discover with what sentiments they are actuated.

The calumet-dance only takes place when two or more nations, or parts of the same nation, are encamped near each other. The following is the mode of making the proposal.—One of their chiefs, attended by five or six warriors, goes to the chief of the nation with which they wish to dance, holding in his hands the calumet filled with the best tobacco he is able to procure. He lays it at his feet and invites him to smoke. If he agrees to the proposal, he takes up the calumet, lights it and smokes; then the warriors express their gratitude in the most extravagant manner. They send for the chief's children and caress them. If he rejects the proposal, he refuses the pipe, and desires them to defer the dance to another time.

The chief who has consented to receive the honour of the dance, assembles at his cabin all his relations, and entreats them to assist him to do honour to the dance. All are desirous to offer him whatever they possess, which commonly are horses and arms. The chief sends an old man to exhort the women and children to generosity, and assist them to render the feast worthy of his reputation.

The next day, the dancers holding in one hand a calumet, and the other a kettle-drum, leave their cabins, preceded by the chiefs and nobles, carrying also drums. The women follow, bearing the presents, which, when a circle is formed, they lay at the feet of their husbands or fathers.

The old men go and bring the chief and his children. He is seated in a place prepared for him, and his children are placed on

four bundles of odoriferous herbs, resembling in form a large eagle's nest. A vase filled with water is then brought, and one of the nobles having added to it a handful of herbs, sprinkles their heads and faces, after which he wipes them. This ceremony is called adoption, and that which attaches the father and children for life to the nation. After the adoption, the women advance, and paint the children with vermilion and other colours.

Two dancers at first walk round the circle in a slow pace, but in a short time gradually quicken their steps, and at last end in making contortions incapable of being described:—imitating, say they, at one time, the flight of the eagle when he darts upon his prey; at another, when he is combating a weak enemy; and at another, when he is gliding through the air.

The more their gestures are extravagant, the more is the assembly enlivened. The delirium increases with the rapidity of their motions, until the spectators follow the example of the dancers. Generosity then is carried beyond bounds, presents are mutually made, and they strip themselves without thought for the morrow. The chief is at last obliged to stop their course, by snatching the calumet from one of their hands. On this the dance ceases.

The horses designed for the dancers are then brought, and presented to them by the chief. He is afterwards conducted with his children back to his cabin.

The sun-dance is not practised by all the savages, or all those that inhabit Upper Missouri. It exclusively belongs to the Scioux of the Savannahs, to the Chaguyennes, Tocaninambiches, and other neighbouring nations, who particularly reverence this luminary.

On the day appointed for the celebration of this festival, a large cabin is erected in the middle of a meadow. The chiefs and old men are placed in the most distinguished places, while the women and girls, having their faces painted with colours expressive of gaiety, occupy the others. The bravest warriors are distinguished by the quantity of their ornaments; and no one who has not killed a white bear, is permitted to wear a necklace made of its claws. This is a particular mark of distinction, because the white bear is the only animal in North America that will attack a man before it is wounded. They are so ferocious, that they will sometimes enter in the night the villages, and destroy the inhabitants in their cabins.

When they are all assembled, a large fire is made at some distance from the cabin, around which are placed caldrons filled with meat. The chief then announces, that it is time to offer

the presents to the sun; and immediately arms, caldrons, skins, in short, the most valuable articles are brought. These preparations must be finished before sun-rise. As soon as his rays begin to gild the horizon, the old men commence the song to the sound of the drum. The youth of both sexes, holding calumets, begin the dance in the cabin, while twelve naked boys dance in the open air, pointing to the sun. One of them holds a calumet adorned with the most scarce and brilliant feathers. The dancers in the cabin sometimes desist to take refreshment; but those on the outside keep pointing to the sun, until he disappears, without any provisions. This festival is sometimes repeated for ten successive days, if the weather continues fine.

When the dances are ended, the presents are divided among those warriors that are in want of them.

I could never learn any precise reason for the first institution of this festival. They imagine that on this luminary depend the strength and courage of their warriors, the health of their children, their prosperity and population; that he alone is able to preserve them from disease, and cure them of their infirmities; and that he provides them with buffaloes, so necessary both for food and clothing.

Gratitude seems first to have given rise to this religious ceremony, the design of which cannot be too much applauded.

Two nations, near to each other, often amuse themselves with the ox-dance, for which there is no determined season or day. If a village wishes to celebrate the ox-dance, fifteen or twenty warriors assemble in a cabin, dress themselves in their war-habits and arms. They place on their heads the skin of a wild ox, to which the horns are affixed, and the whole is fastened on by a piece of skin decorated with porcupine's quills.

In this dress the warriors proceed to the place designed for the dance, accompanied by singers and drums. At one time they bellow and raise the dust with their feet, at another they pursue each other, and at another they push with their horns. These sports are continued with various gestures and attitudes for half a day, and sometimes longer, without the least signs of fatigue; but, on the contrary, they never desist without giving fresh proofs of their activity, swiftness, and supleness. During the dance, the old men exhort their nation to make presents to the warriors, which are generally very considerable.

All the inhabitants of Upper Missouri, both old and young, go naked during the summer. A deer-skin, which they wear over their shoulders, similar to a Spanish cloak, serves them both for covering and ornament. Those belonging to the

youth are ornamented with porcupines' quills, and painted various colours. They are alike insensible to the heat of summer, and cold of winter. However, when the earth is covered with snow, and the winds blow violently, they wear mocksines*, and cover their bodies with a skin.

They have no particular way of wearing their hair, which is generally long and in disorder, except on festive days, when it is carefully bound up. Some stain it with the juices of different plants, and adorn it with porcupines' quills. All the savages have, in their infancy, their ears cut, and their parents take care to introduce into them round pieces of wood or brass wire. The Mandanes, Halitanes, and Corbeaux, are the only nations that do not follow this practice. They wear all their ornaments round their necks. It is difficult to imagine to what a length the cartileges are extended. I have seen a Miami savage, whose ear-rings, although not longer than three inches, reached down to his breast. Many wear the similar ornaments in their noses.

The women are covered with a skin, which reaches from their shoulders to their feet. They are ornamented with porcupines' quills and small glass beads. Their ears, like those of the men, are pierced and adorned with trinkets, but the cartileges are not lengthened. The young women paint themselves with different colours, but vermilion is generally preferred.

The savages of Upper Missouri are divided into stationary and wandering. The stationary tribes are those who constantly remain in their villages without going either to war or the chase; while the wanderers derive their whole support from the pursuit of animals, and carry with them all their property, without troubling themselves about agriculture.

The stationary nations construct cabins, round and terminating in the form of a cone, and large in proportion to the number of their inhabitants. The tents of the wanderers are made of buffalo's skins sewed to each other, which terminate also in a cone. They have four wheels, and are drawn by dogs. The nations of Upper Missouri have not received either arms, clothing, agricultural instruments, or any tools from the Whites. They boil their meat in earthen pots of their own manufacture. A sharp stone strongly fixed in a wooden handle serves them for a hatchet. To obtain fire, they rub two pieces of wood, one soft and the other hard, violently against each other, till they emit sparks, and are received on some dry branches of the pine

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* Skin-shoes in the form of socks.

or ash. Their plates are made of wood; and the baskets, in which the women carry maize, of bark, or young branches of the willow. The women employ the bones of the ox for various instruments: the nerves for sewing; and the skins, besides beds and tents, are made into boats, by means of which they descend rivers and cross lakes. The arms used by all the inhabitants of Upper Missouri, are, the lance, the bow, and the club. The points of their arrows are small sharp stones; their quivers, squirrels' skins; and the string of their bow, the nerve of an ox. Another weapon made use of, is called by them a wakaton; it consists of a round stone inclosed in a piece of skin; to this is sewn another piece of about one foot and a half in length, and fastened to a wooden handle. When engaged on horseback, they with their weapons strike their enemies while at full speed.

The savages are, in general, tall and well made. The Scioux of the Savannahs are the handsomest, the bravest, and the most agile; but, at the same time, the most cunning and deceitful. The Chaguyennes, nearly as handsome, and not less brave, are sincere and frank in all their dealings. The savages of both sexes are of an olive colour; have long black hair, white and good teeth, and their breath is as pure as the air. They carefully pluck the hair from their chins and bodies, that they may not, as they say, resemble the beasts of the forests. This has led some writers to affirm, though erroneously, that nature has refused them this mark of virility. There are scarcely ever seen any that are lame, or deprived of any of their senses. They are unable to carry heavy burthens, but are indefatigable in walking. Dropsies, apoplexies, palsies, gout, asthma, consumption, stone, &c., are unknown to these men, who would extend their career of life to a greater length, if they escaped the scourge of war, and refrained from suicide;—for it is not uncommon to see old men stabbing and hanging themselves, either because they are unable to accompany the young men to the chase, or want strength to revenge themselves on their enemies.

CHAP. XV.

AMOURS AND MARRIAGES OF THE SAVAGES.—REFLECTIONS ON THE SAVAGE LIFE.—COMPARISON BETWEEN IT AND THAT OF MEN LIVING IN SOCIETY.

It would be both too long and too deficient in interest, to enter into a minute detail of the amours of each savage nation. I shall only relate the customs generally observed by the chiefs, who are scrupulously attentive to follow their ancestors. When

a young man wishes to marry the daughter of a chief, he applies either to his father, or some one of his relations, who goes and entreats the father of the girl to consent. A definitive answer is never given before all her relations have been consulted. They examine how many brave men and good hunters have been in his family. If he is not in possession of these qualifications, the marriage is broken off; if he is, he gains the unanimous suffrage of the family. After this, they are entreated to supply the necessary expences.

Previous to this time the young man has never entered the cabin of the girl; but on the next day he is carried in triumph to his wife: and her relations, after having made him eat and smoke with them, inform him that he may come and live with her when he pleases. A few days after the marriage, the girl's brothers enter at an early hour the cabin where the new married couple have slept, and drawing the husband from his bed, place him on a mat in the middle of the cabin. An old man then brings a vase filled with water, and having washed him from head to foot, paints him with vermilion, and covers him with a skin. His brothers-in-law supply him with arms, and he is not received into the family until he has a child; then, and not till then, is he permitted to build a cabin, and live where he pleases. Polygamy is tolerated among all the savages, without being attended with any inconvenience, as the women are always accustomed to consider the men as superior beings, to whose pleasures and wants they must be subservient.

The Scioux, Chaguyennes, and Tocaninambices, are extremely jealous of their wives; while the Mandanes, Ricaras, and other nations of the north, hold in no estimation conjugal fidelity. The women are generally kept in a state of slavery, and are never permitted to be present at any feast.

The first consequence that naturally flows from contemplating the savage mode of life, is, that man is born for society; but the second, truly afflicting, is, that the ties of this society can only be strengthened at the expence of individual liberty.

It is placed beyond a doubt, that before the human species was so prodigiously multiplied in some parts of the globe, men lived in a manner closely resembling that of the Indians of the new continent; without other nourishment than the flesh of animals supplied by the forests, without other drink than water.

Let us follow an Indian through the different stages of his life, and compare them with those of a man in a civilized society. When a child, he is in no dread of parents or tutors. He learns, through necessity and example, to support, without complaint, hunger, thirst, and fatigue. As soon as he attained the age of puberty, (which is generally at fourteen or fifteen) he begins to

feel the stimulus of his passions. Love is the first; but the savage having no laws to moderate its effects, both sexes yield themselves without reserve, and live together as long as they find in it their happiness; but when that ceases, they peaceably separate.

In civilized society, as well as among savages, love is the first passion: but how much anxiety does it occasion to the man living in the former! Uncertain of the sensation which he experiences, is agitated without knowing the reason. He loves, without knowing the object of his affection; a vague desire troubles him, envenoms his pleasures, and interrupts his repose. When he has discovered the object of his choice, how much trouble must he take to inform her of it! Should he please her, how much opposition must he expect! If he obtains her, he, in a few months, discovers that her temper is opposite to his own; he is deceived; love is converted into hatred and contempt: he would wish to avoid the cause; nature tells him that he may, that he ought; but the laws of society, stronger than nature, command him to bear his chains, and not lessen their weight, until death separates them.

The only passion which opposes the happiness of the Indian, and which he cannot always gratify, is revenge. Continually engaged in war with the neighbouring nations, each tribe, each individual, has his particular motives of hatred, which descends from father to son.

But, in other respects, what a happy state of existence! During winter, he remains in the bosom of idleness, in his cabin with his wife and children; and in summer under a tree, or on the banks of a river. If he has any wants, they are supplied by his bow. If attacked by any mortal disease, he bears it with patience, and quits life without regret for the past or fear for the future. If he falls by the hands of his enemies, he rejoices that he is about to enjoy an happiness unknown on earth. When old, he is exempt from infirmities. Having nothing to leave behind him, no one is looking for his death. By how many contrary passions are men in civilized society actuated! they are as numerous as their diseases. Look at the ambitious man, to whom every thing has succeeded beyond his wishes: the universe resounds with his exploits; not a people but their repose has been troubled by him; not a country but he has inundated with blood: the earth is not sufficient to gratify him, he desires another world, in which he could spread terror and death. The miser perishes over heaps of gold, gained at the expence of his health and repose; if he were in the possession of the mines of Mexico, he would be in dread of losing them, and yet desire more. The envious or jealous man cannot for a moment enjoy tranquillity of mind. The intemperate man, without being satis-

fied, perishes in the midst of his excesses; while those, whom a more noble passion, the love of science, stimulates, die without saying life has been long enough.

The cultivator or artisan must every day think on the wants of his family, which perhaps he is not able to relieve. If attacked by disease, who will comfort him? If he dies, who will take care of his children? If he attains old age, who will support him? If he has amassed wealth by his labours, his heirs regard each day as a thief! If he is poor, those to whom he is a burthen look forward to the moment of his death! Thus, men in civilized society pass their lives in following after shadows, without enjoying any real pleasure, and frequently die, regretting the past and dreading the future. It is certain, that many Whites have renounced the charms of a civilized life, to enjoy an unbounded liberty with savages; while we have never yet heard of a savage, who has renounced the pursuits of his youth, or sacrificed his pleasures to a civilized life. These people may be conquered, but no power on earth can make them laborious cultivators or artizans.

CHAP. XVI.

DEPARTURE FROM UPPER LOUISIANA.—CAPE GIRARDOT.—NEW MADRID.—FORTS.—RIVER AND VILLAGE OF THE ARKANSAS.—NATCHEZ.—ROCHE A DAVION, OR WILKINSONVILLE.—RIVER AND ESTABLISHMENT OF WASCHITA.—MONOPOLIES OF THE SPANISH COMMANDERS.

THE excessive heats common to Upper Louisiana in the months of August and September having abated, I determined to set out in the early part of October for New Orleans. Cape Girardot is the first place of any importance that I met with in my descent down the Mississippi. It is about eighty miles distant from St. Genevieve. Above one hundred and fifty Anglo-American families live there, dispersed over a great extent of country, where they cultivate corn, barley, maize, potatoes, and cotton, which are of a good quality, when the frosts do not set in very early.

New Madrid, one hundred miles from Cape Girardot, is of some consequence, on account of its situation. All the boats which descend this fine river, are obliged to stop there, declare of what their cargoes consist, their destination, and shew their passports. This place, as well as Cape Girardot, is under the controul of the lieutenant-governor of Upper Louisiana. Near to St. Genevieve, are many salt-springs, which supply not only the inhabitants of Louisiana, but also Tenessee, Cum-

berland, and a part of Kentucky, from whence they receive iron, cordage, &c. in exchange.

From New Madrid to the forts, which are distant two hundred miles, there are but few houses. The forts belonging to Spain are almost in ruins, but those of the United States are better, and contain a garrison of twenty-five men. Both are, however, sufficient to defend the soldiers from the insults of the savages, who are their only enemies.

Two hundred and fifty miles farther, is the mouth of the river of the Arkansas, reputed the richest in Louisiana, on account of the fertility of the adjacent country, the beauty of the meadows, salt-springs, game, and mines. Having ascended it forty miles, I arrived at the village, which is advantageously situated on the left bank. The inhabitants, almost all originally French, who have emigrated from Canada, are hunters by profession, and only cultivate maize for the support of their horses and beasts of burthen. Above half the year, only old men, women, and children, are seen in the village. The men hunt wild oxen, castors, and squirrels, whose skins are less valuable than those in the northern countries. When at home they pass their time in dancing, drinking, or doing nothing: similar in this respect to the savages, with whom they live the greatest part of the year, and whose tastes and manners they contract.

The Indian nations that come to hunt on the river of the Arkansas, are the Osages, handsome and brave, but deceitful and cruel; the Panis, sworn enemies to the Whites; the Chawetas, and Chicawchas, the most numerous nation in North America, but ugly, cowardly, cunning, and deceitful beyond expression. The Spanish government maintain among the Arkansas a garrison of fifty or sixty men, commanded by a captain. After remaining in this village, which does not contain above four hundred and fifty inhabitants, only a sufficient time to procure the necessary information from the commander, I rejoined my boat, which I had left at the mouth of the river, and proceeded on my voyage down the Mississippi. From thence to Natchez, the navigation offers nothing either agreeable or interesting. Immense forests border the river, and the banks, but little elevated, are inundated at least once every year.

Natchez is the only important place possessed by the United States on the Mississippi, below the mouth of the Ohio. It contains twelve or fifteen thousand inhabitants, freemen and slaves. Most of the proprietors are enriched by the culture of cotton, for which the lands are extremely well suited. The town, which is built on high ground at the distance of one mile from the river, contains fine houses and rich

shops. It is the staple of all kinds of merchandize necessary for the southern colonies. Almost all the proprietors of this little state, being emigrants from the southern provinces, have brought with them the political principles there professed. They are Federalists, consequently not favourers of the present president. Natchez is cultivated in an extent of fifty miles in length, and twenty in breadth. The air is healthy, the climate agreeable, and it may be presumed, that it will shortly be one of the most powerful and populous provinces of the United States.

The last post of the United States on the Mississippi, is Roche à Davion, where the Americans have built a fort, called by the name of one of their generals, Wilkinson. Here the head-quarters of their small army are established. There are also some armed vessels for the defence of the place. All the vessels that descend this river are obliged to stop here, and declare to what nation they belong, and the nature of their cargoes. Those that ascend pay here the duties on their merchandize, if destined for the American part. Some miles below Roche à Davion, are the limits marked out by Spain and the United States, in 1798. It is a road thirty feet wide, and its direction exactly from east to west: it crosses the lands belonging to the Chicasaws, and divides the two Floridas from the States of Georgia and South Carolina.

At a little distance from the limits, on the opposite bank, is the Red River, so called from the colour of the earth suspended in it. After ascending it thirty miles, the mouth of the Waschita is seen, which, in a course of at least five hundred miles, waters a country, rich, elevated, healthy, and abundant in minerals. The navigation is difficult, on account of the falls, which, in dry weather, almost entirely obstruct its course. Rapides, five miles from its mouth, is a small place, which has received its name from its situation on a part of the river, where enormous rocks accelerate the current. The settlement of Waschita is one hundred miles farther, and is one of the finest places in Lower Louisiana. Capable of producing all the plants that are cultivated in the southern parts, sugar excepted, it possesses the inappreciable advantage of salubrity over all the others bordering the Mississippi. The cold, although very supportable, is sufficiently sharp to destroy insects, and purify the air; while the great heats of summer soon ripen the cotton, indigo, tobacco, and rice. Wheat, and all other grain, grows very fine. Spain keeps there a garrison of about thirty men, commanded by a captain. I cannot here forbear mentioning a species of tyranny exercised over the people, by men in the employ of the Spanish government. One can hardly believe that officers

would degrade their rank by becoming servants to their soldiers, in whom they can only inspire contempt. In all the Spanish colonies taverns are prohibited; the commanders alone have the privilege of selling strong liquors. It is not uncommon to hear a captain, or even a lieutenant-colonel, enjoying this privilege, order a bottle of rum to be given to a soldier, when he at the same time knows, that before the end of the day he will be obliged to punish him for excess. Besides this, they claim the exclusive right of furnishing the inhabitants with articles necessary for their consumption. This disgraceful monopoly exists more or less in all the military stations, excepting those of Upper Louisiana, where the governor has preserved the delicacy of a true French soldier, and the commanders under him are too far distant from Spanish manners to imitate such a bad example.

CHAP. XVII.

NATCHITOCHES.—BATON-ROUGE.—POINTE COUPEE.—ACADIANS.—GERMAN COAST.—ATAKOPAS AND APELUSAS.—CULTURE OF INDIGO REPLACED BY THAT OF SUGAR.

AT about four hundred miles from the mouth of the Red River, is the settlement of Natchitoches. It contains from twelve to thirteen hundred inhabitants, who cultivate cotton, maize, rice, and tobacco. The latter is reckoned the best in North America, so that the king of Spain bought it from the proprietors at a great price; but he has been so deceived, that he has declined it for many years, which has occasioned the cultivation almost entirely to cease. Besides these productions, many of the inhabitants traffic with the neighbouring Indian nations. Some miles below the mouth of the Red River, on the opposite coast, is the small fort of Baton-rouge, occupied by some Spanish soldiers, under the command of a sub-lieutenant. This fort is of so little importance, and the number of inhabitants so small, that I shall not delay the time in mentioning it.

Near to this is Pointe Coupée, the first post which has the title of parish in Lower Louisiana. Its inhabitants cultivate cotton, for which the lands are well adapted. The houses which border the two shores, present an agreeable prospect to the traveller, fatigued with beholding dry sands and immense forests. In all Lower Louisiana, the shores of the river are alone susceptible of culture, but must be defended from inundation by means of banks. The lands in other parts being low, are a great part of the year covered by

the rains, which fall during spring and a great part of summer.

The upper part of Pointe Coupée near the Mississippi, is inhabited by the descendants of the Acadians, who left their native country in 1714, when France gave it up to England. They seem to have remained in the same mediocrity in which they were when they first arrived in this colony. Their houses seem rather designed for the abode of animals than men; and their children, badly clothed, attract very little the attention of their parents. The Acadians are kind and hospitable; they never suffer a stranger to enter their houses, without offering to him refreshments; but he must be very hungry before he resolves to eat what they prepare.

Forty miles below Pointe Coupée, the chief objects of culture are cotton and rice; most of those that grow the latter are Germans, the ancient inhabitants of the colony, who live in ease on the produce of their lands. They are, like the Acadians, kind and hospitable to travellers, whom either business or bad weather has obliged to land on their coast, which has retained the name of the German Coast.

The inhabitants of Louisiana give the name of *bayou* to a sort of canal, which communicates from a river to the sea, and which at low water often remains dry. By one of these canals, I arrived at Atakapas, and from thence to Apelusas. These two settlements, which are reputed the most considerable of Louisiana in the interior, extend to the west as far as Natchitoches, with which they communicate. Apelusas, in a low and unhealthy soil, contains about eight hundred inhabitants; while Atakapas, whose lands are rich, elevated, and healthy, contains at least two thousand. These two settlements produce cotton in great quantities, maize, rice, &c. The inhabitants are active, laborious, and good cultivators. In each there is a garrison of about fifty or sixty men. The pecuniary importance of these posts, as well as all those on the Mississippi, occasions them to be sought with the greatest eagerness by superior officers, who in a few years are enabled to retire on a considerable fortune.

At the southern extremity of the German Coast, that is to say, at about sixty miles from New Orleans, orange-trees are seen growing in the open country. Below the German Coast they formerly cultivated indigo, which although inferior in quality to that of the more southern colonies, sold at an advantageous price. Without speaking of this valuable plant, the description and preparation of which may be found in works on agriculture and chemistry, I shall only observe that there is an insect peculiar to this country, which, in the space of twenty-

four hours, often destroys the finest crop, has powerfully contributed to make its cultivation cease in Louisiana.

This culture has been replaced in all the low parts of the colony by that of sugar, whose easy sale insures to the inhabitants a more certain and not less profitable revenue. During the dreadful troubles that depopulated St. Domingo, the dispersed inhabitants sought in all parts means of escaping the misery which pursued them. Some thought that Lower Louisiana, where no trials of cultivating sugar had been made, would produce it in abundance, and that the climate, although subject to sharp frosts, would, however, permit them to manufacture it with advantage.

The sugar manufactured there is good, but inferior to that of the more southern colonies. The reason is, that the canes, instead of being ripened by heat, are forced by the white frosts, which never fail to take place in December. These frosts have two inconveniencies; first, to diminish the quality of the canes, which cannot remain more than nine months in the ground; the second, to destroy the crop, when too early.

Among the natural productions of Southern Louisiana, I must particularly notice the wax-tree. Although it has never yet been much attended to, it cannot be doubted, that the wax will become an important article of commerce. A French chemist, who had resided for many years at New York, discovered a simple and cheap process to render it as white as that of bees. The approbation which he received from the United States, must add to the value of this tree, and the propagation of it in all parts of America where the climate is favourable.

CHAP. XVIII.

ARRIVAL AT NEW ORLEANS.—LA SALLE.—IBERVILLE.—ESTABLISHMENT OF NEW ORLEANS.—CESSION OF LOUISIANA TO M. DE CROZAT.—ABANDONED TO SPAIN.—ORELLI.—BUILDINGS, POPULATION, AND POLICE OF NEW ORLEANS.—GOVERNMENT, MANNERS, AND CUSTOMS OF THE INHABITANTS.—COMMERCE OF ARTICLES OF CONSUMPTION.—TAXES IMPOSED ON LOUISIANA.—ENUMERATION OF THE ARTICLES ON WHICH THEY ARE AND OUGHT TO BE LAID.—DEFICIENCY EXPERIENCED ANNUALLY BY THE SPANISH GOVERNMENT.—CONTRABAND COMMERCE.—TREATY WITH THE UNITED STATES.

NEW Orleans, at which I arrived in six weeks, does not merit a favourable description. All that can be said in defence

of its founder, is, that there is not for a great distance a finer, more elevated, or healthier position*. New Orleans, on the left bank of the Mississippi, nearly one hundred miles from its mouth, stands on an island formed by the lake Pontchastrain and the Iberville river. The houses, built above eight feet below the level of the river, are only defended by art from the periodical inundations.

Iberville appears to be the first, who twice ascended the Mississippi, with some ships granted to him by Louis XIV. La Salle, who some years before had sailed down it, had, on his return to France, obtained from the government a small squadron, with which he endeavoured to revisit the mouth of this river; but driven by winds, often very violent in the gulf of Mexico, he landed at a considerable distance to the west, where, after suffering fatigues and hardships, he miserably perished by the hands of the savages, who were excited to this act by some of his subaltern officers. Better informed or more fortunate, Iberville left some adventurers on the banks of the Mississippi, supplied them with provisions, clothes, and some trinkets necessary for trading with the Indians, and returned to France. On the report made by him to Louis XIV. of the wealth of this new discovered country, the beauty of its situation, and the advantages which it promised, the king granted him fresh assistance. Many adventurers joined him to settle in these countries, and the government sent there some thieves and robbers, who were happy to escape by exile the punishments they deserved.

On his return to the Mississippi, Iberville found the men that he had left there in the most deplorable condition. Some had perished by the savages, some by reptiles with which this country abounds, and others by the excessive heat of the climate. Those that survived had constructed cabins, which they surrounded by stakes, to defend them from the incursions of their enemies. His return inspired them with fresh hope and courage. He treated with the neighbouring nations, made them presents, and obtained from them a promise that his countrymen should not be molested in their settlement, to which he gave the name of New Orleans: but his premature death put an end to his labours. Disturbances arose in the colony; jealousies gave birth to parties, animosities, and disorganization. Instead of pursuing the necessary labours, each busied himself in planning modes of injuring his neighbour. Things were in this deplorable

* If higher, it would be too distant from the sea; if lower, subject to inundations.

situation, when M. de Crozat, in 1712, obtained from Louis XIV. a grant of the province of Louisiana. It comprehended both banks of the Mississippi through its whole length, a part of the Ohio to the Miami, and extended as far as lake Erie, on the borders of Canada.

During the few years that M. de Crozat possessed it, he attracted some cultivators, and took with him a crowd of adventurers. Of all the inhabited parts of the New World, no one has been peopled so slowly as New Orleans. In vain did the government, after the death of Louis XIV. offer advantages to the colonists; none but those who were without resources, or exposed to the vengeance of the laws, would go to the Mississippi.

It is difficult to imagine how much this colony suffered by the war which terminated in 1763, by the cession of Canada to England. Left to their own strength, without resources from the mother-country, the inhabitants of New Orleans had no means of obtaining clothing. At last, after five years of misery, peace restored them to abundance, and attracted new settlers.

During the two years which followed the cession of Canada, great numbers of French who were established there, abandoned it to go to a country where they might live under their native laws. New Orleans had become a considerable staple, when France, from a mistaken economy, transferred it to Spain. From that moment, affairs assumed a different aspect. The taking possession of it, which Orelli signalized by his perfidious cruelty, not only put a stop to the increase of population by the arrival of new settlers, but induced many rich proprietors to desert a country, whose new master acted as a tyrant. In vain did Spain recall him; the first impression was too strong for the recollection of it to be hastily effaced.

The whole town was destroyed by fire in 1788, and the greater part in 1794. The houses are at present built of brick, and contain about twelve thousand inhabitants. New Orleans is the seat of the superior authorities of Louisiana, which are vested in a governor and overseer. The former*, a foolish old man, who governs the colony according to the will of his son, a pragmatical and ignorant young man. The latter, a man

* It will appear scarcely credible, that he published a decree the same year that I arrived, by which he forbad inoculation, as opposed to religious principles. Above six hundred children and slaves fell victims to this absurd prejudice, which has been, and still continues to be, the scourge of the government.

of low extraction, who carries to excess his hatred towards the French, whom he injures solely for the pleasure of injuring. The governor has converted every thing to money. The places given by his predecessor, have been sold: he has turned out men of known integrity, and replaced them by rogues; and has done every thing to disgust men of honest intentions.

There is only one monastic institution for men at New Orleans; and they hide their depravation and ignorance under the garb of religion. There is also a convent of nuns, where young girls are instructed.

The town is not paved, and probably never will be while under the Spanish government. The markets, for want of proper ventilation, emit putrid vapours; so that it is likely, in a few years, either the yellow fever, or some other contagious disease, will destroy a great number of the foreign settlers; even the natives are often attacked.

The Creoles of Louisiana have not lost, under a foreign government, either the love of the mother-country, or the tastes which characterize its inhabitants. They yield themselves to pleasure in excess. Feasting and gaming occupy all their attention. This latter appears the most predominant. They are humane, affable, and hospitable. The Creolian women are passionately fond of dancing. The men, being brave, bold, and enterprising, nothing pleases them so much as the military uniform, which they wear at thirteen or fourteen. The government employ them in the militia, or in the regiments of Louisiana. They are often cadets five or six years before they gain the rank of sub-lieutenant: but this is no inconvenience, the epaulette is that which flatters them.

Thus, in this country, as every where else, man is ambitious to command others, at an age when he is incapable of commanding himself.

Louisiana, which neither produced corn nor pulse of any kind, was supplied before the war by France, when the inhabitants went under Spanish colours to provide themselves with necessaries. But for more than ten years, the Americans have been able to supply them. They receive in payment dollars, which they send by horses and waggons to Philadelphia. They furnish them with clothes, furniture, and other merchandize, and receive in exchange sugar, indigo, and cotton.

All the taxes imposed in Louisiana by the Spanish government, are confined to six per cent. on merchandize imported, and products exported from the colony. On this head, as on many others, the policy of the United States is preferable to that of Spain. The taxes on the merchandize which they ma-

nufacture, as well as on the products of their lands, are almost all taken off; while those on merchandize imported, are in inverse proportion to their importance. The articles of luxury are still more highly taxed; thus agriculturists and manufacturers are encouraged, and the rich taxed in proportion to their fortunes.

However inefficacious the laws enacted in Louisiana might be, it is probable that they would have been adequate to the government of the colony, if they had been distributed with economy. But contraband is carried on, notwithstanding the smallness of the tax, which obliges the King of Spain to send considerable sums annually. The expences and revenues of the colony, may be calculated in the following manner:—

	Livres.	*Sols.*
In 1801, there was exported from Louisiana, 30,000 cwt. of cotton, which, at 120 liv. per cwt. the common value, amounts to - -	3,600,000	0
Raw sugar, 84,000 cwt. at 27 liv. 10s. per cwt. -	2,490,000	0
Indigo, 3371 cwt. at 600 liv. ditto - -	2,022,600	0
Tobacco, 7800 cwt. at 40 liv. ditto - -	312,000	0
Squirrel skins, 3000 cwt. at 200 liv. ditto -	600,000	0
Castor ditto, 18 cwt. at 500 liv. ditto - -	90,000	0
Lead ore, 4000 cwt. at 30 liv. ditto - - -	120,000	0
Sheet lead, 450 cwt. at 75 liv. ditto - -	33,750	0
Planks for the Havannah - -	256,000	0
Sugar casks for the above - -	194,600	0
Mules, horses, oxen, and cows, for ditto -	600,000	0
Timber for ditto - - -	96,000	0
Total of all the entries made at the Custom-house of New Orleans, in 1801 - -	10,414,950	0
To this may be added at least $\frac{1}{10}$, to equal the sums not declared - - -	6,244,970	0
Total livres	16,659,920	0
Imports entered at the Custom-house, in the course of the same year - - - -	5,478,598	0
Total livres	22,138,518	0
But as the contraband on this part is more considerable than on the products of the colony, this sum may fairly be doubled - -	5,478,598	0
The amount of taxes collected is - -	27,617,116	0
Which will produce, at the rate of 6 per cent.	1,706,171	3

The expences fixed by the government are as follows:—

	Livres.	Sols.
Expences of administration - -	290,000	0
Payment of troops - - -	1,095,000	0
Administration of justice - - -	160,000	0
Religion - - - - -	126,000	0
Forts - - - - -	96,000	0
Artillery - - - - -	116,000	0
Presents to the savages - - -	440,000	0
Unforeseen expences - - -	100,000	0
Custom-house - - - -	240,000	0
Marine - - - - -	178,000	0
Total livres	2,841,000	0
All the sums on which the taxes are effectively raised, amount on the one part to -	10,414,950	0
And on the other to - - -	5,478,598	0
Total livres	15,893,548	0
It follows that the King of Spain only receives from this colony - - - - - -	953,432	12
And that he will be obliged to send annually -	1,887,567	8

The reform necessary to be made in all parts of the administration, both military and civil, also the presents to the savages, to whom one half is not distributed, would certainly bring the expences to the level of the receipts; but it seems the Spanish government suffers itself to be plundered; nay, even encourages the depredation, by not allowing to those in their employ a sufficient salary.

The exportation commerce of Louisiana, fifteen years ago, was carried on with thirty ships of moderate size. Since the cultivation of sugar and cotton, it has so increased, that above two hundred are employed.

Besides the above productions, New Orleans furnishes the Havannah with planks and sugar-casks, of which there is a great consumption. The contraband commerce with Mexico, is also a considerable advantage to New Orleans. The European merchandize, which is sold at a high price in almost every part of this rich country, encourages speculators to risk confiscation, and even corporeal punishments, to which they are condemned if discovered. The traders, after ascending the Red River as far as Natchitoches, transport their merchandize on horses to a distance of more than 600 miles. The hopes of wealth make them readily endure the fatigues inseparable from so long a journey, and the terrors of some savage nations, that kill without pity all the Whites that fall into their hands. The rich merchants, whose fortunes will permit them to make large

sacrifices, land on the most advantageous coasts, and gain over in their favour the chiefs of the government, who, under pretence of allowing them time to repair their ship, take no notice of the quality or quantity of the goods landed.

The traders bring from Mexico ingots and piastres, with which they load mules and horses, the trouble of conducting which, and the expences on the road, may be considered the principal part of their cost. The mules, as well as horses, are small, strong, and vigorous. The rich merchants only bring back ingots and piastres, the countries where they land producing nothing which can be sold with advantage. By the treaty of 1796 with the United States, the King of Spain engaged to give them a depót at New Orleans for the merchandize destined to ascend the Mississippi, and for the overplus of the products of the Western States. This depôt, which was granted to them for three years, was to have been (if His Catholic Majesty was unwilling to continue it) replaced by some other, equally advantageous to both governments. Without respect to this part of the treaty, the president of the United States was informed, some time before my arrival, that not only the port remained shut, but that also a depôt was forbidden to the American merchants. This breach of faith could not fail to exasperate the Western States, which have no other channel for disposing of the overplus of their productions. It has since appeared, that this measure was not authorized by the Spanish government, but was the result of the desire of injuring, and of hatred to the French.

CHAP. XIX.

CONSIDERATIONS ON SLAVERY.—FREE NEGROES.—MULATTOES.—CONDUCT TO BE OBSERVED WITH THE NATIVES OF THE COUNTRY.—TERRITORIAL ADVANTAGES OF LOUISIANA FOR FRANCE.—THOSE WHICH IT OFFERS TO HER NAVY.—COMMERCIAL ADVANTAGES.—COMMERCE IN SKINS.—MANNER OF REACHING THE LAKE OWINIPIKE, OR WINNIPEG.

SLAVERY, the greatest of necessary evils, as well to those that endure it, as those that are obliged to employ the victims, exists in both the Louisianas; and must continue many succeeding ages in the south, if the government wish to encourage agriculture, which is their only resource. The Negroes alone can labour in these scorching climates; the Whites, notwithstanding all precaution, perish if they cultivate their own fields.

To derive advantage from the colonies, the importation of Negroes must be protected; but, it is at the same time the interest of government, to watch that the inhabitants do not abuse the power given them by the laws.

After the cruel experience of St. Domingo, which probably has opened the eyes of all those philanthropists, who consider as nothing the prosperity of empires when it is in contradiction to their sentimental notions of humanity, I am far from advising the government to relax the chains of slavery, which either must subsist, or the colonies be lost.

In Lower Louisiana, the Negroes are badly fed; each individual does not receive above a barrel of maize in the ears every month, which is not more than one third of a barrel in grain. They must procure the remainder of their food and clothes by the produce of their labour on Sundays. If they do not, they must remain naked during the rigorous season. In winter they generally wear a shirt, and a woollen covering in the form of a great-coat.

Ought not a master to provide his slave with clothing and food, in proportion to the work required of him? Does not a day of rest belong to every man, and more especially to those employed in the labours of the field? These questions would have been unnecessary, if avarice, more powerful than humanity, did not govern all men, but especially the inhabitants of the colonies. What are the consequences of this avarice? The Negroes, badly fed and fatigued, are soon exhausted; weakness, disease, and death succeed. Thus does the master by increasing his revenues lose the capital, without being rendered wiser by experience. I am not unacquainted that the Negroes are unlike other men; they cannot be managed by mildness or sentiment; that they deride those who treat them with kindness; that they belong by their moral constitution as much to the brute, as by their physical, they do to man; but, let us at least take the same care of them as of the quadrupeds which we employ; let us feed them well, that they may work well, and not require of them more than they are able.

The Negroes are naturally crafty, idle, cruel, and thieves; I need not add, that in their hearts they are all enemies to the Whites. The serpent endeavours to bite him that tramples him under his feet; the slave must hate his master. But it is difficult to account for the brutality and aversion of the free Blacks to those of their own species. They are treated by them worse than by the Whites.

Although the free Blacks lose very little of their hatred to the Whites, yet they are far from being as dangerous as the Mulattoes. These seem to participate as much of the vices of

both species as of their colour: they are vindictive, traitors, and equal enemies to the Blacks and Whites. As to men of colour, who are still more dangerous, it would probably be very advantageous to form them into a colony in some uninhabited part of the continent: this measure would free the colonies of those men, by whom they one day or other will be destroyed, and would abolish the intemperate conduct of the Whites towards their slaves, which is the ruin of society, and the principal cause of the small population of the countries they inhabit.

The conduct of the Spanish government towards the natives of Louisiana, has rendered the manner difficult with which the succeeding power should behave. Possessing sources of gold which seemed inexhaustible, this metal formed the basis of all their enterprises. If they desired war, they bought men, or if peace, it was procured by gold; if it was their interest to preserve harmony between two rival powers, the one that was in want of money was forced to renounce its claims. The chiefs of each nation annually received considerable presents for themselves and nation; and every savage going to a Spanish colony, received the same allowance as a soldier as long as he remained in it. In rigorous seasons and climates, they are clothed and provided with necessaries. Above eighty thousand francs are expended annually in these presents, by which the men in superior offices obtain their fortunes.

Of all European nations, none is better qualified to obtain the friendship of the nations near Louisiana than France. They have never forgotten that they were the first Whites that landed in their country, and that they first received from them guns and knives, (dangerous presents, but highly prized.) To obtain any thing from the savages, we must be kind, and at the same time severe in the administration of justice. If the Spanish government is at present despised by the nations with whom they trade, it is because, being too weak to be just, they have suffered the first murders committed on them to go unpunished.

Among the nations with whom it principally concerns the possessors of Louisiana to be on friendly terms, are the Sioux of the Savannahs: in the first place, because they are the most numerous nation of the North; secondly, being the best hunters, they are of great advantage to commerce; and thirdly, being masters of the left bank of the Missouri, and the right of the Mississippi, they might intercept all communication with the tribes situated on the upper part of these rivers.

After the Sioux, the Osages are perhaps the most barbarous of all the nations frequented by the Whites in this part of the continent. The conduct displayed by some French governors

towards the savages of Canada, may serve as an example to those who shall be employed hereafter in the same situations. From the moment that a murder was committed, all communication with the traders was interdicted, until the criminal was discovered and executed. If any horses were stolen, the same mode was resorted to until they were restored. An act of mercy is in the eyes of the savages, an act of weakness; and one crime unpunished, always encourages the commission of a second.

Louisiana, by the treaty between Spain and the United States in 1796, received new boundaries. Its limits, which before comprehended both the banks of the Mississippi as far as the Ohio, were fixed to the left bank of this fine river, below the 32°; and Spain only remained in possession of the whole course from this place to its mouth, which is in 29° 51', according to general estimate.

From the 30° of latitude, Louisiana enjoys the advantages of all the climates in Europe, and can supply all their productions. The air is salubrious, the land fertile, and the mines abundant; it is so well supplied with rivers, that the inhabitants are certain of an easy and uninteruped communication to a great distance. Sugar, cotton, indigo, rice, and tobacco, grow in the southern part; while in the more temperate parts, the earth produces abundant crops of corn, barley, maize, &c.

France is situated in the most temperate climate in the world; the lands are rich, its inhabitants laborious and industrious; but its territories are so confined, that notwithstanding its fertility, the crops are often destroyed, either by drought or superabundance of rain. In those seasons, the inhabitants are obliged to obtain from their neighbours, corn, and other necessaries of life.

Let us suppose Louisiana peopled so that its fertile lands were cultivated, and its meadows covered with flocks; then would France, in years of scarcity, find in it a certain resource. Excessive rains, or great drought, can only be partial in a country of so great an extent; and that part which has not suffered will always have an overplus to export.

To these advantages we may add those which France would derive for her navy from Louisiana. Being destitute of timber, she is obliged to obtain it from foreign countries, as also hemp. But if once in possession of this fine colony, she would find resources in herself. The cedar, the cypress, the acacia, the different species of oak, which are all fit for ship-building, cover its surface; and hemp, without cultivation, grows to a great height, and is even superior to that of the north of Europe. From the experiments which have been made by command

of the Spanish ministry, the most advantageous conclusions have been drawn; to this may be added the possession of lead-mines, the ore being, in many places, close to the surface of the ground; the facility of manufacturing potash and salt-petre; and the iron, copper, and silver mines, so abundant in the interior.

The chief advantages of a colony, in respect of commerce, exists in the colony itself; and the more it is flourishing and populous, the greater will be the advantages derived by the mother country. But when, besides the interior consumption, it offers a market and supplies of the greatest importance to the mother-country, how much ought such a colony to be valued! Such is the case in which Louisiana is in relation to France. The inhabitants of the Western Settlements of the United States, entirely employed in agricultural labours, neither manufacture clothing nor furniture. Their intercourse with the maritime cities from which they obtain these necessary articles, presents innumerable difficulties; the land-carriage being both expensive and dangerous. How great would be the advantages gained by a depôt, from which all their supplies might come by water, and where they could pay for them by the overplus of their territorial productions! New Orleans is this depôt. Coffee, sugar, spices, East and West India merchandize, would always sell there to advantage. The government cannot be ignorant, how much the good understanding of the two countries depends on their commercial relations, and how advantageous it would be for France to preserve this good understanding with the Western States of America; which, from their character, opinions, and situation, will probably soon become independent of the Northern States. Another branch of commerce, not less important, is that of furs and skins. I have endeavoured in a former chapter to prove, with what facility Louisiana might wrest this trade from Canada, on the whole of the right bank of the Mississippi: it will be less difficult to convince the reader, that we possess, even over our rivals on the most northern lakes, an advantage of cent. per cent.

Between the Missouri and the chain of mountains which are on the southern bank of the great Red River, whose waters flow into the lake Owinipike, is a part of the nation of Chistinous, to the number of five hundred warriors. The body of this nation, to the number of 2500 warriors, is dispersed between the 50 and 55° north lat. and 120° west long. Between the Missouri and the Red River, but more to the west, is the river of the Osseniboines, which seems to derive its waters from the lake Placotte; it flows into the river Catepoie, which has its mouth in the Red River, at a little distance from the lake Owinipike. The people that inhabit its banks, known by the

name of the Osseniboines, situated between 48 and 50° north lat. and 115° long. are kind and peaceable, and the number of their warriors amount to five or six hundred.

More to the west, at the foot of the Orignal mountains, which separates the waters of the Missouri from those of the river Catepoie, are the Chiitoans, to the number of two thousand: they are situated between 44 and 45° north lat. and 117° west long. at a little distance from the Missouri. If we poceed towards the north, along the mountains which seem to divide the lakes from the Pacific Ocean, we find, in the 50° lat. the nation of Piegans, composed of one thousand warriors. In the same latitude, but some degrees more to the west, the Sasacs, to the number of 400; the Pieds-noirs, to the number of 1500; and in the 54° the Castor nation, to the number of about six hundred.

All these nations, situated on different rivers, which all flow into the river Oupaw, may easily transport their skins to the lake Owinipike. On the river Oupaw, is the body of the Chistinous, mentioned above. Most of these nations consider the Whites as superior beings, under the special protection of the Great Spirit. Near to the lake Owinipike, in the 57° lat. and 110° west long. are the Schipiwans, to the number of eight hundred warriors; and on the east of the Owinipike, the Makigos, who amount to the same number.

From these nations the English obtain the principal part of their fine furs. In fact, instead of the thirty-six transportations by land, which they are obliged to employ to arrive at Lake Superior by that of Mechigan, we can pass by one which is practicable during the whole year: they have, besides, seventy others before they reach the lake Owinipike. Some of these transportations present so great obstacles, that it requires the greatest strength and courage to surmount them; and, notwithstanding all their activity, they never reach their distination within a year. As we could make a voyage from New Orleans in less than a year, that is to say, before those that have left Quebec or Montreal have reached the nations with whom they traffic, what a superiority should we possess!

Although no one has ascended to the source of the Mississippi, the general opinion of travellers is, that it derives its waters from some of the north-western lakes. If so, we remain indisputed masters of this part of the continent; if otherwise, there is no doubt that a communication will shortly be found in the direction of the rivers that flow into it. Then a single transportation by land would be sufficient, instead of one hundred and six, which impede the trade of the English. But if this mean fails, the Missouri offers to us another, the facility of which is certain.

This river, the navigation of which is as uninterrupted as that of the Mississippi, will afford an easy passage to the Owinipike. Between 105 and 110° west long. and 43 and 45° north lat. at a little distance from the Missouri, is the river Pabinac, which has an opening into the upper part of the Red River, which latter opens a direct communication with the Owinipike. A staple situated on the nearest part of the Missouri, would be sufficient to insure a communication with the river Pabinac; boats might there be built, and the merchandize would thus reach its destination with the greatest quickness. This staple would also serve to facilitate discoveries to the south-west of the Missouri, which would be of the first importance to commerce.

CHAP. XX.

LOUISIANA CONSIDERED IN A POLITICAL VIEW.—NECESSITY OF A LARGE COLONY FOR FRANCE.—DEPARTURE FROM NEW ORELANS.—FORT PLAQUEMINE, BUILT BY M. D. CARONDELET.—FORT BOURBON.—BALISE.—PILOT MAJOR.—EXCLUSIVE PRIVILEGE.

IT is difficult to conceive why Spain, in possession of both banks of the Mississippi, from the mouth of the Ohio, should determine to give up one to the United States without being obliged by necessity, the only motive that could excuse the cession of so important an advantage. In vain is advanced the impossibility of defending such an extensive territory: if this were sufficient reason, she ought also to have abandoned Louisiana and a great part of her other possessions in America, which are without means of defence, and are only secure on account of the weakness of the surrounding nations. No one is ignorant that the invasion of a country is attended by hostilities, to which the United States neither ought nor could have exposed themselves at the moment when Spain shewed this impolitic liberality.

The Spanish government can only be recompensed for the voluntary abandonment which was made of the right bank as far as the 32° of N. L. by the gratitude and attachment of her neighbours. But what is the gratitude of nations? A vague sentiment, which the slightest motive of interest occasions to vanish; a painful yoke, which is continually endeavoured to be cast off, and which it is often advantageous to break even at the expence of justice. It is a fact but too well proved, that policy and virtue cannot exist together; and that every thing is subordinate to the respective strength of nations, or the caprices of those that govern them; that a wise government

ought to found the basis of all their proceedings on the interest or power of their neighbours; and that that which departs from these maxims will be accused of weakness or pusillanimity.

Spain, weak in Europe, and without force or consideration in America, neither knows how to make herself feared or respected. It requires a more vigorous arm to keep the keys of a barrier, on which depends the invasion of this part of the continent, and consequently the independence of the colonies, as soon as they shall find neighbours powerful enough to protect them, and sufficiently industrious to supply their wants.

In vain it is advanced that the Americans are not a warlike nation; that being occupied in agriculture and commerce, they do not think on aggrandizement; that the form of their government is opposite to all projects of conquest; and lastly, that it is their interest to live in the most perfect harmony with the powers of Europe. I reply, they are not warlike, because they have not a superabundance of men; and that if the system of the government appears at the moment opposite to all aggrandizement, it is not less prudent to provide against the changes which may happen in its policy; and from the revolutions which threaten America, a new system may arise, which will make them occupy a rank in the political balance of the world, which they have not hitherto done.

Another, no less important consideration for France, is, the necessity of a large colony, to which she might send the overplus of her population. All well-governed nations among whom commerce and the arts have flourished, soon obtain a superabundant population, which not finding a sufficient subsistence in their own country, must emigrate in search of new settlements.

The Romans had numerous colonies; the Greeks also in their prosperity founded many. The people of the north, too numerous, invaded the south; and in times less remote we have seen all the great powers of Europe fill countries, of immense extent, and which before had been deserts, without any sensible decrease of their population. Thus Holland has carried her industry to the two Indies, where she possesses large colonies; and England, the least populous state in Europe, has created new kingdoms, which contain more subjects than herself. France alone is deprived of this resource. No part in the world seems better suited for this purpose than Louisiana, where every species of industry cannot fail of success.

It is no longer doubted that the new continent will at some future period be independent of the old. The lands are too

fertile, and the climate too genial, not to attract a numerous population, which will not fail to break the yoke, that is borne only by imbecility. France, by obtaining possession of Louisiana, cannot prevent this effect, necessary from the succession of time and consciousness of strength; but she will retard it.

After a residence of more that two months in New Orleans, I quitted it on the 29th of December, notwithstanding the pressing invitations of my friends, and the dangers of the season. The vessel in which I embarked, bound for Bourdeaux, carried Spanish colours, and was called La Mexicana. The country below New Orleans became level as we descended the river. The lands on both banks are well cultivated within twenty miles of the town; but beyond that distance small portions are only attended to, on account of the whole being a great part of the year inundated by the river.

Sixty miles below New Orleans is fort Plaquemine, erected during the government and under the direction of Baron de Carondelet. Fort Plaquemine, strongly built of brick, presents a battery of twelve long pieces of cannon on both sides towards the river. Fort Bourbon, on the opposite bank, has a battery which crosses that of Plaquemine: the garrison of these two posts is composed of from eighty to one hundred men, commanded by a lieutenant-colonel.

From Plaquemine to Balise, the last Spanish port on the Mississippi, the country is uninhabited, and the land so low that there can never be any estabilishments formed. At Balise the pilot-major resides, who has the exclusive right of pilotting all ships either to or from New Orelans. This privilege, which was granted by the Spanish government, is very injurious to navigators. The pilots under his command, having no competitors to fear, only go out when the vessel is near the port. It is the more injurious to commerce, because the approach to the land in this part of the gulf is extremely dangerous, both on account of the violence of the winds, and the number of the mouths of the Mississippi, which often deceive navigators. The accidents which happen would be in part prevented, if the pilotage was free to all that had served a regular apprenticeship: the love of gain would induce them to go to ships at some miles from the coast.

Another inconvenience of exclusive privileges is, that the King of Spain, who is charged with all the expences of pilotting, maintains no vessels proper to assist those that meet with accidents.

Those that navigate in these latitudes ought to pay particular attention to the point of the compass in which it is proper to enter the port. The pilot assured me, that on account of the

sailors not attending to this, so many accidents happened. The prudent navigator must remember to enter the channel when he sees the town of Balise to the north-west.

The King of Spain maintains at Balise a garrison of twenty men, principally designed for the service of the custom-house, an officer belonging to which goes on board every ship entering or departing. There are also twenty men under the order of the pilot-major, paid and kept as soldiers: they may, however, quit their employ at pleasure, provided that their services are not immediately required, and that they owe nothing. This last condition generally fixes them for many years; the pilot-major taking care to keep them always dependant, by supplying them with spirits, of which they consume large quantities.

CHAP. XXI.

LIFE OF GEORGE AUGUSTUS BOWLES.

AMERICA, although populous for many years, has produced very few men whose names are deserving of being transmitted to posterity; Franklin and Washington are perhaps the only ones to whom it can boast of having given birth. I hope for pardon in relating the life of one, who, by the originality of his character, the extent of his knowledge, the vast projects he has conceived, and those that he has executed, merits particular attention.

George Augustus Bowles was born in Maryland, one of the United States; his father, an Englishman by birth, had amassed a considerable property, and enjoyed the esteem of his fellow-citizens, among whom he had an honourable rank. When the war broke out in 1775 between England and the United States, Bowles, though yet a boy, ran after the adventures of a military life, for which nature seemed to have designed him. It would be difficult to alledge the reasons that determined him to prefer the English party to that of his native country. It is probable that the elegance and good discipline of the English regiments, alone determined his choice. At the age of thirteen he offered himself a volunteer to an English regiment of infantry, and was admitted. After a year's service he was received among the Loyalists of Maryland, commanded by Colonel James Chalmers, a man distinguished for his great talents, his fortune, and attachment to the mother country.

Having embarked in 1777 with his regiment, in which he had obtained the rank of an officer, he arrived at Pensacola in Florida, where, on account of negligence, he was deprived of his commission. Far from feeling uneasiness, he supported his

misfortune with indifference and even joy. Having passed his youth in the midst of forests, and on the frontiers of savages, he contracted an early attachment to their mode of living. He retired among the Creek Indians, and married one of their women. During the war between England and Spain, in 1779, he particularly distinguished himself by his cool intrepidity and superiority of genius. The constant friend of the English, he persuaded his brother-warriors to go to the assistance of Pensacola, which was then besieged by the Spaniards. He entered the town at the head of a party which he had raised, and conducted himself as an able commander. The attack of Mobile afforded him a fresh opportunity of distinction: the applauses which he deservedly received, engaged Col. Campbell to offer him the command of a company, which he accepted; but, in a short time, was deprived of it by a court-martial, and was on the point of being sentenced to death, for having, at the head of the army, threatened one of his superior officers. Disgusted with the European service, he returned to his friends, with whom he had left his children, as a pledge of his love and fidelity. Although not yet nineteen, he had inspired them with such a veneration for him, and was so admired by them, that he was called "the beloved warrior."

He remained with them a whole year, during which he was not inactive. The advice which he gave them, and the new means of defence and attack in which he instructed them, will insure to them, in case of necessity, a decided superiority over their enemies. Incapable of remaining long inactive, he set out to visit the coasts of Florida. After travelling over them, he embarked for Providence, where he solicited arms and ammunition for his nation. Having obtained them, he returned in spite of every obstacle to the Creeks. He then embarked with some of his intrepid companions in a transport ship, and crossed with them into the gulf of Florida, where he captured many Spanish ships, bound for the Havannah and New Orleans.

The Spanish government, obstructed in her commerce by an enemy hitherto despised, covered themselves with disgrace by offering a reward for his head. However, notwithstanding the subtilty of Spain, Bowles continued to keep the sea with advantage.

Being invested by his tribe with an unlimited authority, he was after the peace of 1783, indefatigable in improving the lot of his brother-warriors. Threatened in 1785 by a war with the inhabitants of Georgia, whose assembly had sold some lands belonging to the Creeks, he set out for Augusta, where the States were held. After taking every precaution, and being as-

sured by the inhabitants that he had nothing to fear from them, he returned and informed his friends. For their greater security, he proposed a general league with the other Indian nations, from Florida to Canada: and ambassadors were immediately sent to make proposals, which were unanimously agreed to.

Effectually to support these measures, Bowles, with all the money that he had taken from the Spaniards, set out for St. Augustine, and from thence he proceeded to Providence. On his return in 1787, how great was his astonishment, when he was informed that the Spaniards had, during his absence, treated with the Creek chiefs, among whom they had distributed some silver medals, on their engaging to wage war against the Georgians, and had already supplied them with arms and ammunition! He easily made appear to them the consequences of their conduct; and on his entreaty they sent back the medals to the governor, whose hatred for Bowles increased in proportion to the supposed affront.

The war between England and Spain, which was on the point of breaking out, not yet having taken place, and the Georgians remaining in a state of inaction, Bowles seized this opportunity to put his long-planned project into execution; which was to declare the ports of Apalachicola, Oakwelakre, and Tampé, free to all commercial nations.

To ensure success to this design, he sent seven hundred warriors to Apalachicola and Tampé, and went himself to Oakwelakre, where some Spanish emissaries endeavoured to assassinate him; but the attempt only occasioned an attack on the Apaloches, a small Spanish post in Florida, and which he laid under contribution. Thus did this great man employ all his faculties to discipline, instruct, and civilize a numerous and brave people, which would soon have ranked among civilized nations, if the base jealousy of Spain had not counteracted his generous designs. Bowles became so odious to Spain, that she resolved to destroy him at any price.

Two Spanish officers, named Hevia and Rousseau, undertook to dishonour themselves in the sight of the whole world, by seconding the government in the disgraceful measures which were resolved upon. These two men were sent to him with a letter from the governor of Louisiana, who said, that he had orders from his government, to treat with him on the disputes subsisting between the Creek Indians and the court of Spain; and that, in order to facilitate the negociation, he had sent a ship with two officers appointed to conduct him to New Orleans, where he would experience every civility, and be treated with the attention he justly merited. On these assurances, he departed for New Orleans, and waited upon the governor, who

received him with every external mark of friendship. But when he began to discuss matters with him, relative to the interests of his nation, he pretended that he had not authority to agree to some of the most important articles; and, notwithstanding the national honour pledged by the two officers, he sent Bowles to the Havannah, and shortly after to Spain.

On his arrival at Madrid, the Spanish government endeavoured to seduce him by a large fortune, and a brilliant post in the army, both which Bowles rejected with indignation. To this Spain added a new artifice. An alcaide informed him, that the king had appointed two commissaries at Cadiz, to treat with him, and that to end all difficulties, he must repair thither immediately. After a detension of eight months in the capital, he arrived at Cadiz, where he was confined for a whole year. During this interval, a proposal was made to him as follows:—"A messenger," says he, in a letter to one of his friends, "came one day and informed me, that if I would write to the Duke of Alcerdia, and accuse the Counts of Aranda and Florida Blanca, of ill treatment to me, I should be brought back to court, and my business finished to my satisfaction. The indignation that I felt on hearing this, cannot be easily easily expressed; I commanded the messenger not to repeat it on pain of feeling my displeasure. 'In that case,' replied he, 'you must prepare to visit the Philippines.'

"A few days subsequent to this infamous proposal," adds he, "I was conducted on board of a vessel, without knowing whither I was bound: I was sent to Lima by Cape Horn, without any preparation for my voyage, almost naked, and in the coldest season of the year." Here the same propositions were renewed which had been made in Spain. They were rejected, and he was embarked for Manilla; where he arrived on the 27th of November, 1795. In 1797, he was again embarked for Europe; but, at the isle of Ascension, he eluded the vigilance of his guards, and escaped to Sierra Leone, where he procured a passage to London.

On his arrival in England, Bowles was destitute of articles of the first importance; but being informed that Mr. Pitt was at Walmer Castle, he went thither, and remained there many days, during which he recovered from his fatigues. Being provided with a letter written by Mr. Pitt, he waited on the Duke of Portland, who kindly received him, and who supplied all his wants. Loaded with the kindness of government, which afforded him all the aid that he required for his nation, he departed, after a long residence in England, with the design of wreaking his vengeance on a deceitful government, that had imprisoned and ill treated him.

Since that time he has endeavoured by every means in his power to injure Spain. Lastly, in 1801, having levied a considerable party, he marched to the Apalaches, drove the Spanish garrison from the fort, destroyed the fortifications, and remained in possession of the place until the governor of New Orleans sent reinforcements, which he did not think advisable to oppose.

Bowles is tall, well made, and of a prepossessing appearance; his complexion olive. A sailor before he had seen a ship, a mathematician without learning the first elements of the science, a chemist and a mechanic; it is probable, that if his ardent genius had confined itself to any one of these sciences, he would have reached the highest perfection. He speaks French, Spanish, and all the dialects of the savages in this part of the continent, with as much facility as his native tongue, and unites to the qualities of the body those of the mind.

I cannot conclude this abridgment of his life, without relating a trait, which proves this last assertion in the clearest manner. One of the officers who had betrayed him, and was probably going to receive the reward of his treachery, fell into the water. The Spanish sailors seemed in no hurry to go to his assistance. Bowles was sitting at the poop of the ship in deep reflection; but, he no sooner perceived the miscreant who had betrayed him struggling with the waves, than he plunged into the sea, and reached him at the moment he was ready to sink. He brought him to the side of the ship, and said, loud enough to be heard by the whole crew, "I ought perhaps to revenge your perfidy; but live, and remember that you owe your life to the man whom you have deprived of liberty."

END OF DU LAC'S TRAVELS.

INDEX TO DU LAC'S TRAVELS.

ACCOUNT

OF A

VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY

TO THE NORTH-EAST OF

SIBERIA,

THE FROZEN OCEAN,

AND THE

NORTH-EAST SEA.

BY

GAWRILA SARYTSCHEW,

RUSSIAN IMPERIAL MAJOR-GENERAL TO THE EXPEDITION.

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A VOYAGE OF DISCOVERY

TO

SIBERIA, &c.

CHAP. I.

DEPARTURE FROM THE BAY OF AWATSCHA FOR THE ISLAND OF UNALASCHKA.—DESCRIPTION OF THE BAY OF BOBROWIA.—REMARKS ON THE ALEUTIANS.

A Favourable gale springing up on the 29th of May, we stood out of the bay Awatscha in a south-easterly direction. On the 10th we discovered a plank floating on the sea, that appeared to have been torn from some vessel. Agreeable to our instructions, we should have steered along the chain of Aleutian islands towards America, and taken a map of this coast; but a thick mist coming on immediately after our departure out of the bay, it was unanimously resolved not to lose our time in a minute survey of every island, but to keep in close to the south side of those that were less obscure, and bend our course directly to America.

On the 16th we were surrounded by a great quantity of floating logs of wood and sea-wort. Many sorts of marine birds in great abundance kept hovering around us, and one of them, of the duck species, even lit on our vessel. We were now in north latitude 50° 39′, and longitude 169° 64′ from Greenwich, not more than 180 Italian miles distant from the island of Atta. We usually calculated by Italian miles, 60 of which go to a degree.

Our people on setting out were all tolerably recovered from the scurvy, with which they had been generally afflicted during the winter, but now they felt an increasing debility as they advanced farther into the open sea. The want of proper diet likewise contributed to renew the disease which had been completely removed. Salt meat was almost our only food, having been unable to lay in any stock of fresh provisions at Kamtschatka, where all sorts of animals, both tame and

wild, are very rare, and those who possess will not part with their little stock at any rate.

Though the wind was constantly favourable, yet the incessant mist impeded our progress for many days. We met with nothing remarkable till the 23d, when we discovered land, which proved, on our approach, to be Amtschitka, or one of the Rat Islands. From what we could distinguish through the mist, its shores appeared to be naked and not very elevated, but sometimes mountainous. At no great distance from thence we descried the island properly called the Rat Island, which derives its name from the circumstances of its abounding with rats. As there were formerly none of these animals here, it is surmised that they made their escape to the shore out of some Japan vessel, stranded on the coats. The eastern side of Amtschitka is more mountainous than the western, forming a rocky declivity from south-west to north-west. On a cursory view we estimated its length at 30 Italian miles.

On the 25th, the wind became so strong that we were obliged to carry less sail. Towards evening we stood to the north, and on the following day to the north-west; and, although still enveloped in mist, we could distinguish the high snowy mountains on the islands Adach and Jagitka.

On the 28th, the wind and mist abating, we perceived the island Amilja, and the lofty mountains Atcha contiguous to it to the west, both belonging to the Andiejenow Islands. We conceived our latitude to this time to be 41° 54′, and our longitude 187° 67; the western point of Amilja being north-west 52° 30′ at a distance of 15 miles. We sailed the whole day in a parallel line with the island about 8 miles distant. It is naked, mountainous, long, and marrow; being from west to east 44 miles in extent. Its eastern extremity is bounded by high and steep rocks. Its centre contains a number of hills. Its population does not exceed 60 persons.

In the evening we came in sight of the mountainous island of Seguam, about 24 miles in extent, lying 22 miles north-east by east of Amilja. It is uninhabited, and is said formerly to have had a volcanic mountain.

On the morning of the 29th we passed the island Amuchta at a distance of 6 miles. It is about 27 miles in extent, and is said to have a volcano. About 12 miles from Amuchta we passed Techugagar, an island 12 miles long and 5 miles broad.

On the 30th, we fell in with the four volcanic islands, which take their names from the four craters which they contain. They lie contiguous to each other, and bear distinct names.

That to the south-west, is called Ulaga; that to the north-east, Tschiginsk; that to the north-west, Tana; and that to the south-east, Chagamil. The two first are the largest, and about twenty miles in circumference.

The latter islands appeared to the north-north-west about 10 miles distant. They are said to be volcanic, and were once inhabited. At noon our latitude was 52° 34′. Towards evening we discovered the island of Umnack, one of the Fox islands, which extend in an unbroken range to North America. They derive their name from the number of black, dark-brown, and red foxes, with which they abound; but the white species found in all the islands near Kamtschatka, are no where to be met with here. Ten miles from the south-western point of Umnak, on casting the lead, we found 55 fathoms water, on a bed of black gravel. We drifted all night, and were carried by the stream 13 miles to the south-south-west.

The island Umnak is level on its western side, but elevated towards the noth-east. It extends as far as the strait which separates it from Unalaschka, and terminates with mountains; several of which, rising above the others, are volcanic, and crowned with eternal snow. It stretches, from south-west to north-east, 55 miles in length. The strait between Umnak and Unalaschka is at least 2 miles and a half in width. About 30 versts from the strait, and about 7 miles from Umnak, are two rocks, surrounded by water; whice, on the 31st of May, lay five miles distant toward the nort-west. We were then in latitude 52° 49′; and longitude 192° 45′.

On the 1st of June, we found ourselves in the latitude of 52° 53′, and a longitude 193° 44′; the southern point of Unalaschka being 23 miles distant. From this point the shore gradually rises to the north-east into a mountain.

On the 3d we were off the island Spirkin separated to the east from Unalaschka by a strait about a mile in width. Towards noon we estimated the latitude at 53° 44′, and the longitude at 195° 9′. As the form of the island Unalaschka has been accurately defined by many observations of Captain Cook, we that during the 25 days of our sailing from Petropaulousk we had deviated 50 miles out of our course towards the east.

In the forenoon seven Aleutians put off from Unalaschka in their single-seated baidar, and came up to our ship. Two of them, who spoke tolerably good Russian, offered to conduct us to a commodious anchoring-place.

Soon after a large baidar, covered with leather, came along

side of us, containing a Russian hunter and eight rowers, who had been rowing about in search of the drifted wood for fuel. The Russians told us they came from the ships Bartholomew and Barnabas, belonging to the merchants Panow and Company, which were at present lying at anchor in the strait of Issanozk; but that he himself was left at Unalaschka as the master of a baidar, for the purpose of catching wild animals.

In the afternoon, as we were nearly becalmed, we hoisted out our boat, and towed the ship into the strait between Spirkin and Kigalga. Near the entrance of the strait are two rocks, which tower out of the water; they lie close to each other, and are about 2 miles and a half distant from the island Kigalgal, towards 180, ½. These are the rocks between which Captain Cook lost himself during a fog, and to which, owing to his providential escape, he gave the name of *Cape Providence.*

In the evening, with the help of towing, and a good tide, we got round the northern promontory of Spirkin, anchoring, near the shore at a little distance from an Aleutian village, in the joyful expectation of meeting with some fresh provisions for the recovery of our sick.

From our anchoring station, a large bay extended south-west into the interior of the island Unalaschka, which is called Beaver-bay. Agreeable to the desire of our commander, we went on the following day with Doctor Merk, in a baidar, to examine the bay, and took with us provisions for seven days. We bent our course to the south-west, by the shore of the island Spirkin, within the bay, which is not so steep as on the south-eastern side; for here the extremities only of the cape terminate in rocky acclivities, whereas, on the contrary side, the declivities are excessively steep. The internal part of the island affords four tolerable lakes, at no great distance from and nearly opposite to each other. The water, which in the middle is 50 fathoms, becomes gradually more shallow towards the shore. We chose one of these bays for our night's station, and found, when the water retired in the evening, a number of muscles on the strand, containing several small pearls. The next morning we were obliged to remain till nine, in order to repair our baidars, the leather of which had been considerably injured by the sharp stones jutting out from the shore.

Mr. Merk having landed to collect plants, I proceeded onward by myself in my examination, taking a minute survey of the strait before-mentioned, which separates Spirkin from Unalaschka. It is a mile in breadth, and about 50 fathoms in depth; extending to the south-east, for 3½ miles, to the side of Ilmudichtchit, which penetrates, for three miles, into

the interior of Unalaschka. Farther on, it is narrower by one half, and the shore by no means so steep. Its depth is from 20 to 25 fathoms, and the bottom is composed of a sand mixed with shells. In the middle of this strait, and particularly towards the right bank, there are many concealed rocks, and one, which at its termination rises considerably above the water. In the vicinity of these rocks the water is 10 fathoms deep. The hidden part of the large one is covered with an incrustation of coral.

On my return late in the evening, I found that Mr. Merk had collected a vast number of plants, and that our hunters had shot two woodcocks, besides finding a nest full of eggs, which afforded us a comfortable supper. We did not observe many birds on shore, but the few we saw were chiefly white-headed eagles, and some small birds of the finch species; with whose red feathers the Aleutians adorn themselves.

On the 6th, we pursued our rout along the shore of the Beaver's-bay, passing five other different bays. The first of them, named Amugul, has an island in its centre; and the second Taneska, has four such islets. All these bays run three or four miles into the country, and are supplied with streams of fresh water from the mountains; their depth, in the middle, being 50 fathoms, and at the sides much less. From the last of these bays, called Kikukala, we passed over to the opposite shore as far as the entrance into Beaver's-bay, and lay to, for the night, close by a small cataract that descended from a lofty mountain.

On the 7th we passed the bay of Unytschaba, and finding another bay at noon, named Ugadaga, we ran into it for the purpose of taking our dinner. Here, as the Aleutians informed us, we were not very distant from Captain's-haven, beyond the mountains, which had received its name from Captain Lewaschew's having wintered there. Mr. Merk and I being both desirous of visiting it, we immediately resolved to repair to the spot. For two miles we were obliged to ascend the steep mountains, until we gained the summit of the high chain which encompasses the whole island, and to which the crater on the northern side belongs. These mountains are covered from the foot half way up with moss and grass: higher up they are quite barren, terminating at the summit in naked rock. In the vallies on the banks of the lakes and rivulets, a few alders and small bushes are occasionally to be met with. On the summit of the mountain which we ascended we found two lakes of fresh water; at the bottom of which we perceived some chalybeate ochre, with which the swampy places appeared to be filled. From thence we passed over some inferior mountains, until,

by a retrograde descent of about five miles, we reached the Aleutian village of Illuluk.

Illuluk lies on the eastern part of Captain's-bay, at the mouth of a brook. It contains four large jurts, or huts, constructed of mud, and logs of wood, which are driven hither by the currents of the sea. They are covered with grass and mud, and instead of a door have an opening, which is too low to enter without stooping. From this opening you ascend by a beam, that serves for stairs, into the interior of the hut; where, close by the walls, divisions are set apart for each family, and the floors are covered with rush-mats, which serve for beds. Every female occupies a distinct division, and is mostly busied in making mats, sacks, or baskets, which task she executes with amazing dexterity. These baskets, &c. are made of the longest blades of grass previously dried, and for the finer works, split into slips. In this process, she uses no other instrument but her fingers: with the nail of her fore-finger, which she suffers to grow to a great length, until it is as sharp as a lancet, she not only parts the blades of grass, but also the sinews of animals, which she twists with her fingers alone into a beautifully fine and even thread for sewing their clothes. Their needles they make of the bones of fish, large or small as the work requires, and fasten their thread to them by tying. Whenever they get a steel needle, they immediately break off the eye, and rub it on the edge of a stone, till they have made a notch, where they can tie the thread in their usual way.

It is worthy of remark, that the stomachers of these women are as beautifully shaped and decorated, as if they had been the workmanship of a European embroiderer. The stomacher is made of the skin of a bird's neck, stretched and prepared for the purpose, and ornamented with silk, or the hair of goats and horses interwoven with that of the reindeer, which latter appears like rows of small pearls. In a similar manner they decorate the holiday dresses, girdles, and caps of their husbands. The dress of the men resembles a waggoner's frock, with a high round collar of elk's skin; it is neatly ornamented with goats hair, bordered with a strip of sea-bear's skin.

The common dress of the women differs but little from that of the men. It has a standing collar, about two inches broad, enamelled in various patterns. The front of the dress, and the opening of the arms, is trimmed with a row of pearls or coral. Their festival dress is similar in shape, but more enamelled, and bordered with rows of coral, bird's beaks, and goat's hair. When they go on the water, they draw over their common dress another, made of the entrails of animals sewed together,



Man, & Woman of Unalaschka.

and wear trowsers, and boots made of the skin of the sea-lion's neck. On their heads they wear a wooden hat, from which descends an ornament of coral and hair.

When one of these Aleutians thus arrayed is seated in his baidar, there is something majestic in his appearance; but when he rises, he cuts a deplorable figure; and when he walks, he looks still more wretchedly, being disabled by continual sitting from straightening his feet or knees. Their countenances are not unpleasing, though rather wild, and their features uniform with the exception of the bone of the forehead, which projects too much over the eyes. Their hair is black and stubborn, but they are for the most part beardless. I saw only one old man who had a few hairs scattered on his chin.

The men leave their faces as nature has formed them, but the vanity of the females leads them to disfigure theirs in a variety of ways. They perforate them in lines, from the nostrils to the ears, and rub in charcoal, which produces, when the wound is healed, a bluish furrow. Another is formed in the same manner, from the upper lip to the chin. They pierce the cartilage of the nose, and wear long pendant ornaments of amber, coral, and enamel. Enamel they receive from the Russians, and amber from the Americans of Alaksa, both of which are in great estimation. They also pierce two holes in the hollow of the upper lip, in which they wear long thin bones: round the edges of their ears they sew ornaments of blue or white enamel.

There are, however, many females who, out of complaisance to the Russians (with whom they frequently intermarry), abstain from this barbarous custom. Many who are the offspring of these marriages have perfectly fair European complexions, and red hair, and would in my opinion be esteemed uncommon beauties even in Europe. They cut the hair off the forepart of the head, and bind the remainder into a knot at the back part. They wear no covering on the feet or head, nor any other clothing than the vest before described.

In the evening, some of these people returned from the chace, and informed us, that they had killed a small whale, on the western point of Captain's bay. As we passed the night there, Mr. Merk set off on foot the next morning to see this fish, and I preferring to go by water, took a baidar with two other persons. The day being perfectly serene, I felt no apprehensions at venturing myself in this little bark upon the bay, although it was only 23 feet long, one and a half broad, and eight deep. It was entirely covered with skins, in which openings were left for each person to enter. I sat in the middle, one Aleutian at the head, and another at the stern. We were also attended by

four others, in separate baidars. To one of them I gave the lead to sound the depth, where I conceived it necessary, while I myself kept the compass, and where it was practicable I went on shore. By this means, I effected a complete survey of Captain's-haven in one day. Its entrance is divided by the mountainous island Amaknak into two straits, which run into it; that to the east, is about a mile in width, and in the middle of the entrance, from 22 to 23 fathoms deep, although a little more to the north-east towards the main sea, the water is more than a hundred fathoms deep. Nearer the internal part of the haven, towards the south, the depth and ground are very various. At first the water decreases from 23 to 10 fathoms, the ground consisting of fine sand: at the distance of about three cables, the depth is from 9 to 10 fathoms, and the ground stony: after this, the depth increases to 25 fathoms, with a muddy bottom. A quarter of a mile from the entrance near the island, is the gulf of Udachta, about half a mile broad, and, on the side next the ocean, bordered with a strong bank. The water in its centre is from 17 to 20 fathoms deep, and its bottom muddy. From this bay to the distance of two miles, as far as the village of Illuluk, is a good anchoring-place, with 8 or 9 fathoms water, and a muddy bottom. Here the road becomes disproportionably narrow, curving out to the west, and penetrating into the island of Amaknak, which shelters it from wind and weather. On entering the straits, care must be taken to run in on the left side of some masses of stone, which rise above the water. They are about 60 fathoms distant from the shore, but the water here is not more than from 5 to 8 fathoms, while that on the right side, is at most only 3 fathoms and a half. About a mile and half beyond the village, the island of Amaknak terminates, and you enter the inner part of Captain's-bay. It is about a mile broad, but towards the south extends three miles and a half, having in the centre 50 fathoms water, which becomes shallower as you proceed, the ground being always muddy. On the main shore, a brook descends from the mountains, to the right of which lie four small islands. It was behind these islands that Captain Laweschew lay a winter at anchor.

My Aleutians pointed out to me a hillock on the shore, which they said was the spot where the jurts for the crew stood; but at present no vestige of a human abode remained, except a decayed wooden cross, on which, with much difficulty, I deciphered the following inscription:—"Captain Laweschew here passed the winter of 1768-9, with his ships." The proper and securest entrance to Captain's-haven, or bay, is at the southern point of the island of Amaknak, on its right side from the

western bay or strait, which is 200 fathoms wide, and as wide again as the eastern. In the middle it is so deep, that a line of 50 fathoms will not reach the bottom. At its entrance from the ocean, lies, on a gradually sloping shore, the village of Pestrakowo; and on the left, adjoining the island of Amaknak, is situated the isle of Uknodak, which is not more than a mile in circumference. The water between these islands is from 7 to 16 fathoms deep, with a sandy bottom.

It was late in the evening before I returned from the execution of my task to the village of Illuluk, where I found Doctor Merk, with several Aleutians from the neighbouring villages, assembled to await my arrival. I had received instructions to make particular enquiries concerning the improper conduct of some Russian hunters towards the islanders two years before. From the accounts given to the governor, by Serjeant Builow, who accompanied the hunters for collecting the japak, it appeared, that this spot had been the theatre of many oppressions. The serjeant had resided with these people, and taken down in his day-book an account of their grievances, which, on his return, he delivered in to the commander. Accordingly, the governor-general of Irkutsk had commissioned Captain Billings to ascertain the facts. Having found all strictly true, I assured these islanders, that their oppressors would be severely punished for their conduct, and used every exertion to convince them that our august empress wished for nothing so much as their happiness, having strictly prohibited every disorderly proceeding. This circumstance of the Russian hunters, reminds me of the following passage, in a Voyage published by Mr. Sauer, secretary to Captain Billings, where speaking of Captain Coxe, an Englishman, meeting with some Russian hunters, and making some presents to the steersman Pribyloff, he observes, in the 16th chap. "Nothing in the world can astonish a Russian more than a disinterested liberality, or kindness, without some prospect of future benefit: greatness of soul is applied to every man who is just, and grants his servants some few indulgences; every thing beyond this is called folly, and is sure to be imposed upon; nor have they any sentiment of feeling, except it be excited by blows. Taking this for the ruling character of the Russian hunters, it will be easy to conceive the astonishment of Pribyloff and his companions, at the liberality of Mr. Coxe." From the unqualified terms in the beginning of this quotation, many might be led to judge harshly of the whole Russian nation. It is, however, evident from the context, that he means only to apply it to the hunters, which is, however, done in much too general a manner. There are no doubt, both in Russia and England, and all other countries, indivi-

duals, particularly among the poorer classes, who are devoid of the finer feelings of exalted benevolence and generosity, and may be more easily affected by fear, than by honour or integrity. Where then is the wonder, if such be also found among the Russian hunters, when we find them among those who call themselves philosophers. But notwithstanding all that has been said by different persons, to the discredit of this class of men, I cannot refrain from observing, that these hunters, who go out with merchantmen to the Eastern Ocean, are mostly persons who, from a state of affluence, are reduced by their own extravagance, or by unavoidable misfortunes, to the necessity of seeking a precarious living, at a distance from their former abode. Ochotsk is immensely remote from Russia, and the travelling by land no less toilsome than that by sea from thence to America, which must be undertaken in vessels altogether unfitted, either in bulk or tackling, for such a distance, and devoid of every comfort and convenience; whence it may be fairly concluded, that few, except persons in desperate or low circumstances, will offer their services, and that among such an assemblage of people many will be found to abuse the power vested in their hands. The hunters with whom Serjeant Builow was in company, had selected one from among themselves to be their leader, to whose orders they paid not the slightest deference. According to the account of the serjeant, these hunters compelled the islanders to procure beasts and skins for them, which they took without making any remuneration. This trade is, however, at present placed on a better footing; some naval officers having undertaken the command of the vessels destined for America, from which we may naturally expect the preservation of good order and discipline on the part of the Russians, and a renewal of confidence on that of the islanders: so that the trade will in future flourish on the sure basis of mutual interest.

On the morning of the 9th of June, we left the haven, and returning at noon to our baidars in the Beaver-bay, pursued our rout after dinner along the north-western shore of the bay towards the entrance. Having made almost three miles, we came to the gulf of Gamgek, directly opposite to Sperkin's-strait. Our Aleutians informed us, that an English merchantman had anchored here the year before. The gulf penetrates a mile and half inwards. At the entrance, it is a mile broad, and in the middle 50 fathoms deep, but farther on it shallows to less than 5 fathoms, the bottom being muddy, with sand occasionally interspersed. About three miles from the gulf, we arrived at the village of Utschuguy, situated on a winding of the shore, near a stream which descends from the

mountains: beyond this, the shore of the bay for three miles is covered with cliffs, and terminates with projecting rocks.

On the 10th, I concluded my sketch of the Beaver-bay, and returned to the Slawa Rossu, which I found ready for sea, and only waiting a favourable wind.

While we lay at anchor, we were supplied by our Aleutians with a sufficiency of stock-fish and roaches for the whole crew. The hunters whom we had sent to the island Kekalga, brought us also a variety of sea-fowl, and a particular sort of black-headed geese, which Dr. Merk called *Canadian*. On one of the cliffs which rises out of the water, at a small distance from land, they likewise killed a sea-lion: a creature so called, as it seems, from the colour of their hair, and a sort of bushy mane on the necks of the males, which are nearly three feet long, and at the breast proportionably stout, but from thence to the tail becoming gradually smaller and more pointed. The head is round and bearded; and the nostrils extend very much when they are irritated. They are found in troops on the islands of the Pacific Ocean, and have frequent contests together, about their dens and females. They live on fish and amphibious animals. The people of Kamtschatka, who shoot them with arrows when they are asleep, cure their flesh and fat for food, and their skins either for clothing or covering their snow-shoes.

In the mean time, our priest baptized ninety-two islanders at their own request; but not understanding their language, he could not properly instruct them in their new religion, into which they were initiated, by the simple ceremony of the sacrament.

For a whole week, we were detained by nothing but contrary winds.

CHAP. II.

DEPARTURE FROM UNALASCHKA FOR KADJAK.—DESCRIPTION OF THE ALEUTIAN ISLANDS.—THE ISLAND OF KADJAK, AND ITS INHABITANTS.

ON the 17th of June, I accompanied Captain Billings to the village Utschujug, on the other side of the Otters-bay, where the Russian inhabitants had heated the baths for us. They are the only persons having such baths, which they have constructed out of subterraneous caves, and lined with walls one brick thick.

Being informed by the Aleutians, that at no great distance beyond this bay we should come to that in which Captain

Cook had lain with his vessels, we wished to have visited the spot, and had no sooner commenced our excursion, than we discovered our ship to be under sail, and were obliged to relinquish our design. The wind and weather which had been so favourable, as to induce Captain Hall to weigh anchor in our absence, was very soon succeeded by a calm; but by the help of a brisk gale which sprung up towards evening, we managed to get out of the bay by the strait at which we entered. From Unalaschka we took with us two male Aleutians and one female. One of the former spoke very good Russian, and both had been already on all the islands east of Unalaschka, and knew their names. At midnight a thick mist arose, which lasted till seven in the morning, when the island Atuutan, with its smoking crater, and the circumjacent islets, gradually opened to view. At ten o'clock, we discovered the conical summits of the island of Unimak, one of which, called Agagedan, is likewise volcanic, and at that time emitted a thick smoke. The extreme point of another, called Chagyan, appeared to have sunk in.

In the afternoon, our view was intercepted by a thick mist. Notwithstanding, we pursued our course towards the island of Sannach, and found the depth at midnight to be 60 fathom, and the bottom muddy; but farther on the depth decreased, and the ground became alternately stony and sandy, intermingled with muscles. About five in the morning, we descried through the mist, in a straight line before our vessel, several masses of rock, projecting from the water, which we instantly evaded, and bent our course towards Sannach, to the left of which we perceived the island of Akatum, and a part of Unimak, lying opposite to the Isanoskish strait. At the distance of two miles from Sannach, we perceived on its north-western side a ridge of mountains, rising one above another, but, generally speaking, the shore of the whole island appeared to be rather level. Its length was about twelve miles. On the west side, reefs of rocks run for six miles into the sea, occasionally projecting, and containing, according to the account of the Aleutians, many otters. At no great distance from Sannach, lie three other small and level islands. Taking a north-eastern direction from thence, we proceeded straight to the Schumagin islands, and in our way thither passed a number of islands, of which eight on our left hand had names. The first, twelve miles north-north-east of Sannach, was Naimmak. To the south-east of this lie a quantity of nameless islands, that are little more than masses of earth projecting out of the water. The second is called Animak, or the Rein-deer island, from the number of wild rein-deer with which it is stocked.

It is six miles distant from the former, and in like manner surrounded by insular spots of earth. The third island, Laluskich, lies fourteen miles north-east of the Rein-deer island. The fourth, Agajanaksisch, is situated only three miles north of the third, the fifth north-west of the fourth, and the sixth, Kujeddach, two miles east of the fourth. The seventh island, Kitagotach, lies three miles east-south-east; and the eighth, Unatchoch, two miles north-east of the sixth. In the strait between these two latter, there is a pointed rock, that projects to a great height out of the water. This is, however, less entitled to notice than the lofty volcanic mountain on the shore of Alaksa, opposite to the island Unatchoch, the summit of which was torn off and hurled down with a tremendous crash, in an eruption in the year 1786.

On the 21st, we reached the Schumagin islands, so denominated by Captain Bering, after the name of one of his sailors who was buried there. They are thirteen in number, of which Unga and Ilagia are distinguished by their size; five others are called Kagai, Saluluktussich, Nunak, Tachkinach, and Kunujutanany; the rest are nameless. They are all mountainous, and lie close to each other, in lat. 55° 2′, and long. 199° 27′.

In the afternoon, we saw several small baidars advancing from these islands towards our vessel, which they overtook, although it sailed at the rate of four Italian miles an hour. On one of them was a Russian hunter, who, according to his own account, belonged to a merchantman, which was sent with eighty Aleutians to the Schumagin islands in pursuit of otters, and was now anchoring in the Isonozkish strait. We lay to for three hours, while Mr. Billings made out an order for the master of the above-mentioned vessel.

On the 24th, we were almost entirely becalmed. Fowl of various descriptions hovered over the sea, but particularly a sort of divers, which were to be seen in immense flocks. We shot one of them, but found its flesh more fat than savoury. This bird, which is a native of the Frozen Ocean, is about the size of a common duck, with a white body, an ash-coloured back, head, and neck, a white and round tail, a cylindrical pale-green bill, red legs, and webbed feet. It lives on the fat of dead whales, is very bold, and often lights on the vessels. We were surrounded likewise by a number of *cetaces*, a species of whale, which leaves a fat behind it on the surface of the water, that is very acceptable to the mews and divers. Sea lions and sea-bears darted out of the sea, very often near our ship.

Towards the evening, we discovered, north-east 40°, a tolerably large and steep rock, surrounded by other stony masses

projecting out of the water. It is said to be the abode of sea-lions.

On the 25th we touched at the seven Eudokejusch islands: the three first of which are called Abeksinoi, Samidin, and Agejeeh; and the four last, which are much smaller, have no name. They are all hills, very contiguous to each other, and surrounded with reefs of rocks, both visible and invisible. While in the strait between these islands, our course was arrested by a perfect calm. We found ourselves in latitude 56° 10′, and longitude 202° 51′, having 50 fathoms depth of water, and a white gravelly bottom.

In the afternoon several Americans came in their double and treble-seated baidars, on board our ship, accompanied by a Russian hunter, who, as he informed us, was sent with three islanders from Shebebow, a village in Kadjak, to catch sea-lions and fowls.

One of these Kadjakers, who attended this hunter, and appeared to be about forty years of age, differed altogether from the others, having the appearance of a female, with his nose punctured, and rings of pearl-enamel in his ears. We learnt from the hunter that this man supplied the place of a wife to one of the islanders, and performed all the offices belonging to the female sex.

The calm continuing, our ship was barely carried onward by the tide through the strait. In the mean time Mr. Billings and the doctor went on shore, and shot some marine birds, which are very numerous on these uninhabited islands, because they are seldom or never disturbed by the inhabitants of the other islands. In the evening a gale sprung to the south-east, but we could not profit by it, because two of our hunters were not yet returned from the chase. On their arrival the next morning, they said that, from having extended their walk too far on the preceding evening, they had been obliged to sleep in the open air. We now unfurled our sails and steered for Kadjak. At noon we found ourselves in latitude 56° 20′, and longitude 203° 21′. Soon after we descried, at a distance of 26 miles towards the south-east, in latitude 56°, the flat island of Elkamok.

On the 27th we got sight of Kadjak. The wind, which had been favourable for two days, changed its quarter; but notwithstanding we were enabled, by a gentle north breeze, gradually to approach the islands of Tugudock and Sitchinock, lying on the south-western point of Kadjak. During the whole night the wales swam around our ship, and perpetually occasioned, by their violent lashing of the waves, a report very similar to that from the discharge of a cannon.

On the 28th, several islanders came in their double-seated baidars to our ship, without betraying any symptoms of fear.

They offered nothing to sale, but soon after returned to their habitations. In the mean time a favourable gale sprung up, by the aid of which we made towards the south-western point of Kadjak; the depth of water decreased to 16 fathoms, the ground was sandy, and in some places gravelly.

After passing the island of Tugudock at noon, we entered the strait between the south-western shore of Kadjak and the island Sichtunok. Close to the shore of Kadjak lie four inlets in a line, the first and largest of which was Anajachtalich, and the latter, which affords the view of a lofty mountain, is called Nasikach. We bore round to the southern side, and put into the harbour of Erech Swatitely, north-north-west, between the island Sachlidock and Kadjak, from whence the agent to the Russian merchant Schelechow's establishment came out to meet us. The strait, at its entrance, is four miles and a half broad; its depth at first unfathomable, afterwards 75 and 70 fathoms with a muddy bottom.

On account of the calm that succeeded, we were obliged to hoist out the boats and tow our vessel; but a brisk gale springing up fair for the harbour, we entered it after a little veering; and tacking our ship, we moored it. The harbour of Erech Swatitely which is called by the inhabitants Manikaksak.

It lies on the left side of Kadjak, in the above-mentioned strait, at the entrance of the very secure creek of Lachik. The harbour is not large, being sheltered and formed by a neck of land jutting out of a mountain, and bending in an arch round the same mountain, by the creek of Lachik. At its mouth it is 60 fathoms broad, and from five to eight deep, but the depth in the middle goes to 12 fathoms. Its bottom is muddy, and it is one verst and a half in extent.

Towards evening we went on shore and visited Schelechow's factory, established on the southern side of the haven, along the shore. It consists of mud-walled huts, a store-house, and two jobas, built of alder-wood, which is transported in barges from the eastern side of the island. It is inhabited by Russian hunters, who are under the inspection of a Delawa Greek. In one of the huts we found several children of the inhabitants of this island, who serve as hostages for the fidelity of their parents. They are treated very well, and not strictly confined, being permitted not only to see their parents, but even to go to their homes occasionally for a short stay. The former are, however, obliged to provide them with food and every necessary.

The island of Kadjak has been known to the Russians for thirty years. Schelechow has denominated this island Kychtak, which, in the language of the Kadjakers, designates every large island; I have, therefore, called it by the particular name which it has received from the inhabitants. In the year 1763 the translateur

Glotow wintered here with the merchantman belonging to a trading company: in the year 1765, Bragin did the same with another ship, and in the year 1770, the steersman Otscheredin. In the first expedition to Kamtschatka, Captain Behring discovered this island on his return from America, and called its north-eastern cape Cape Hermogenes; Captain Cook called the same Cape Greville; and the islands Tugudock and Sitchtunock, Trinity Islands.

On the 30th we carried our water-casks on shore, and exchanged our foul and stinking water for the fresh and pure liquid that flowed in a gentle stream from the mountain. On the opposite shore we erected an astronomical tent, and close by it a common kitchen. The islanders flocked to us every day, as curious and wondering spectators, and particularly admired the extraordinary size of our vessel compared with their barges. They offered us nothing for sale, probably from a dread of the Russian hunters, who monopolize to themselves all they have to sell.

The inhabitants of the island of Kadjak, although in the neighbourhood of the other Aleutians, are notwithstanding widely different from the rest of their nation. They are much taller, have fat and depressed faces, and a language altogether different. Their clothing consists of a single robe of birds' skins sowed together, without any decoration, and a little flattened hat of plaited roots. They cut off all their hair, except one tuft on the crown, which they grease with fat, some likewise strewing it with a red powder, and in addition to that with the white flue of birds. One of them had pierced the gristle of his nose with a pointed bone, four inches long; and another had taken some corals to serve as a similar ornament. On particular holidays and festivals, they besmear their faces with various colours, marking them with lines and divisions of black, white, and red, according to their several tastes. Their baidars, or principal canoes, are double the size of those of the Aleutians, but much shorter, being commonly double-seated, and often only single-seated, with a short oar, like a shovel. I have not seen their habitations, as there were none in the vicinity of our harbour; but, according to Captain Billings and the doctor's account, who, on an excursion to Sachlidok, saw several of them, they resemble those of the Aleutians. The number of inhabitants on Kadjak, and the circumjacent islands, Aphognak, Sachlidok, Schujech, Tugidok, and Sichtunok, is computed by Delarow at three thousand.

On the 3d of July, I sat off very early in the morning to take the Bay of Laelick. It commences at the haven of the Three Fathers, where it is a mile in breadth, and penetrating about three miles and a half into the interior of Kadjak, in the direction of north and north-west, and afterwards bending to

south-west, and terminating at the distance of two miles. Its inner shore is divided into two sandy curves, which are occupied by two brooks of pure sweet water, flowing from the contiguous mountains. From its entrance to its bending, it has 55, 60, and 50 fathoms water, from thence to the interior 45, 40, and 30 fathoms on a muddy bottom. Close by the shore the depth diminishes to seven fathoms, and the bottom has a mixture of sand and gravel. The shore of the bay is every where mountainous, and occasionally steep. No wood is visible, except near the brooks, and a few alder-shrubs in the nooks of the mountains. I returned to the ship from this excursion very late in the evening.

On the 6th, we made every preparation for resuming our voyage, providing ourselves with every necessary, filling our casks with fresh water, and removing our kitchen and astronomical observatory from land. By observations during our stay, we found the northern latitude of this place to be 57° 12′, and the longitude, according to the distance of the moon and sun, 205° 47′ from Greenwich. The declination of the needle was calculated by the azimuth at 26°. The height of the tide was observed to be three or four feet, and its average time of commencement at a quarter before twelve.

The inspector Delarow gave us two interpreters, one of which was a Kadjaker, the other an American, from the shores of the Cape St. Elias; both spoke good Russian.

On Delarow's learning that we intended to steer for Kenaiskish Bay, he begged to accompany Captain Billings thither, for he had there an *Artell* of Russian hunters, from whom he had received intelligence that a Spanish three-masted vessel of war was arrived, and lay at anchor off Cape Elizabeth. An *Artell* signifies a company of men among the lower ranks, who are united for some common trade or occupation.

CHAP. III.

DEPARTURE FROM KADJAK FOR THE SCHUGATSKISH BAY, WITH AN ACCOUNT OF SUCCEEDING EVENTS.

ON the 6th of July, we cleared out of the harbour, and got under sail, bearing away for the south-eastern cape of the island Sachlidok, beyond which a rock separated from it at the distance of a verst rises out of the sea. On the 7th, we stood off to the north of Kadjak, and found its shores very mountainous and woody; likewise passed many creeks that penetrated into the different islands, and afforded, according to Delarow's assurance, very convenient stations for anchoring. We were

now in a latitude of 57° 25', and a longitude of 207° 15', at a distance of fifteen miles from the north-eastern cape of Kadjak, marked on the English maps by the name of Cape Greville, thirteen miles more to the south. Commodore Behring saw it on his return from Cape St. Elias, and called it St. Hermogenes; the Russian hunters call it Jelourgi, or the fir-mountains, from its quantity of wood.

On the 8th, we came within sight of the small island of Ewrawirtschig, which is two miles distant from Aphognak. We were then in latitude 58° 10', and longitude 207° 45', the above island being 55°, to the north-west, about ten miles from us. Captain Cook entitled this St. Hermogenes, and fixed its position fifteen miles more southward; from whence we should conclude, that a thick mist had given rise to this error in his calculation of the latitude.

Towards evening we descried the islets lying at the mouth of the Kenaiskish bay, or in Cook's River, and at a distance Cape Elizabeth. The approaching night, and contrary winds, prevented us from going nearer, and afterwards being driven by the tide far towards the east, a thick mist continued to intercept our view.

On the 12th the fog dispersed, and we discovered at a distance of five miles northward, the mountainous shore of America. We soon after saw two Americans, rowing up to us in a single-seated baidar. Before they got up to our ship, they made a stop, and extending their arms, repeated the word *Cali! cali!* We invited them by our interpreter to come on board, but they appeared to be long irresolute; and when induced by our repeated assurances to venture, they complied with manifest signs of apprehension.

From these Americans, we learned, that the bay ahead of us was called Nuka, and the cape that presented itself on its eastern side, belonged to an island, which was separated from the main land only by a strait. They added, moreover, that in this bay were several of an inferior size, with sandy bottoms, which furnished good stations for shipping. Their habitations lay in one of these havens, to which they invited us with much cordiality. Captain Billings ordered the ship to tack, and put into the bay, after which we bore up to the island in question, passing a rock to the left that was about two miles distant from it. On arriving at the bay, Captain Billings found it most prudent not to advance. We accordingly tacked about again, and soon gained the open sea. In the mean time, the Americans left us.

Nuka bay is seven miles and a half broad at its entrance. It extends nine miles in length, having mountainous and woody

shores. In the interior shore of the bay, we found in the cleft of a mountain, snow or ice, so high as almost to reach above the tops of the trees.

In the morning of the 13th, we were perfectly becalmed. Delarow now seeing it impossible for us to run into Kenaiskish Bay, left us, and rowed with his treble-seated baidar to Cape St. Elizabeth. At noon, we found ourselves in 59° 17′ latitude, and 209° 26′ longitude, Nuka bay being then nine miles distant from us north-north-west.

To the 16th, we were carried backward and forward with a gentle wind, or an entire calm, by the tide, along the shore of America; after which a southern gale sprung up, and enabled us to direct our course to Schugatskish Bay, called by the English Prince William's Strait. The wind in the mean time veered to the south-west, and afterwards to direct west.

On the 17th towards noon, we made up to the island of Tschukli, called Montague by Captain Cook, the southern point of which was then about two miles and a half from us. After passing that point, we turned to the north, and ran along the eastern side of Tschukli. The island is mountainous, and occasionally woody. Opposite to the middle of its eastern shore, we saw at a distance of two miles, five rocks or small islets, in a line one behind the other. Close by these rocks, we were perfectly becalmed, in a depth of 45 fathoms water, and a bottom full of gravel and shells.

On the 18th, we bore with a south-east wind to the north, along the island of Tschukli.

On the 19th, we found ourselves in 6° 2′ latitude, and 214° 9′ longitude, at which time the north-western point of Tschukli, was ten miles and a half distant from us to the north-west; and the projecting rocks at the entrance of Schugatskish Bay, three miles and a half to the north-east. The latter are the abode of sea-lions in abundance.

In the afternoon, we were visited here by two Americans, who, in like manner, made a stop at some distance, and extending their arms, cried *Cali! cali!* No persuasions of our interpreters could induce them to do more than come along our ship's side. We gave them some glass beads, with which they immediately departed, promising to return with more of their companions.

Towards evening we ran into the mouth of the bay Nutschek, lying to the right at the entrance of Schugatskish Bay, opposite to the northern point of Tschukli. We cast anchor immediately at the entrance seven fathoms deep, in a sandy bottom, at three cables' distance from the shore, opposite to a spring gushing out from the cleft of a rock, from whence we

could conveniently fill our casks. We found the whole shore, and the contiguous mountains, overgrown with birch and alder-shrubs, and a particular sort of tree resembling a fir.

Early on the morning of the 20th, some Americans came on board our ship, and formed an acquaintance with us. The following days they came in greater numbers, offering us pieces of otters' skin, arrows, and wooden house-utensils, for which they particularly preferred taking small blue glass beads in exchange. In their traffic they often used the words *amico* and *plenty*, which they had learned from other vessels, that must of course have been Spanish and English.

The Americans of this part are of a middle size, and a brown complexion, with black, straight, and bristly hair, being upon the whole very similar to the Aleutians. Their whole dress consists of a vest of birds' skins, and their hats are of platted roots, like those of the Kadjakers. Some have their under lip cut through an inch and half deep, and parallel with the mouth, wearing in the cavity little plates of green jasper, three quarters of an inch broad, and two inches three fourths long. Their baidars are double or single-seated like those of Kadjak. We did not see their habitations, there being none in our vicinity. Our guests also informed us, that they lived at a great distance.

On the 21st, Captain Billings announced to us, that agreeably to her Imperial Majesty's most gracious ukase, he was promoted to a captain of the first rank, as soon as he was arrived with the ship entrusted to him at Cape St. Elias; and as he had reached that cape, according to the maps given him by the Board of Admiralty, he now assumed that rank.

On the 22d, I received a written order from him, to navigate the interior of Schugatskish Bay, in order to survey the shores, and ascertain whether they belong to the continent, or an island.

One of the Americans agreeing to accompany me in his baidar, and tell me the name of the islands and brooks, I treated him with great kindness, made him presents of enamel and beads, invited him to my cabin, and treated him with tea, which he liked very much, on account of its sweetness. But after he had drank his tea, he concealed the cup under his clothes, and wanted to take his leave. I demanded it back, with the assurance, that I could not possibly spare it; upon which he returned it, declaring that he thought it had been given him as a present with the tea. It is in general worthy of observation, that the inhabitants of these parts have a violent propensity to theft. A day seldom passed in which something was not stolen from us, or our people. Many times they tore

out of one's hand what struck their fancy, and instantly made their escape to the shore. As an American was once conversing very familiarly with one of our hunters, he all on a sudden snatched his cap from his head, and springing into his baidar, was making off in all haste to the shore, when he was overtaken, and obliged to restore the plunder. Another plucked the scissars out of our taylor's hand, and made his escape. Our sailors, however, treated these savage people with great civility, and conducted themselves so peaceably, that only one difference arose, which was however quickly settled. An *Artell* of sailors had invited an American to dine with them on buck-wheat grits, of which he took a spoonful in his mouth, and swallowed a little, but as he did not like it, he spit out the remainder into the common dish. At this the sailors were highly provoked, and in the heat of their anger, were going to deal their blows upon the poor wretch; but on hearing the noise, we hastened to the spot, and delivered him from the assailants. He himself, however, was all the time at a loss to conceive the cause of their anger, and requested an explanation; which was no sooner given him, by observing, that he had made the mess unpalatable to the rest, than he in his turn was no less offended at the indignity offered him, assuring them that his mouth was not unclean, and that none of his countrymen would have objected to eat after him.

On the 23d, I set off on my excursion, having an inspector of the mines with me, to collect natural curiosities, sixteen men for my crew, and one of the Kadjak interpreters. At first, we passed the bay of Nutschek, which is about two miles broad, having in its centre three lofty rocks rising out of the water.

From the bay of Nutschek, the shore winds for eleven miles towards the north, and then turns to the east. We continually kept close to the land, and found it, for the first four miles, mountainous and steep, but farther on more woody and more level. Here we were overtaken by four baidars with six Americans, who continued as our guides until evening. On our looking out for a station for the night, they advised me to go on as far as the mouth of the brook, which we found abounded greatly in fish; but as I would not follow their advice, they left us, and pursued their own course. We took up our night's abode in a little creek, and after going on shore to prepare and eat our food, we returned to our bark, hauled it off a little from land, and lying-to with a small anchor, kept a watch all night, to prevent being surprized by any unexpected attack of the savages.

The next morning I pursued my course, and soon passed the brook, to which the Americans had, the evening before, invited

me. On the shore stood a cross with a Latin inscription, similar to what is found on catholic crosses. After making sixteen miles, we bore away to the right, for a bay which was two miles broad. The shore on both sides was at first level, and afterwards rose into inconsiderable mountains.

Towards noon we were met by eight double-seated baidars with Americans, among whom were some of our acquaintances, whom we had already seen in our ship. They had been on the chace after others, and told me, that the waters in which we were sailing, which we had taken for a bay, was only a narrow strait that leads into the open sea, but scarcely passable with their small baidars. They mentioned to us, likewise, a small island on the left side of the shore, which was, in like manner, separated from the continent by a narrow strait. Both we and the Americans landed on this island to prepare our dinner. They hauled their baidars on shore, and took out a young female otter which they had just killed, and two young otters, for which I gave them some enamel and beads. In the mean time, my dinner being dressed for me, our new companions flocked around it with eager curiosity. I invited them to partake of the meal, which they joyfully accepted, and discovered so much civility on the occasion, that I was occupied more with observing their movements than with eating. On the other hand, they were not deficient in hospitality, but invited me, in their turn, to partake of some boiled otter's-flesh, which they had just prepared. A keen appetite, and a rather savory smell, induced me to accept the offer. When hot, the flesh had an agreeable flavour, very similar to that of a sucking pig; but when cold, it leaves a strong taste of sea-weeds in the mouth.

After dinner we parted from our friendly Americans, and bent our course up the strait; but a thick mist coming on, we kept close to the left shore. Two hours after, the mist dispersed, and left both the right shore and the sea open to our view. I now steered in an oblique direction across the bay, in order to measure it, and found its depth 2½, 2, and 1½ fathoms; its bottom sandy, and its breadth 1½ mile. It was then high water, but fearing lest I should be stranded on the return of the ebb, I tacked about in the evening, and arrived before break of day the next morning in Shakutskish Bay. I would fain have examined the whole bay, but the want of provisions, and still greater want of time (being limited by my captain to only four days longer), obliged me to relinquish a farther examination, and commence my voyage back towards Elava.

On the 25th, we spent the last night at the distance of 6½ miles from Nutschek, when we met with some families of Americans close by the shore of the sea. Some of them lived in

huts of boards fixed together; others under large leathern baidars, placed in an inverted position. As they saw us approach, they made their usual movement of extending their arms, and crying *Cali! cali!* No sooner had I stepped on shore, than one of them came up to me, and laid his cheek on mine. This man was considerably taller than the rest, and had his face dyed with a black colour. The interpreter told me, that he and another standing close by him, were the Troies, or elders in their tribes. It was manifest, that they had not at first a complete confidence in us; but I addressed them kindly, and assured them, that, so far from offending them, we wished to be on the most friendly terms with them. They now pointed to the sun, which was meant to signify that they had no evil intentions: "You be as good to us," said they, "and conduct yourselves better than those who formerly came here with their ships to our shore, and why should we then quarrel with you?" I wished much to know of what nation these ships were, but they were unable to give me any information of this kind, only saying, that two and three masted ships arrived here yearly, and that in this year two had lain in Kenaiskish bay. It then occurred to me to enquire about Commodore Behring: whether they remembered any thing of a vessel which must have been the first that they had ever seen on their shores? I wished to learn the anchoring station of this navigator, but doubted very much whether Tschukli were the island, which he denominates the Cape of St. Elias, as this was marked in the charts delivered to us by the board of admiralty. One of the Americans then actually told us, that his father had related to him something of this ship; which, however, had not landed at Tschukli, but at the island of Kadjak, that lay about two days' sail to the east of this place, and was actually resorted to in the summer by the Americans, who went in pursuit of otters. The crew of this ship went on shore, and left them some knives and beads.

A few years after another and larger ship arrived there, which was stranded on the island of Tschukli, and not a single man of the whole crew was saved. Towards evening the Troies brought me two small boards, four feet long, two feet broad, and half an inch thick, and begged me to accept them as a token of friendship. I presented them each in return with a looking-glass, a knife, and some beads, which they very joyfully accepted, warning us to take particular care of our things, and be on our guard against some of their countrymen, who had a strong propensity to rob us. The very next morning we experienced but too fully the propriety of the caution; for, notwithstanding all our vigilance, an American drew a jacket from under our steersman's lad so dexterously, that though the boy was not sleeping, he had not the

slightest suspicion of what was passing. The thief changed his dress, besmeared his head and face with a red dye, and came with his companions to us again as usual; but his knavery did not remain long undetected: for no sooner was the affair made known to the Troies, than the perpetrator was discovered, and obliged to deliver up the stolen article. He brought it himself, and giving it to the lad, advised him with a smile, to take more care of his things in future.

My sailors observing to me, that they had noticed a smoke rising at a distance, I enquired of the inhabitants the cause, and learned, that it issued from their dwellings. Upon this, I felt a desire of visiting what I supposed to be their winter-habitations, and requested them to conduct me thither. They willingly complied with my request, and I set off in their baidar, accompanied by my interpreter. Running first up a rivulet, we crossed a lake that was about five versts in extent, not very deep, and overgrown with sea-weed. We landed on the other side, not far from the mouth of the brook; but instead of winter habitations, we only found a few inverted baidars, and a hut made of planks set together, in which some women were living with their children. They had taken up their abode here, for the purpose of fishing: the mouth of the brook abounding with all sorts of fish, particularly one called the hump-backed salmon. This is a fish of the salmon species, about a foot and half long, having a small head, a sharp nose, and from whence a hook projects, small teeth in the jaw, a bluish back full of round blackish spots, a blue tail, singularly turned up, and white flesh. It receives its name from a large hump which grows on the back of the males, when they are lean. They abound in the lakes and rivers of Kamtschatka, from July to the middle of October.

This brook is so shallow, that the dorsal fins of the fish going against the stream, almost perpetually rise above the water; and we witnessed a dog seizing the fish with the greatest facility, and dragging them with his teeth to the shore.

The women had on old vests of otters' skins, and their hair was tied up in a knot on the crown of their heads; but their faces were not so disfigured as among the Aleutians. After making them some presents of enamelled articles, beads, and needles, I returned to my bark.

At noon, I took my leave of the Troies, with thanks for their civility and assurances of our friendship; after which, I departed, and reached Slawa in the evening.

During the whole of our voyage, I had great apprehensions of an attack from the Americans, and for that reason had uniformly adopted the precaution before-mentioned, of sleeping at

a distance from the shore, and of having one person to keep watch all night. To this precaution, which then appeared superfluous to my companions, we were most probably indebted for the preservation of our lives. A rude people, who know of no moral feeling to check their inclinations, will follow the impulse of the moment, like the brutes, and from a trivial motive, will sacrifice the lives of others, when they impede the indulgence of their wishes. We were in great danger of having evinced the truth of this remark, by a melancholy example. The savages had learned from our interpreter, that I had much hardware and beads with me, which awakened in them the irresistible desire of getting possession of these treasures: as it appeared, however, impossible to steal them, they took the resolution of murdering us all on a convenient opportunity. They consulted with our interpreter, promising him his liberty, and their assistance in conducting him back to his country, and at the same time threatening him with the most dreadful punishment, if he should make the least discovery. Nor did he in fact tell me any thing of the plot, until some time after. Their conspiracy was the first time to have been executed on the first day of our leaving the vessel; for that reason they advised me when I halted for the night, to go up farther towards the fishing brook, thinking that that would be a more convenient place for them to effect their purpose; as had already been the case with some Spaniards, who, according to their own account, relying on their sincerity, had been so imprudent as to extend their rambles without any precaution. The second time they took the resolution of surprising us, was when we went on the shore of the strait to take our dinner. For this purpose, a party of them, to the number of more than twenty, continued sailing about our bark. They were in eight double-seated baidars, two in each, sitting in their proper places, and the third lying at the bottom. The better to conceal their design, they affected great civility, and expressed an eager desire to do us some service; while, watching the opportunity of our going on shore, they intended to carry off the bark, and thus get us completely into their power. But finding themselves frustrated in this expectation, they began to throw off the mask, and offer our sailors many open insults. I now commanded my men on the one hand to avoid every cause of quarrel, and treat them with civility, while on the other hand, I strove to inspire them with terror, by letting them see the effect of our fire-arms. I accordingly desired one of our hunters to fire among a flock of mews, as they were passing; and he fortunately hit one of them, and brought it to the ground. They were at first frightened at the report, but afterwards eyed the dead bird

with wonder and curiosity, enquiring where the arrow was with which it had been struck. The interpreter, at my desire, then explained to them the nature of our guns; and in order to render it still more intelligible, I had a ball shot through a post, which excited their amazement to that degree, that they continued for some time fixed in thoughtful contemplation. In the mean time, we had all our things brought back to the bark, and, putting off from the shore, sailed away.

Both parties of Americans were composed of stout young people, who were all of an age to undertake any daring enterprize of this kind. Let it not, however, be supposed from this circumstance, that all the natives are equally treacherous. The Americans with whom we spent the preceding night, conducted themselves with great openness, fairness, and civility; and although they had the most favourable opportunity of overpowering me and my companion, who were amidst them unguarded and unarmed, yet I never discovered any inclination in them to offend or injure. I also granted them my confidence, because they were for the most part men of respectable appearance, and advanced in years.

On the 27th, I returned to the ship, which I found still unprepared for pursuing its voyage. They were still cutting wood, and filling the water-butts. From the wood opposite to where we lay, they had cut a stock of poles, spars, and yards, and also some trunks of American firs, which in appearance are very similar to our own, but excel even the larch in strength and solidity; being likewise of a sufficient size for tolerably large vessels.

The Americans did not provide us with fresh fish, but we managed, by means of our own nets, to lay in a stock for ourselves of the hump-backed salmon, and other smaller fish.

CHAP. IV.

DEPARTURE FROM SCHUGATSKISH BAY TO THE EAST OF THE ISLAND OF KADJAK, AND RETURN THENCE TO KAMTSCHATKA.—ARRIVAL AND WINTERING IN THE HARBOUR OF PETROPAULOUSK.

ON the 30th of July we weighed anchor, and put to sea. Towards noon we were in the middle of the strait, between the bay of Nutschek and the island Tschukli, in latitude 60° 16′ 49″, and longitude 213° 2′.

Till the 3d of August we stood to the east, keeping in close with the shore, which appeared to be sandy and level, but backed at a distance by some mountains. In the morning we

saw three islands ahead of us, one of which was called Kadjak, or according to Cook, *Kay*. It is mountainous and woody, standing out beyond the other contiguous islands, stretching in length from north-east to south-west, and having on the latter side a particularly remarkable mountain that declines to the sea, with a steep declivity, which is so white, as to be hardly distinguishable from snow. On the southern side only it appears so steep; but on the eastern and western, almost entirely level. At some distance we perceived a lofty *kekur*, or pyramidal stone pillar, rising above the water; and on the shore we descried, among the ridge of mountains, one remarkably lofty, and covered with eternal snow, to which Captain Cook gave the name of Cape St. Elias. This then was the place. to search for the cape, denominated by Commodore Behring, the Cape St. Elias, for the position of the island Kadjak, its kekur, its lofty mountain, or crater; and the coincidence of the latitude with that mentioned in Behring's journal, evince that the first ship which the Americans spoke of to us, as having been seen by their fathers at that island, was Behring's ship.

Our stock of sea provisions at this time ran very low, and as we had now no prospect of recruiting it any where, but in the harbour of Petropaulousk, it was unanimously resolved to bend our course back to Kamtschatka, which was a voyage of not less than two months. Here we expected to find the necessary supplies provided for us, from Ochotsk, during the summer. Had it, however, been contrived for the provisions to have been sent us to the island of Kadjak, or Schugatskish Bay, our return to Kamtschatka for the winter, would have been rendered superfluous, and our time might have been usefully employed, in surveying the southern shores of America, and returning in March again to the north.

Captain Billings resolved on an immediate and direct return to Kamtschatka, without stopping any where, which was in fact rendered necessary by a want of water and biscuit; on which account our people were kept to half allowance. Thinking ourselves however, on the 29th, in the neighbourhood of Unalaschka, Captain Billings consulted with the officers, whether we should touch at that place to take in fresh water; upon which it was agreed, that, from the lateness of the season, it was most advisable not to lose any time in hastening to Petropaulousk. We were indeed bound by our promise to restore the Aleutians, whom we had taken with us as interpreters from Unalaschka, to their homes; and, flattered with this expectation, they were perfectly contented, until they found we were bending our course direct to Kamtschatka, when their satisfaction was changed into the most poignant distress. In a fit of de-

sperate affliction, one of them cut his throat; but the wound, which was not mortal, was quickly healed by our surgeon: however, the man died soon after our arrival at Kamtschatka.

On the 30th, we discovered, in gloomy weather, to the north-west half-west, some land with two mountains, which was, however, soon intercepted from our view by the mist. The two following days we changed our longitude 1½ degree westerly, but continued in the same latitude, and saw on the 1st of Sepcember, the same land afresh to north-east 63°. Many more sea-birds than usual now made their appearance, and among them Urilas, which according to the general observation of navigators, are a sign of land being near. At this time we observed the latitude to be 53°, and calculated the longitude at 190° 2′; but afterwards, having an opportunity of rectifying our observations, by the distance of the moon from the sun, we discovered that we were then seven degrees more to the east. According to this latitude and longitude, we concluded that this land could be none of the islands known to us, and of course must be some new island.

In my opinion, there are, both north and south of the known cluster of Aleutian islands, others hitherto undiscovered, which appears corroborated by the otters, lions, and other marine animals, passing the Aleutian islands, in the month of July, from the south to the north; and afterwards returning in October, from north to south: whence we may conclude, that they spend the summer in this cluster to the north, and the winter in the one yet unknown to the south The northern cannot, however, be situated farther than the 60th degree, nor the southern beyond the 45th, for between these degrees only are otters and sea-lions to be found.

On the 4th of September, in the afternoon, a violent squall split our top and foremast and bowsprit, which we repaired on the following day. Since our departure from America, we had continual contrary winds, and being almost always obliged to deep to windward, we had not been able to make more than half our way in fifty-two days. Petropaulousk being still at a considerable distance, we found greater economy necessary, having only twenty tuns of water remaining. All in the ships, both officers and men, now received only a pint a day; and in order not to provoke our thirst, we abstained from salt-meat, and lived entirely on boiled peas.

On the 24th, we discovered in the morning to north half-west, the lofty snow-covered mountains of the island of Tanaga, and towards the north, the lofty crater of the island of Gorelin, fifty miles distant from us. The next day we got sight of the small and almost level island Amatygnak, which was at 19

miles distance. We found our latitude then to be 50° 48′; our longitude 169° 36′; and the inclination of the needle 11° 19′ easterly.

On the 5th of October we were enabled to rectify our observations by the distance of the moon from the sun, and fixed our longitude at 167° 10′; whence we perceived that we had calculated 11° 16′ too far forwards. The error arose since our departure from Schugatskish Bay, as the tide of the sea was unknown to us, and we had much contrary wind, being mostly west, but sometimes inclining to the south, or south-east.—We had a complete east wind only once from the second of October, for forty-eight hours in succession, and never north or north-east wind. At the same time we made the observation that with north-west west; and south-west wind, the atmosphere was not thick but overcast, and that south-east, south, and east winds, on the contrary, always brought rain and mist.

On the 6th of October we had only eight ten and a half of water, and a voyage of 350 miles to the harbour of Petropaulousk; on which account our allowance was again diminished to eight small glasses a man daily, for cooking and drinking. Some bore this deprivation with perfect patience, but many were dreadfully tormented with thirst. They often took blood into their mouths in order to alleviate their sufferings. Nothing could equal the joy which the appearance of rain occasioned, nor the eagerness with which every one strove to catch it. Every change of weather, however trivial, was watched with the utmost inquietude; if it was favourable, the hopes of all were flattered with speedily reaching the harbour, and the hours were calculated which the ship would require, at the given rate, to complete the voyage; but a contrary breeze would as quickly disperse all our hopes and calculations, and cloud every countenance with the sadness of despair. At length, after four days veering and tossing about, we approached the shores of Kamtschatka, and, with indescribable delight, we perceived, on the 10th, the Shipunish promontory, and the lofty crater of Wilnishninish. We were not able to get into the Awatscha bay before the 13th, and not into the harbour till after midnight, when we laid our vessel to, in the very spot where it had lain the preceding year.

Our joy at having thus happily terminated our peculiar voyage, may be better conceived than described. Our water was already reduced to the lowest ebb, and had contrary winds detained us but another twenty-four hours, our situation would have been lamentable in the extreme. It is rather surprising, that with all our deprivations we remained healthy, and experienced no ill consequences whatever. We swallowed the first

fresh water which came within our reach with the utmost avidity, and certainly found it the sweetest beverage we had ever enjoyed in our lives. In a couple of days our whole crew was removed on shore, and quartered in the old jurts we had built for ourselves. We unrigged the ship, and brought all our stores into the magazine. We found the galliot already there, which had been sent from Ochotsk with provisions for us, and had also brought that part of the Dobroe Namereni's crew, which had been left behind.

To the close of October the weather remained fine, but was succeeded by rain and cold. In order to guard the stores collected at the fortress of Bolscherezsk, and to make room for us in our narrow dwellings, thirty-four men were sent thither for the winter.

In the preceding winter, Captain Billings had had the plan of building a new cutter to accompany the Slawa Rossii in the river Kamtschatka; and for that purpose had dispatched a carpenter and several other labourers to the town of Nishne Kamtschatsk. The command of this vessel devolving on Captain Hall by right of seniority, he set off on the 16th of December, in order to inspect its construction. The necessary materials and t ackling were sent after him on sledges, drawn by dogs.

We accompanied Captain Hall, and truly envied him his occupation, while we were obliged to drag through four winter months in total idleness. In order, however, to get rid of our time, Mr. Billings, Mr. Behring, and I, travelled, at the close of December, to Bolscherezsk, where the latter and I staid only fourteen days; but Captain Billings still longer. On our return, we were overtaken by a severe frost among the mountains which run through the middle of Kamtschatka, though at the same time it had thawed and rained in Petropaulousk, not a hundred versts distance.

Soon after this, Captain Behring went, with a part of the crew destined for manning the new cutter, to Nishne Kamtschatsk.

In the latter half of January, and the whole of February, the frost was so violent that the part of Awatscha Bay, from the interior of the harbour to the muscle bay Rakowoi, was covered with thick ice that admitted of being passed in dog-sledges with great security.

At the beginning of April we began to careen our vessel, in order to examine the under part, and clear it of the sea-weeds; for, on the whole bottom, seawort was grown out five feet long, and several sorts of muscles had stuck among it to the boards.

We were employed the whole of April in preparing for our

voyage. On the first of May, I went in a wooden baidar to the Shipunish promontory, in order to examine the contiguous bay, of which the inhabitants had said much that was useful to me. We sailed immediately from the Awatscha bay with a fair wind, north-east-half-east, directly to the steep rocky mountains of Nalatschew. To this point the shore is formed by an inconsiderable curve, and begins from Awatscha bay, with a rocky declivity, but soon after becomes sandy and level as far as the mountains. Six miles from the mountains the brook Nalatschewa discharges itself, and from thence the shore becomes again sandy and level. We lay to for the night by an island opposite to the mouth of the little brook Ostrownaga, about a mile from the nearest shore, and about five miles distant from the cape Nalatschew, which lies to the south-west, one-third west of it. Its shore is steep, and it is itself mountainous, being about a mile in extent.

On the 2d of May we proceeded strait to the Bitchewish bay, a distance of six miles, which we rowed, with a perfect calm, in two hours.

The shore extends itself from its mouth, on both sides, under lofty mountains, to the Shipunish cape towards east-south-east; to the mountain Nalatschew towards the south-west; and to the bay Wachilskaja, in which merchants' galliots used formerly to winter, where we found at its mouth a bark still existing. At its entrance the bay is a mile broad, and its interior lofty mountainous shore stretches two miles north-east-by-north. Farther on there is an inner bay, or lake, four miles in extent, into which one passes by a small strait, fifty fathoms broad, and three or four fathoms deep. More towards the middle of the lake the depth increases to fifteen fathoms, and the bottom is muddy. But in the first bay the depth, at the entrance into the lake, amounts to no more than four feet; of course only small craft, and not even these but at high water, can run into this haven, which would otherwise be very excellent. We staid the night here, and the next morning proceeded on our way back to Awatscha bay. At noon we were off the mountain Nalatschew, where we estimated the latitude at 53° 4'.

On the 5th we returned to our ship, which was entirely equipped and victualled; but the ice still occupying the haven we were prevented getting into the roads.

CHAP. V.

DEPARTURE FROM AWATSCHA BAY TO BEHRING'S ISLAND, AND FROM THENCE TO THE NORTH SIDE OF THE ALEUTIAN ISLANDS AS FAR AS THE ISLAND TANAGA.—OCCURRENCES DURING OUR ANCHORAGE.—VOYAGE BY THE ANDREGENOW ISLANDS TO UNALASHKA, AND ARRIVAL IN THE CAPTAIN'S HAVEN.

ON the 16th of May, 1791, we weighed anchor, and were on the point of leaving Awatscha bay; but had scarcely reached the light-house, when a contrary wind arose and obliged us to return and lie at anchor till the 19th, when, with a fair wind, west-south-west, we got into sea. Supposing that the cutter which was building at Kamtschatka must be ready, we took a straight direction up the river for the purpose of meeting with it. At the same time, having given Captain Hall intelligence of our intended route, we concerted, that if he put to sea before our arrival, he was to wait for us at the northern point of Behring's Island till the 29th of May.

On the 24th, in the morning, we descried the Kronozkish promontory, and a lofty crater, situated to the west of it. Our latitude was, at noon, 54° 13′; our longitude 162° 20′; the Kronozkish crater being 63° 30′, to the north-west, fifty miles distant from us.

Contrary winds not permitting us to approach the mouth of the river Kamtschatka, we stood out for Behring's Island, as the destined rendezvous for our vessels.

We came in sight of this island on the 27th, in the afternoon, and approaching its south-western side towards evening, the shore of which consists of lofty mountains, we stood in to the north-west, having always a west-south-west wind, which blew so fresh towards night that we could scarcely double a lofty rock that was separated from land. At midnight the island appeared sufficiently near for us to reach it with a stone's throw.

On the morning of the 28th, we sailed round the northern level shore of the island, and then from its north-eastern to the south-eastern side. At noon we estimated the latitude at 55° 14′, and the longitude at 166° 22′; being about three miles

and a half distant from the island. Here we were very near the spot where Commodore Behring, being obliged to land, on his return from America, in order to seek assistance in his distress, terminated his earthly career. We lamented very much that it was not possible for us to get nearer land, in order to visit the place where the first navigator of these seas is consigned to the peaceful grave. We would fain have heaved a sigh of regard and sorrow over his remains, and those of our unfortunate countrymen who lie buried by his side. We passed the place of meeting, and perceiving no vessel, Captain Billings resolved on steering for the Aleutian islands.

Towards evening, we were enveloped in a thick fog. Captain Billings directed our course by an English map, taken during Cook's voyage, far more northerly than the Copper Islands are there given. As this direction, according to the Russian map, would have led us strait to the middle of the Copper Islands, I made my representations to Captain Billings, who paid so little regard to the Russian map, that I persuaded him, with difficulty, to alter his course two rumbs more northerly, and by that means alone we escaped the impending danger; for the next morning the mist clearing away, we saw we had passed the northern point of the Copper Island by no more than two hundred fathoms; nay, that from the stern of our ship we could distinguish the rocks concealed under water.

All were now satisfied that this island is marked on the English map much more southerly than it ought to be.

As I am informed, solid copper is to be found in the clifts of the rocky shore, at the fall of the water, on the Copper Island, we sailed round it, and directed our course to the first inhabited and large Aleutian island, Atta.

On the 4th of June we discovered through the fog a part of the mountains on the southern side of the island Atta, which were entirely covered with snow. We were, at noon, fifteen miles south of them, and got a glimpse of the island Agatta through the mist. Their shores appear to consist of gradually sloping mountains, being thirty-four miles in extent.

At break of day, on the 5th, the summits of the mountains on the island Semitsch opened to view; and in the afternoon we passed the island Buldyr, lying in latitude 52° 40′, and longitude 176° 13′ of Greenwich; having an extent of twelve miles, consisting entirely of mountains, and encompassed with a rocky shore. About a mile and a half to the south-west we found some rocks projecting out of the water.

On the 6th we stood off the Rat Islands, the first of which, towards the west, is called Kyska, a mountainous island; the

east side of which appears more level than the west, having a flat shore.

Opposite to the north-western side, at a distance of three miles, a lofty rocky pillar elevates itself. We could not discern the southern side of the island on account of the mist. Farther on, towards the east, four inconsiderable mountainous islands presented themselves to view, but were, towards evening, lost out of sight, as we were carried away from them by a south-east wind, and encompassed by a thick mist.

On the 9th, one of the crew descried land, and pointed out to us, almost over our heads, through the mist, the declivity of Tanuga. We sounded for the depth, but found no bottom; as the mist soon after dispersed, we were presented with the spectacle of a lofty volcanic mountain, that exposed to our view, at the distance of scarcely two miles, its black and tremendously tall side of rock. We then calculated the latitude at 52° 6′, and the longitude at 180° 22′. In the afternoon the wind almost entirely abated. With the tide, and only a gentle wind, we run along the south-eastern side of Tanaga.

Its shore was, in the commencement, mountainous, but rose by a gentle elevation as we proceeded. The master of the baidars, whom we brought with us from Ochotsk, told us, as he had been on this island, that at no great distance from hence there was a large commodious bay, which was used as an anchoring station by the Russian hunters. I immediately set off in a baidar to examine it, and after making about four miles from the ship, found the way lay round an isthmus into the bay, the depth of which, at the middle of its entrance, was forty fathoms, and farther on 25; towards the left bank it gradually diminished, and half a mile from thence it sunk to seven or eight fathoms; at the bottom I discovered a black sand. On the other side the bay is an Aleutian residence, which we were prevented visiting by the approach of night, being anxious, if possible, to return to the vessel before the darkness came on. On our way back I found, on a jut of land, an Aleutian summer jurt, in which was an old woman, who informed me, that almost all the islanders, with the exception of very few, were gone to the island Atcha, to a Russian hunter's ship lying there. We had scarcely got two miles from the bay, when a heavy fog involved us in darkness; and not finding our vessel where we had left it, we saw ourselves obliged, after a long and fruitless search, to lie to by the shore. On the following day the atmosphere was clear, but we did not get sight of our vessel, and were totally unprovided with food. In this dilemma we must soon have gone in search of the Aleutian residence, if we had not, at noon, fortunately discovered the wished-for object sailing be-

hind a cape. We instantly made up to it, and learnt that the tide changing the night before had driven them to the north-east, where they had been laveering the whole night, and had not till then been able to regain their old station.

When Captain Billings was informed that the bay afforded a good anchorage, he immediately ordered us to bend our course thither. With a gentle wind, and the aid of towing, we gained the bay in the evening, which penetrates, on the western side, into the island, being about eight miles long, and five miles broad. Its shore is occasionally sandy, and most consists of a rocky, but not very tall declivity. We cast anchor opposite to two rivulets running from the mountains, in a black sandy bottom, and eight fathoms water, about half-a-mile distant from a sandy shore, under shelter of a steep promontory and lofty rocks, elevating themselves above the stream. Not far to the north of this promontory, a current of pure water eddies forth from a rock in the mountains. We could approach this stream so near as to fill our butts by the help of pails. At a distance from our anchoring-place the land elevated itself, and terminated towards the north in tall snowy mountains, from whence fire sometimes issues, but which now only emitted smoke. It appeared to be not very distant, and some of our people made the trial of going up to it, but were compelled, from the tediousness of the road, to return, bringing back only some sulphur and lava with them. The island is totally without wood, but the declivity of the mountains, and the more level parts, are covered with a tolerably long grass.

On the second day after our arrival, two Aleutians came with fresh fish to us from their habitations, on the south side of the bay; and on the 12th, we had a visit from six Aleutians in like manner, bringing fresh fish from the south-west side of the island.

On the 15th we weighed anchor, and went to the north-side of the island Tanaga. On the 16th, we found our latitude 52° 18′, and longitude 180° 56′. In the evening, at the setting of the sun, we observed the declination of the needle, to be at 16° 25′ easterly.

On the 17th, we found ourselves at noon, in the strait which separates the islands Tanaga and Kanaga. This latter island has on its north side a crater of an extraordinary height, but is otherwise altogether level. Before the strait an inconsiderable island elevates itself in one lofty eminence, called the Beaver Island, at a distance of 12 miles from us, in latitude 52° 8′, and longitude 181° 37′. Being prevented by the ruling north-east wind, from sailing round the islands Kanaga and Adach, we returned to the strait, and stood along the island

Tanaga, to the south. West of Tanaga, lies at a distance of 17 miles the island Gorelvi, being 17 miles in extent, and distinguished for its lofty volcanic mountain, which is covered with an eternal snow. Towards evening we passed the south-side of the Aleutian Islands, of which the first two are small and flat, but the third, called Illak is higher, and lies more to the south of Tanaga. Contrary winds, first from north-east, and afterwards from east, obliged us to laveer in sight of the islands Tanaga and Kanaga. The southern sides of both islands have a flat shore.

After being tossed about in a thick mist for two days, we descried on the 21st, to the left of us, a cluster of islets contiguous to each other, and extending to the island of Atcha; and in the afternoon we found ourselves in a strait, betwixt Atcha and an islet.

Through this strait, which is 48 fathoms deep, and has a gravelly bottom, we bore away to the north-east for the cluster of these islets, the shores of which are mountainous and woody, always rising more and more to the north, and terminating in a lofty crater covered with snow. We observed by this island many bays, the largest of which is called the Korowinsh haven, and very near the northern promontory of Atcha. This one also divides itself at the very entrance into two, and penetrates thus far into the interior of the island.

As soon as we were passed Atcha we stood off with the south-east wind, straight for the island Umnak, and after passing its north-eastern side, we came in sight of the western part of Unalaschka. In the middle of the strait between these two islands, a lofty rock rises out of the water. We estimated our latitude at 53° 27′, and longitude at 191° 28′.

At ten o'clock in the evening, we approached the north-western cape of Unalaschta, which is called Makushim, after a bay, and an Aleutian place of the same name.

On the morning of the 25th, we came to the western bank of the Captain's Haven, where, close ahead of our ship, a number of whales of different species rose out of the water. Towards noon, we reached the eastern bank, where we anchored by the Aleutian residence Illuluk, in eight fathoms water.

This summer we had calculated our way so well, that from Petropaulousk hither, not a single error had crept into our estimate, so as to carry us out of our course.

As soon as our arrival was made known among the different villages, the natives came with fresh fish to our ship. Tobacco was an article of the greatest necessity among them, for which they flocked to us from the remotest parts, not only of this, but of other islands. Captain Billings strove to oblige them, by

making them presents of tobacco and other trifles, and promised them still more, if they would dry a considerable quantity of fish and berries against our return. We knew their extreme attachment to tobacco too well, not to be fully assured that they would comply with our wishes in this respect.

The woman who had accompanied us in the preceding year, was highly delighted with seeing her family, and returning to her home. The liberality of Captain Billings had supplied her with many ornaments for her person, and had so richly stocked her with tobacco and pearl enamel, that she became an object of universal envy among her female country-women, and was esteemed the richest of all the inhabitants.

We lay at anchor for two weeks, in expectation of Captain Hall and the new cutter; but he not coming, we did not wish to lose time, and leaving him the necessary provisions and utensils, together with the surgeon Allegretti, and a hunter, in Illulik, we resumed our voyage to Behring's strait.

CHAP. VI.

DEPARTURE FROM UNALASCHKA TOWARDS THE NORTH, PAST THE ISLANDS ST. GEORGE, ST. PAUL, ST. MATTHEW, FOR THE ISLAND OF ST. LAURENCE.—ARRIVAL THERE.— DANGEROUS SITUATION OF THE SLAWA ROSSII.—OCCURRENCES DURING THE ANCHORAGE.—DEPARTURE FOR THE SHORES OF NORTH AMERICA, AND INTERVIEW WITH THE INHABITANTS.—ANCHORAGE IN ST. LAURENCE BAY.

ON the 8th of July we weighed anchor, and went into the sea. Captain Billings desiring to see the two islands lately discovered by the steersman Pribylow: we bore away for them in a strait direction.

On the 9th, we were seventy miles to the north of Unalaschka, had 88 fathoms of water on a muddy bottom, and saw many sea-lions and sea-bears. This animal, called *phœa ursina,* is seven feet long, and of the seal species. The hair of the male is a black grey, that of the female grey, with dark spots between the fore-webbed feet. The males have a very soft hair on the breast, with a thick and tough skin: the structure of the bones is also firmer, larger, and stouter than that of the female: its head is large and round, the forehead extending over the eyes, and the snout having some long white bristles on it; the flaps of its ears are rather small, and externally overgrown with hair, but internally smooth, and standing out straight and pointed. The orifice of the ear is oval, and so constructed,

that it can be closed when it is under water. In other respects, both as to the form of its body and feet, it resembles the sea-dog. It frequents the northern parts of the Pacific Ocean, and the Southern Ocean. The males are very jealous of the females, which they keep to the number of eight or ten, forming with them and their young, a distinct herd. Their jealousy often occasions violent and bloody disputes. The Kamtschadales kill them with their darts for the sake of the fat and the skin, which in the young ones, is little inferior to the Kamtschadale otter, for the delicacy and firmness of the hair and down.

On the 12th, we concluded from our calculation, that we must necessarily be in the vicinity of the above-mentioned islands, but an impenetrable mist prevented us from seeing them. A still greater number of sea-bears were in sight to-day, than what we had seen the day before, and a number of aars,* kept hovering round our vessel.

The mist soon after dispersing, we discovered the two islands, the first of which, St. Paul's was eight miles ahead of us to north-west 25°, the second, St. George's, twenty miles behind us to south-east 57°. The shores of these islands consist of mountains of a moderate height: on the north-eastern side of St. Paul's, sinking down to a level opposite to its south-western side, is an islet, not very lofty, but very steep in ascent. At a distance of six miles from the western promontory of St. Paul's, we found ourselves in 35 fathoms water, on a bottom of stone and shells, our latitude being 56° 29′, and longitude 189° 45′.

These islands were discovered in the year 1786, by Pribylow, steersman to a merchant's ship, who finding a number of marine animals and walrus' teeth, staid with his companions for some time there, and in the space of two years caught 2320 otters, 30,000 sea-bears, 480 young otters and bears, and 8000 blue foxes, besides 700 puds of walrus' teeth, which they found on the shores, all which, when calculated at a moderate rate, produced at Ochotsk 250,000 rubles. It is necessary to observe, that the otters first spoken of, are the *mustela lutris*, a species of river animals about three feet long, with three feet united by a firm hairy web. Its head is flat, its snout thick, hair black, and extremely thick, at the same time as soft as down, particularly that on the belly, which is extremely tender and of a greyish colour. The tail is a fourth part of the length of the body. It

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* The aar, or ara torda alca, is the name of a Kamtschadale fowl, of the species of the Gagara (*colymbus arcticus*) or water-hen, is found in great abundance in the country of the rocky islands. Its back, head, and neck are black, its belly white, bill long, straight, and pointed, feet dark-grey, with three toes united by a web. At Kola it is called Gegarka.

runs, dives, and swims with great agility, is found near Kamtschatka, and on the islands of the Eastern Ocean. It lives on fish and little marine animals. The skin of the Kamtschatkan otter is very dear, and in great request, on account of its firmness and good quality.

From these islands, we directed our course to the Island of St. Matthew, which is called by the English Gore's Island. The depth which had at first increased to 55 fathoms, afterwards again decreased.

On the morning of the 14th, we discovered through the mist, a small island to the north-east 50′, at a distance of 11 miles, the surface of which appeared to consist of a chain of pointed rocks hanging over each other; it has received the name of *Pinnacle* from the English. The depth was then 50 fathoms, and the bottom gravelly. As the air cleared up, we discovered the Island of St. Matthew, and as we approached it, the depth decreased to 14 fathoms. We put in near its western shore. At noon we found our latitude to be 60° 29′, and longitude 187° 15′; the little island Pinnacle lying then to the south-east, about ten miles and a half distant, and the western shore of the Island of St. Matthew six miles distant to the north-east.

We had scarcely passed the north-western point of this island, when another presented itself to view, lying three miles from the north-west of this point. In the middle of this strait the depth was 12 fathoms, and the bottom consisted of gravel and shells. As Captain Billings wished to take a nearer view of the little island, we anchored one mile and three quarters off, in 13 fathoms and a sandy bottom. In the afternoon, Mr. Billings, Mr. Merk, and myself, went on shore; and on our approaching the island, we were encompassed by a great number of sea-birds, constantly hovering around us, and causing so great a noise, that we could scarcely distinguish a word that was spoken. We parted when we got on land, some going into the interior of the island, others climbing the rocky sides of the shore, and others remaining below on the brink of the creek. A universal firing now commenced on all sides, which did great execution among the marine birds, particularly the aars, of which a great number were carried to our ships. Our hunters also killed two black foxes, and found two walrus' teeth; and one of our company was so terrified by the sight of a large white beast supposed to be a bear, that breathless and almost fainting, he hastened back to the ship. On the mountains we found large fragments of a species of flint-stone, the delicate and many-coloured veins of which were an object of extraordinary beauty. On the east side of the island there was a quantity of floating wood, near the shore;

but the west side, on the contrary, was entirely clear; which led us to the conclusion that on the shore of America opposite to the former, a large river, after running through a woody tract of country, disembogued itself into the sea.

Towards evening we weighed anchor, and stood out to the north, when a thick mist completely veiled both the islands from our view. The depth was 40 fathoms, but decreased as we proceeded northerly: we found the bottom muddy.

On the 16th, we had only 27 fathoms water, and a sandy bottom. According to our calculation, we were then in the vicinity of St. Laurence's Island, called by the English Clark's Island. We lay at anchor the whole night.

On the 17th we weighed anchor, notwithstanding the whole sea was covered with a thick mist; and after beating about in various depths of water, we found ourselves, at three in the afternoon, in only six fathoms water with a sandy bottom. We cast anchor with a quarter of the cable, but it did not bite; we then threw out a second, but with no better success. From the depth, which was then only 4½ fathoms at our poop, we concluded that we could not be far from land, and although enveloped in a thick fog, we were but too well apprized of our danger from the impetuosity of the beating waves, which increased every hour as the wind blew stronger, and the surge grew more violent.

In the mean time, we gave our anchors an equal length of cable, and remained all night in safety; but the next morning a large wave struck with immense force against the beak of our ship, and tore a cable in pieces. We then cast two anchors more, but could place little or no reliance on the cables, which were made of bad materials, and almost rotted away from the continual damp weather.

On the 20th, the wind was somewhat abated, and the mist began to disperse, upon which we discovered abaft of us, at the distance of a mile, a level shore; our latitude being now 63° 24′. In the afternoon we saw two islanders on shore, who lifted a vest up on a pole, and seemed to sway it backward and forward by way of invitation. We sent Bakow the boatswain to them in a baidar with presents; but without waiting his approach, they immediately went away. Being prevented by the surf from landing, he was obliged to return.

We found the declination of the needle to-day, according to the azimuth, to be 24° 11′ easterly.

On the 21st, the wind dropped entirely, and the atmosphere became perfectly clear, which afforded us an opportunity of descrying, directly opposite to our vessel, a remote shore, stretching far to the east, beyond which we perceived from the

tops of the mast, a large lake, and still farther on declivitous mountains occasionally covered with snow. Towards the west the shore declined in a curve, its extreme point being 14 miles distant towards south-west 50°. To the south of this point, we saw in imagination two other islets, which proved afterwards to be nothing but thick mist.

Captain Billings, Doctor Merk, Boatswain Bakow, and the Second Lieutenant Bakulin, went in two boats on shore. They reached the shore with considerable difficulty, the surf being very high, and overwhelming them with water. Captain Billings proceeded with some of them to the west, in search of a human residence. In the mean time, we descried from the top of the mast a baidar of islanders rowing towards us from an opposite side of the lake. The sailors who had been left behind on the shore perceiving them also, strove to call Captain Billings back by loud bawling; and afterwards, when they found this ineffectual, endeavoured to attract his attention by firing their guns, which, instead of producing the desired effect, unfortunately only served to terrify the savage inhabitants; who, on hearing the report of the guns, immediately made off. Thus were we prevented by act of imprudence, from forming an acquaintance with these islanders. Captain Billings returned towards evening without having succeeded in finding the object of his search.

On the 22d, we went to the eastern point of the island, keeping close to the shore, where the depth diminished from 16 to 10 fathoms, on a gravelly bottom, occasionally mixed with sand. The shore was perfectly level, but we observed, at a distance, some mountains parted off from each other. To the east-north-east some mountainous lands appeared a-head of us, which, on a nearer approach, we found to be connected together by one level shore, and, in reality, to be one single island, which has in two places on the flat shore some considerable villages. On the map of Lieutenant Sinde we find, instead of this one great island, a number of smaller ones marked, which is doubtless a similar error to what we made from a distant observation.

In the afternoon we stood round the south-eastern side, and went to the north-eastern cape of the island, the shore of which somewhat curves inward; six miles and a half from the south-eastern cape we found a village close by the water. Towards evening we passed the north-east cape of St. Laurence, from which we observed, at the distance of four miles and a half, three islets, close to each other. On one of them was a pyramidal kekum, round which plank huts and poles for drying fish were erected, but we saw no human beings; from which we

supposed that the inhabitants of the other islands came here, from time to time, for the purpose of fishing.

In the night of the 24th the wind veered round to the north, and blew so strong and contrary a gale that we were obliged to haul in all sail; but being only twenty miles off St. Laurence, we bore away to the east, and getting round the island lay to for the night.

On the 26th we found ourselves in lat. 63° 10′; and longitude 195° 25′, thirty-three miles distant from the north-east shore of St. Laurence; consequently in the spot where Anderson's Island is marked on Captain Cook's map, but we discovered nothing, although the horizon was sufficiently clear.

On the morning of the 28th we saw the cape on the shore of America, called by the English Cape Rodney. At noon we calculated our latitude at 64° 11′, and the longitude at 193° 58′. Cape Rodney was then twenty-seven miles distant from us to the north west 56°; *Fledge* island twenty-six miles to the north-west 63°. In the evening we anchored eight miles from the American shore, in 14 fathoms water and a muddy bottom.

Mr. Billings, Mr. Merk, Boatswain Bakow, and Mr. Woronin, the draughtsman, went in two boats on shore, and towards evening one of them was sent back with the intelligence, that they had found inhabitants, and having met with a kind reception from them, they should pass the night on land.

On the 29th we saw behind the cape a large baidar full of Americans coming towards us. They stopped at no great distance from us, so that we could distinguish them without a glass. The baidar was occupied by nine men, having at its stern an extended bladder hung on a pole, and at the poop two red foxes on another pole, which we, of course, regarded as friendly signals. They continued, however, some time in their position without offering to approach, and with their hands raised aloft. I commanded the sailors who were on the deck to do the same, as a token that we were unprovided with any offensive weapons.

At length taking courage they came on board; but as they did not understand our interpreters we could have but little conversation with them. They had some red foxes, some vests of young reindeer and Alpine hares, wooden bowls, and different trifles, made of walrus' teeth, which they exchanged with our sailors for coral, pearl-enamel, and buttons, but no tobacco.

The Alpine hare, *Alpinus*, is of the size of a marmot, with a longish head, a snout like that of a hare, large ears, rounded in the form of a funnel, a thick body, short legs, the fore-

feet having five toes, with a stout short toe, the hind feet four. The soles of its feet are overgrown with thick black hair, and, in the place of a tail, it has a fat excrescence of the size of a nut. Its hair is yellow, tipped with a dark colour, and its voice whistling. It has two teats near its hind legs, and four under the breast. It is found in the Siberian Alps, where, in the month of August, it nibbles off the grass, dries and conceals it in the clefts of the mountains.

As soon as this traffic was at an end, they were on the point of departing; but our people commencing a Russian song, they turned back, came again on board, and listened with great attention. They then sang themselves, in their way, to which two of them danced. This dance consisted of many vehement gesticulations of the whole body, particularly of the hands and head, which they twisted round on all sides with great dexterity, at the same time springing from place to place, in conformity with the singing and beating of the drum.

These Americans are of a middle stature, and generally of a brown complexion, although we saw some white among them. They cut their hair after the manner of the Jakuts, whom they greatly resemble, except that they approach nearer to the Europeans. They have a more open cheerful physiognomy than the Americans we saw in Schugatschkish Bay. In their ears they wore an ornament of pearl enamel, and in the perforations of the under lip, on both sdes the mouth, they stuck two alabaster stones in the form of a shirt-button. Their dress consisted of short vests of reindeer skin, and breeches of sea-hound's skin, without any covering for the feet. I made these visitors some trifling presents, which they accepted with evident marks of satisfaction, and took their leave with the promise of returning very speedily.

Towards evening Captain Billings returned, leaving the rest on shore. In the night a thick mist arose, which did not clear up before the close of the next day, when the boat arrived, but six sailors were still left behind with the baidar, which they had obtained in exchange for pearl-enamel. We were very uneasy at their stay, apprehending lest some accident had happened; but were relieved the next morning from our anxiety by their safe return. They assigned the darkness as the reason of their staying out, having been unexpectedly overtaken by night, and having sought in vain for the vessel.

During our anchoring here, we observed that the current of the sea along the shore from Norton's-Bay to west-south-west, makes mostly half a mile, and sometimes a mile and a half in an hour.

On the 31st we weighed anchor and bore up to *Fledge* island, called by the Americans Ajak. At noon we observed the latitude to be 64° 34, the longitude 193° 31, and the island Ajak to be five miles from us to the south-west 67°. In the afternoon the wind dropped entirely, and we came to an anchor in ten fathoms water and a pebbly bottom, at a distance of two miles from the shore of America. Here the same Americans visited us as had come the day before, and with them many others whom we did not know. They brought us similar articles, and carried on a brisk trade with our sailors. Glass beads were in the greatest request with them, for which they paid most liberally. Captain Billings bought a single-seated baidar for one row of them only; and the purchaser concealed them immediately they were in his possession, probably from an apprehension that we might repent of our inconsiderate bargain, and wish to retreat. This baidar was as large, and constructed in the same manner, as that of the Kadjukers, only with this difference, that it was not covered with the hides of the sea-lion, but with those of the walrus, which, on account of their thickness, had been parted three times.

A north wind springing up toward evening we weighed anchor and steered between Ajak and Cape Rodney, on which we found several summer yurts erected in different places. On the first of August we observed our latitude at noon to be 60° 40′, and longitude 192° 27′. In the afternoon we saw, to north-west 3-4ths west, the mountainous island which is called by the Americans *Okiben*, but by the English *King Island*; and in the evening were two miles distant from it. It is five miles in circumference: from the inaccessible rocks with which it was girt and the wildness of its aspect, we judged it to be uninhabited, but afterwards we learned from the Tschukshens that some families actually resided there.

On the morning of the 2d we descried through the mist a small island, the smallest of the Needle isles, lying in Behring's strait, and at noon we came in sight of the other two. The first was 21 miles from us to the north-west, 15°; the second 20 miles, to north west, 4°; the third 15 miles to the north east 14°. The first two are mountainous, the latter has the appearance of a small hill. We calculated our latitude at 65° 24′, longitude 190° 29′; the depth was 28 fathoms, and the bottom sandy.

On the 3d we laveered with a north wind in Behring's Strait, betwixt the north eastern cape of Asia and the north western cape of America. Both shores are mountainous and woody, and the mountains occasionally covered with snow.

In the afternoon of the 4th we laveered so far to the north as

to be able to put into the bay of St. Laurence. At its entrance we saw on the right bank of the rivulet Uragma, some summer jurts of Tschukschens erected. We ran four miles and a half into the interior of the bay, and came to an anchor in six fathoms water, and a sandy bottom, on a level spot of the right shore, where the plank huts, or summer-jurts of the Tschukschens stood. No sooner had we cast anchor and began to furl our sails, than we discovered some Tschukschens putting off towards us in a large baidar. They did not approach very near, but beckoned us to the shore, shewing us a paper done up in the form of a letter. We invited them on board by one of our Cossacks, who spoke Korakish, but either not understanding him, or fearing us, they went off. Upon this Captain Billings, Doctor Merk, and I, went on shore, and were met by the inhabitants with great friendship, who invited us into their jurts, at the same time requesting us to leave our swords in the sloop. "We," said they, "come to you as friends, without any arms, but you must do the same." Their request being complied with, they conducted us into their jurts, where they delivered us the folded paper which we had seen in their hands. It was a report to Captain Billings by Sotnik Kobelew, who had been sent in the year 1787 from the fortress of Nishne-Kolymsk, with the interpreter Daurkin, in order to announce our coming to the Tschukschens. Kobelew observed, that he had waited in company with the Reindeer Tschukschens here, and on the eastern cape, for the arrival of our vessel, from the 28th of June to the 26th of July; but his companions not choosing to stay any longer, he had been obliged to go with them in a baidar, by water, to the island of Kalutschin, in the Frozen Ocean, where the Tschukschens had left their reindeer at their principal settlement. He added, that they should stay there till the 15th of August, and after that go with the reindeer into the interior of the country. Kobelew made no mention of the interpreter Daurkin, concerning whom we enquired of our Tschukschens, and received for answer, that he was living with the Reindeer Tschukschen Imlerat-Kirenjew, who was depasturing at no great distance from this place. They promised to give him intelligence of our arrival.

CHAP. VII.

ARRIVAL OF THE REINDEER TSCHUKSCHENS WITH THE INTERPRETER DAURKIN.—DESCRIPTION OF THIS PEOPLE.—ENTERPRIZE OF CAPTAIN BILLINGS, AND HIS DEPARTURE WITH THE TSCHUKSCHENS FOR THE RIVER KOLYMA.

TOWARDS evening the interpreter Dau kin came with seventy-two large baidars full of Reindeer Tschukschens, and their Troi Imleiat Kirenjew. We soon gained the confidence and good-will of our new guests by civility and suitable presents. They hauled their baidars on shore by the side of our vessel, and converted them into dwellings in the usual manner, visiting us regularly every day, and observing every thing with looks of extreme curiosity and admiration. But nothing could equal their astonishment at witnessing the effect of our guns, which we fired with balls into the sea for their entertainment. In the mean time they carried on a brisk trade with us; bartering their fox-skins, walrus' teeth, arms and utensils, for tobacco, enamel, and beads. Both the men and women of this nation are mostly of the middle stature; there are, however, some taller individuals among them. They are all stout built, having a healthy appearance, with an open physiognomy, not so savage as is usually found among rude nations. In their features they resemble the Americans of Cape Rodney, cutting their hair in a similar manner, and wearing similar clothes: however, the men do not, like them, adorn their lips with pendant bones. The women, on the contrary, puncture several parts of their body in various forms, particularly two semicircles on both cheeks, which unite in cross directions. They bind up their hair in two queues, like the female Russians, but do not twist them in a tuft on the crown, or cover them, but let them hang loosely behind. The male and female dress is very similar, consisting of vests and trowsers; but the upper vest of the female is somewhat shorter, and the under one is fastened to the long trowsers. In the dry season of summer, they wear alaschas or short boots of rowdug, or tanned rein-deer-hides, but in damp and rainy days they put on long torbasas, or wide and long boots without heels, made of tanned sea-dog's skin.

Like the Tunguses and Koraks, the Tschukschens are divided into Reindeer or nomadical Tschukschens and settlers. The former are the most numerous, and wander from place to place; but the latter, who are only few in number, are altogether poor people; who having by some misfortune lost their reindeer, their only wealth, are compelled to fix their abode near the sea, and from thence to draw their subsistence. They live all the winter in mud-jurts, and the summer in huts of planks, and obtain an ample provision from the water. They prepare, not only for themselves, but for the Reindeer Tschukschens, the fat of fish and marine animals; sew summer shirts and covering for the feet out of reindeer's entrials, for which they receive, from the latter, upper garments and winter covering for the feet; reindeer's skins, and others, fetched from Ischiga; also tobacco, and other Russian commodities.

The Tschukschens, thus stationed, keep dogs for want of reindeer for their winter excursions, which they harness to sledges made of walrus teeth, similar to the Russian tschunkas, which are without any back or sides, and consist only of the sledge and some cross-beams nailed over.

The dogs here resemble those of Ochotsk, but are rather smaller. Six or seven are harnessed abreast, and so close to the sledge, that they may be reached with a whip which the driver swings round either to the right or left, as he would have the dogs go.

In the summer they paddle about the sea in large baidars, commonly from 20 to 25 feet long, 4 feet broad, and 2½ deep. The hulk is made out of the floating wood from the sea, very nicely cut out and joined together with strips of whalebone; and the whole is covered with walrus hide, doubly or trebly split, in proportion to its thickness. A baidar, when quite ready, is so light, that two persons may carry it with convenience. The Tschukschens not only coast in them along the shore, but pass over to the neighbouring islands, or even through Behring's strait to America. As it is very unsteady, it is mostly moved by oars rather than sails; and whenever the latter are used, extended bladders are tied on the sides to prevent it from oversetting The baidars which we saw at Cape Rodney resembled these in every respect.

Both the wandering and stationary Tschukschens are divided into very small communities consisting only of families of one common origin. They have no civil authorities, or chiefs; but in every such community the richest, or the father of a numerous family, is the most esteemed. They show him no other deference than to receive his good council, or be deterred from evil proceedings by a warning; but he has no power to enforce his

admonitions by punishments. With such an anarchy it would certainly be a subject of surprise, that this people should have hitherto obstinately maintained their independence against frequent and considerable bodies of Russians who have been sent against them, if we had not already seen the extraordinary effects which a love of liberty has in producing union among the members of a community.

The principal cause of the campaigns against the Tschukschens, was a neighbouring people, the Koraks, who being at perpetual enmity with the former, and yet unable to stand against so powerful and valiant a foe, were compelled to put themselves under the protection of the Russians, and on that account to become tributary to the latter. With the aid of so powerful an ally, the Koraks sought every opportunity of urging their complaints against the Tschukschens, and often induced the Russians to take up arms against them upon frivolous and false pretexts. Whenever any reconciliation took place, the harmony which succeeded was but of short duration, being generally interrupted by some charge of the Koraks. Peace and war, therefore, commonly depended upon the judgment of the commander at the fortresses of Anadyr and Ischiga; but on the demolition of the fortress of Anadyr, and the introduction of a government at Ischiga, these differences with the Tschukschens having been compromised, we tried to allure them by kind treatment, and found our efforts crowned with success. They now come yearly to Ischiga and Molme Kolymsk, in order to deal with the Russians, upon which occasion many of them also bring their japak or tribute.

This commonly takes place at the close of February, or the commencement of March; and when their trade is finished, they go off immediately to the Frozen Ocean, and spend their whole summer in catching fish and sea-animals, for which they have baidars that are not only fitted for coasting, but for more remote excursions. They very often pass Behring's strait in these, attack the habitations of the savage Americans, and, after plundering them, carry away many prisoners to their homes.

Much as the Tschukschens excel all their neighbours in valour, they are much inferior to them in civilization of manners. They not merely kill their new-born infants for any defect, but the children relentlessly dispatch their parents on account of imbecility or disease; nay, it often happens that a sick person will solicit the favour of being killed, with the idea of dying more heroically than if he follows the course of nature, for they seem to think that a natural death is only fitted for old women. They are vindictive and cruel to those who offend them, without regard to relationship or friendship, of which they gave us an instance

themselves of a son having killed his father for charging him with cowardice and awkwardness.

Superstition and superstitious rites are less frequent among them than among other savages; but they have some solemnities, particularly at the burning the bodies of the deceased; which as I had no opportunity of witnessing during our short stay, I am not able to describe. Nor can I speak more circumstantially of their religion, having perceived no traces of any thing like divine worship. We found, indeed, some wooden and bone images among them, on which they had put clothing, but at the same time held them in so little estimation that they bartered them for mere trifles. At Billing's request they gave us a specimen of their dancing, which was very similar to that of the Americans at Cape Rodney, with this difference only, that they hopped more, and sprang from place to place. After they had done dancing, the men seated themselves on the bare earth, and the women also, but in a semicular line, drawing their vests off the right shoulder, and thus exposing the arm that was punctured in various forms. They then began their song, to which they made a suitable motion with the right arm, one time as if they would take up something from the ground, and another time as if they would lay it on their knees, and then again bending their head and body to one side. The first in the rank took the lead, and was followed by the rest, who, keeping their eyes fixed on her, strove to imitate her movements in the exactest manner possible.

The main object of our visiting these shores, was the making a second experiment to penetrate into the Frozen Ocean, from Behring's Strait round the Schalazkish promontory. We had resolved on this undertaking, but were deterred from putting it into execution by our friends the Tschukskens, who constantly ramble along the shores of the Frozen Ocean; and assured us, that it was utterly impossible to advance in vessels of any magnitude, they themselves being sometimes unable to proceed in their baidars, although they kept as close as possible to the shore. We gave fuller credit to this assurance, from remembering that Captain Cook, and after him Captain Clarke, had made unsuccessful efforts to penetrate to the west through the Frozen Ocean. We accordingly renounced this idea, and Captain Billing resolved on encompassing the shore of this sea, and surveying the Schalazish cape, in company with the Tschukschens and a small party of our men. To this end he persuaded the Troka Imlerat Kirenjew to carry him, with his rein-deer, to the fortress of Nishne-Kolymsk.

On the 13th of August the captain resigned over the command to me, and repaired, with the Tschukschens in fourteen

baidars, to the bay of Metschigman, in the vicinity of which was Imlerat's settlement. He took with him Dr. Merk, his assistant Meir, the boatswain Batakow, the first surgeon Lehmann, the interpreter Daukin, and three hunters, leaving me orders to survey the bay of Anadyr, to proceed from thence to Unalaschka, and winter there; in the spring to return to Kamtschatka; and after having examined the sea between the Kurilian islands, to leave the vessel in the harbour of Petropaulousk, and go with the men to Ochotsk.

CHAP. VIII.

DEPARTURE FROM THE BAY OF ST. LAWRENCE TO UNALASCHKA. — ARRIVAL AT CAPTAIN'S BAY. — IMPOSING A TRIBUTE ON THE ISLANDERS.—ARRIVAL OF THE TOJA OF THE ISLAND ATCHA, AND THE ALEUTIANS OF THE ANDREJANOW ISLAND.—SEA-LION CHACE.—SCURVY AMONG THE MEN.

THE departure of Captain Billings was immediately succeeded by my own. I weighed anchor the next day, even in a perfect calm, and was towed off between the narrow cape and the exterior sandbank. The depth of this place amounted to 2½ fathoms. On going round the cape, a west wind arose, with which we managed to get under sail. The depth increased to 5 fathoms, and the bottom was sandy. After passing the shallows we lay-to for a time.

We did not observe any tide while we lay at anchor.

On going again under sail we ran straight through the bay of St Lawrence. The depth in the centre was 25 fathoms in a sandy bottom. The breadth of the mouth, from the north-east to the south-western cape, amounts to 11 miles. On the shore of this latter we discovered, at the foot of the mountains, and in the vicinity of the brooks, the habitations of stationary Tschukschens in four different places,

Two miles further we stood round the rocky mass, forming the south-eastern point of the promontory at the mouth of the bay, and kept along the shore first 8¾ miles to the west, and afterwards 4½ miles to west-south-west. The depth amounted to 15, 13, and 10 fathoms, with a gravelly and sandy bottom. The mountains grew more level, and were intersected by various clefts. The coast that immediately bounded the water was an entire flat. At a distance of five miles a-head of us we discovered the point of a shore, on which was a large settlement of the Tschukschens. From this point commences the bay of Metschigmena, beyond which the shore bends to south-south-east, running onward into

mountains, and occasionally declining into a perfectly level surface.

On the 15th we calculated the latitude at 64° 37′, the longitude at 188° 11′. The depth was 12 fathoms, and the bottom pebbly. In the afternoon the weather clearing up, which had been for some time hazy, we discovered to south-west, at a distance of 17 miles, a mountainous shore, into which the two bays, Geljagin and Ketschekeyum, penetrated. According to the account of the Tschukschens, there were three islands at the mouth of the former; but we could distinguish only one of small magnitude, probably owing in part to the mist which was not entirely dispersed, and in part to the nearness of the two first to the shore. At seven in the evening we descried to north-west, 76° a considerable settlement of Tschukschens, and towards midnight we were opposite to the southern point of Tschukotskoi Noi, and lay-to till the morning, in order to examine it more narrowly.

On the 16th a violent wind and heavy mist arising, we found it necessary to continue lying-to, and remained till the 18th off the shore of the above-mentioned bay, in the constant expectation of clearer weather; but no change taking place, we resolved on steering for the island of St. Matthew, in order to recruit our almost exhausted stock of wood from the floating logs that pass that shore in great quantities.

On the 19th the wind changed, becoming first southerly, and afterwards south-easterly; the mist likewise dispersed, and opened to our view the island of Clark, or St. Lawrence, called by the Tschukscheus Eumugjeu. The Tschukschens pass over to it in their baidars, in order to exchange their baidars and large whale-bone with the Russians for various trifles. At noon we observed the latitude to be at 63° 23′, the longitude 186° 39′.

When we first came to an anchor off this island, we fancied we saw through the mist two small islands, which must have been only mist; for after the most diligent search in clear weather, I could discover nothing. I should conceive some of Lieutenant Sinde's islands to have been of a similar nature; and it is most probable for Captain Cook to have been in like manner mislead, for Anderson's island, another lying to the north of Clarke's, were not to be found in the places assigned them, although we examined the different parts in perfectly clear weather.

In the afternoon we approached St. Lawrence's island, the first and most conspicuous part of which, its north-eastern promontory, appeared to be a small distinct island, until, on a nearer survey, we found it united with the former by a plain. The English mariners are of opinion that this is the cape to which Commodore Behring gave the name of St. Lawrence; but I

consider it more probable for him to have taken the mountains of the large island, which are infinitely higher, and more conspicuous, for this cape; for which reason the island is more entitled to the name of St. Lawrence, than Clarke.

With a fair east and north-east wind on the 20th, we got near the island of St. Matthew, which the mist concealed from our view. In the evening the wind grew stronger, and continued rising all night, so as to be actually stormy towards morning.

On the 22d the wind abated; but the sea running high, we were driven to south-west. Till the 26th I waited in vain for a change of weather, by which I might draw nigh to the shore of the island; at length our very reduced stock of wood obliged us to turn our thoughts to some other resource, and we accordingly resolved on steering for the island of Unalaschka.

On the 27th we stood off the Pribylow's islands, and the next morning we passed the southernmost of them, St. George's Island. At 9 o'clock it was 21 miles distant from us to the north half-east, our latitude being 55° 57′ and longitude 191° 6′. On the morning of the 29th we came in sight of Unalaschka: at noon the cape between the place Weselowsk and the mouth of the Captain's-haven, was 38 miles distant from us, to the south-east 80°; from whence we perceived, that we had calculated our latitude from Lawrence-bay always 46 miles too easterly.

Towards evening we came to an anchor off the eastern side of the island of Amaknak. The day following we proceeded as far as the village Illuluk, and took up our former station there. Here I learnt that our other vessel under the command of Captain Hall had run into this bay, and after a stay of 13 days for victualling and watering, had put to sea again.

Perceiving that half a mile from our anchoring-place to the south-west of the island, there was a better station for our vessel on the other side of a little island, I accordingly proceeded to the spot, and lay at cable's length between two shores.

Our first concern now, was the providing ourselves with a sufficiency of wood, for which purpose we daily collected the floating logs from the adjacent parts, and conveyed them to our ship in baidars.

On the 2d of September some Aleutians informed me that they discovered a single-masted vessel at sea, towards the western shore of Captain's-haven; but not being able to give me any farther satisfactory account, I mounted the summit of the mountain on the islanda Amaknak, where, through a telescope, I descried a vessel, which, from its equipment, could be no other than the newly-built cutter under captain Hall's command. I immediately went in a sloop to it, and was welcomed by the whole crew with the most heartfelt delight. According to their own account,

they had been in the track after us during the whole summer, but had been prevented putting to sea until after the time appointed for meeting our vessel. It being a calm, the new vessel, which had received the name of Tschernoi Orel (Black Eagle) from its builder, came to an anchor first near the western shore of the Captain's haven, close by the village of Natykinsk, from whence it was towed in the evening alongside the Slawa Rossii.

On the 3d of September our officers held a consultation on the properest place for passing the winter, in which it was unanimously decided, that, in consequence of the distance of Kamtschatka and the lateness of the season, it was most adviseable for us to take up our abode off Unalaschka, and at the same time to remain on board our vessels. Captain Billings had, indeed, recommended for the crew to be dispersed among the different villages of the Aleutians; but, independent of the burthen which their support would have been to a people oftentimes unable to maintain themselves, the vehement and tempestuous winds which at present raged, made it altogether impossible to find any secure anchoring-station. We therefore determined, for the sake of saving our present stock of sea-provision, on curtailing the daily allowance, and on using every effort to recruit ourselves, which circumstances would admit of.

In order to lighten the vessel and preserve our stores, I had a sort of magazine erected of poles, which were covered with thick grass instead of planks; and for a bakehouse as well as seperate dwelling for the sick, had a jurt built on a shore, of floating wood.

On the 12th, we proceeded to execute that part of our commission, which required us to number the inhabitants of the places subject to the Russian empire, to regulate the Japak or tribute in future to be levied, to acquire the good-will of the islanders by presents, and confer honorary gold, silver, and copper medals, in the name of the empress on the most respectable. We profited by the opportunity which presented itself on that day, when the Aleutians were collected together, to receive the presents promised them by Captain Billings for the preparation of dry fish, berries, and roots. We accordingly distributed rewards among them, and dismissed them with still greater promises. They readily acceded to the tribute imposed upon them, and engaged to discharge it at the commencement of winter, both for themselves and for all who might go to the chace, taking upon themselves the management of the whole matter. Hitherto the Japak had been imposed only on two or three, selected by our hunters, and on that account called Jassashnas.

By the middle of September we had our magazines construct-

ed, into which our provisions and stores were transported out of the ships.

In calm weather the Aleutians brought us stock-fish and roach from time to time. The inhabitants of this place catch their fish on the western shore of Captain's-haven, with tackling of whale-sinews or thin sea-cole, to which they tie a bone or iron-hook, sticking on it a piece of fish, or the root of Angelica, or some other herb of a particuler description fetched from Alaksa, which has a powerful smell.

For their fish, we made the Aleutians some trifling acknowledgments. Tobacco, fine needles, and goats-hair were the principal objects of their choice. With the latter they decorated their vests, making it also serve instead of thread in puncturing, for which they likewise use white hair from the tails of horses, and rein-deer hair. They in like manner shewed a partiality for white and red enamel, with which the women adorn their clothes, being very much pleased with the Russian dress, particularly the jackets of nankeen, the shirts, trowsers, and handkerchiefs.

On the 2d of October we had so violent a storm, that our cables were broken, by which we were fastened to the shore.

At this period we were visited by the chief troja of the island Atcha, of the name of Pankow, who came to us from Unimak in a large baidar of the Andrejanows islands. He had been on visit to his relations in Unimak, and at the same time had distributed the regulations which he had brought with him for all the islanders in the year 1789, when he went to Kamtschatka with a merchantman.

This troja wore a vest of light red cloth with gold fringe, and a velvet cap, presented to him by her Imperial Majesty. He spoke tolerably pure Russian, and discovered in his conversation a superiority of knowledge and discernment over all the other trojas. We learned from him the number of inhabitants on the Andrejanow islands, in each distinct place, as also the particular number of males. He was attended by the trojas of the above-mentioned places, with whom he consulted about the tribute they had each to pay. In our turn we distributed medals among them in the name of her Imperial Majesty; assigning to Pankow one of gold, with several other presents.

Pankow was accompanied by 25 Aleutians from the Andrejanow Islands, 14 of whom were in a large baidar, and the rest in small single-seated baidars. In their passage through the very broad strait between Signam and Amnachta, they were so tossed about by a storm, as they informed us, that they were obliged to lighten the vessel of its tackling and stores, and were driven to and fro for forty eight hours, on which occasion one

man in a small baidar was separated from them, and had not been heard of since.

In a violent wind and a swelling sea, the Aleutians are obliged to keep in one station as much as possible, for which reason they tie all their baidars in a row to one another; and that they may not be dashed together by the waves, they put bladders in the spaces between, and point the head of their barks against the waves until the wind changes.

The Andrejenow Aleutians are perfectly similar to those on our island, both in appearance and mode of living; having even in their language no other visible difference than what was occasionally to be observed in the position of the words and their accentuation. The dress of both males and females was perfectly alike. The women wear the same ornament in their ears and nose, with this single difference, that the bones which the former stick in the under lip are much smaller, and the holes are pierced wider apart on the side of the mouth. In the middle of the cheeks they puncture a little black double circle, obliquely over the middle of the forehead a double line, and over the nose betwixt the eye-brows two little crooked stripes.

In the beginning of October, the Subaltern Chudakow was sent out to survey the Aleutian Islands, upon which the Aleutians also set off from the Andrejenow Islands for Umnak, where they intended wintering.

At the close of this month the Aleutians began the sea-bear chace, which continued till November. These animals return from the northern to the southern countries, and in their course enter the bays of this island, upon which the Aleutians pursue them in their baidars. They know pretty accurately the spot where they rise up out of the water, and two or three men to a bear plant themselves in a convenient position for casting their darts at him, as soon as he makes his appearance. Thus by repeated wounds with their darts every time he rises, they at length completely exhaust and cripple him; but that he may not sink immediately on receiving the mortal stab, they affix bladders to their darts. He only has a right to the skin of the animal who inflicts the first wound.

The chace of otters and other aquatic animals is subject to similar laws. The first successful darter receives half the skin and the entrails, and has besides the right of assigning the other half to any one of the hunters he pleases: the second successful aim entitles the person to the neck, and the remaining entrails; the third takes the bladder; the fourth and fifth can claim the fore feet; the fifth and sixth the hind feet. The flesh is shared equally among all the parties concerned.

At the commencement of the year's chace, the person to

whose share the first sea-lion falls, distributes his portion of flesh among all the Aleutians of his place; but they are obliged to return him all the bones, which being collected together, are thrown back into the sea.

The commencement of the sea-lion-chace terminates the fishery, the weather being usually too cold, and the winds too vehement. The favourite food of the Aleutine is the flesh of sea-animals, which, when consumed, is supplied by shell-fish, roots, and sea-wort; some of them indeed, in summer, lay bye dry fish, roots, and fat, which is, however, generally in too small quantities to last any length of time. The sea, therefore, remains, at all times, their grand resource; one while supplying them with an abundance of fish or animals for their pursuit, and another time casting on its shore many delicacies which require no labour to obtain. In this manner the inhabitants pass an easy life heedless of futurity.

In the evening of the 5th, a strong wind rose from the west, which tore the cable of the Slawa Rossii, that was no sooner supplied by another than it was instantly torn again. The storm lasted three days and nights, and burst forth from the clefts of the mountains with such impetuosity, that the boats and empty casks, lying on the shore, were rolled down into the sea.

Hitherto we had procured fuel from the willows that grew on the shore of a brook that ran into the bay of Natykinsk; but in consequence of a heavy fall of snow, and the brook being frozen, we could not float any more willows down the stream, but we found others at the farther extremity of another brook near the village of Illuluk, whither we sent our men after it on foot; an exercise that served as a very efficacious preventative against the scurvy, which was beginning to make its appearance.

The 19th, being calm weather, the Aleutians went fishing at our request, but caught only two shell-fish.

On the 21st, we dispatched two of our hunters to shoot fowl. Three of them put themselves into a treble-seated baidar, with the view of crossing the strait; but were scarcely off from the shore when a sudden squall upset their unsteady bark, and dislodged its contents into the water. Two of the men saved themselves, but the third was drowned. The complaints of our people respecting the smallness of their allowance becoming too urgent, we were obliged to give them their ordinary portion of peas, butter, and meat.

At the close of December the scurvy had increased the number of our sick to twelve. We strove to afford them all possible assistance, by procuring fresh food, for which pur-

pose six or seven shooters were daily sent out after wild fowl. On lucky days they usually brought from three to six birds of different sorts, as urilas, sea-ducks, mews, wild-geese, and occasionally a woodcock, or some other land-bird.

On the 2d and 3d of January the weather was hazy but calm. Some Aleutians then went again to fish, and brought us twelve stock-fish and two roaches, each of which weighed two pounds and a half. In the middle of January our patients with the scurvy were increased to the number of twenty-three.

The high wind which blew from the 19th to the 25th drove a whale to the western shore of Captain's-bay, and afterwards threw it on the island of Uknadok. The islanders gave us information of it, enquiring, at the same time, whether we were not in want of oil. We ordered twelve puds for burning in our lamps. Although the fish was only eighteen feet long, it proved extremely serviceable to the Aleutians in their approaching scarcity, and was shared among all the inhabitants of the surrounding villages.

On the 8th of February, we had still twenty-three sick of the scurvy, and two dead.

CHAP. IX.

DEPARTURE FOR THE NORTHERN SIDE OF UNALASCHKA. —ARRIVAL AT THE VILLAGE OF MAKUSCHINSK.—GAMES OF THE ISLANDERS.—BAYS ON THE WESTERN SIDE OF THE ISLAND.—CURE OF A SICK WOMAN BY A SHAMAN.— ATROJA ACTING AS SHAMAN.—RETURN TO THE VESSEL.

ACCORDING to the information of some Aleutians, there were some beautiful bays on the western side of Unalaschka, which, as they had hitherto been unnoticed by any one I took upon myself to survey and describe. I accordingly set off on the 13th of February, in a treble-seated baidar, attended by a few islanders in single-seated ones. I had but one sailor with me, and the troja of Illuluk, baptized by the name of Elisei Vupyschew, who spoke tolerably good Russian, and served as interpreter. I was obliged after the manner of my companions to draw on an upper garment of fishes' entrails, to put a wooden hat on my head, and take the oar in my hand. My compass was fastened before me in a direction that I could use it at pleasure; and the sailor who was in a small baidar, carried the lead for sounding as I desired.

As soon as we were clear of the western shore of Captain's-

haven, we stood to the north-west along the steep rocky shore of the northern side of Unalaschka, as far as the open bay of Weselowsk, which penetrates three quarters of a mile into the island. On the shore of a little brook which discharges itself into it from a cleft in the mountain, lies the settlement of Weselowsk, consisting of only two jurts, inhabited however by thirty-one persons of the male sex. Opposite to this village, a rocky islet rises in the bay, that is very distinctly observed from the sea, being much more prominent than the interior flat shore of the bay.

We spent the night in this place, and pursued our course in the morning. The shore continued to be one rocky steep towards south-south-west, as far as the other bay Sachtupik, which extends for half a mile into the interior of the island. It receives the waters of two brooks from the mountains, the foot of which forms the depressed gravelly shore.

Eight miles from Weselowsk we passed a volcanic crater, called by the Aleutians, Aijagin. It is higher than all the other mountains of Unalaschka, with a summit more level than pointed; that on the southern side of the island has the appearance of being almost flat; all eruptions have long since ceased, and nothing now remains but occasonal smoke. Earthquakes are likewise now very rare, which were formerly frequent and so violent as to overturn jurts and pendant rocks. On the summit of this crater the Aleutians collect sulphur and lava; from which latter they make points for their darts.

The weather this morning was very dull, attended with only a gentle east breeze, that strengthened towards the afternoon, and occasioned a vehement surge. The Aleutians pursued their course with the most perfect tranquillity and unconcern, while I was in no small trepidation, fancying that every billow which approached me would inevitably swallow me and my little bark. Nor were my fears without foundation, for though the inhabitants are very expert in managing these boats, and preserving the exact equilibrium with their oars on the approach of every wave, yet such is the smallness of these conveyances, mine not being more than a foot and half broad in the middle, that the slightest error in guiding them may be, and often is, attended with the most serious consequences.

Fifteen miles from Weselowsk the shore became very sandy, forming, by a curve inwards, a sort of bay, which received the waters of a brook from the neighbouring mountains. Farther on, the shore winds to the norh-east, and finally to the east, terminating with the village of Makuschinsk, about two miles and a half distant from the curve before-mentioned, and lying at the mouth of a small river, formed by three lakes, and united by small water-falls. In this river much hump-backed salmon and

similar fish make their appearance about the beginning of May. There are 45 Aleutian inhabitants in this village, who are distributed in two large jurts.

During a stay of three days, I found the games here which are usual among these people, and which continue through the winter until the beginning of spring, or until the appearance of the whales. Their origin is ascribed to the Shamans, who assure them that the spirits are pleased with such performances, and will, in return, send plenty of whales on shore. The performers wear masks, resembling the faces of the spirits which have appeared to the Shamans; and, although these men no longer possess the implicit confidence of the people, the Aleutians always celebrate the arrival of a fish with these games. The person first making the discovery announces it by wearing a narrow fillet on his head, and has a right to half the entrails, skin, tongue, and sinews. The rest is divided by the trojars of the village among the other Aleutians.

On one of the days which I passed here I witnessed the following celebration of the above-mentioned games: — There poles were placed horizontally between the beams of the jurt, the first about three feet below the upper opening of the jurt, the second about twelve feet lower, and the third about nine feet below the second, and about four feet from the ground.

The Aleutians assembled from the different villages then swing themselves up to the opening, during which a perpetual clamour is kept up by the shouts of the people at whose jurt it takes place, while those who miss their aim and fall to the ground are saluted by the spectators with loud peals of laughter. As soon as this is concluded, and the guests are seated, the dances commence in the following order:—First, two boys in a state of nudity, who were followed by men with drums fancifully decorated with caps on their heads, girdles round their loins, and bands on their arms and feet; afterwards females, two and two, having their heads encircled with binders embroidered with goat's hair, flourishing bladders of birds' skins, and dancing to the drums; then a second string of females carrying arrows; and finally a train of men in motley masks, with wide streaked mouths, and on their heads a sea-dog's face. Some few who were seated struck violently on drums, to which they sung the following verses, which, although translated to me, I by no means understood:

What shall I do?
As it appears to me,
That I shall do.

Then came another mask, with wide extended mouth, and a shepherd's crook, singing as follows:

O what knavery!
O what roguery!
Thou, O Ammech!
Hast made the world.

A third mask, having lost a left eye, sung the following:

In the midst of Alaksa,
Is Agmagaduk's jurt;
'Tis that which we sing.

These men were followed by female masks, who seated themselves by the man with the sea-dog's face, before whom a few other women danced with dishevelled hair, carrying beards of sea-lions in their hands, occasionally pointing to the mask seated in the middle. They sung the following verse:

The hellish island Sakchadok
Contains the arrows we must not forget;
Yet why should we remember
That which brings no good?

And thus ended the piece. I had also an opportunity of seeing the dances of some of the Andrejanow islanders (who were spectators of the above performance), which differed much from the others. The men took off their upper garments, dancing in succession one after the other in shirts and trowsers; having on their heads caps, embroidered with long narrow points, projecting forwards, curved towards the top, and decorated with goat's hair. A sea-hound's skin, two sea-lions' bladders, and a cloth, were thrown before the dancers. When the Aleutians began to sing, the dancer took in each hand a bladder, which he held so as for them to hang down to his elbows, and then began to dance, nodding and tossing his head to the sound of the drum; after which, throwing down the bladders, he took up the the skin, and swung it aloft several times, as if to exhibit it to the company; then threw it down, and seizing the cloth, danced with it as before, holding its extremities in his hands; and finally, taking a stick, imitated the action of rowing a baidar. They say this dance is expressly invented for the purpose of representing in a ridiculous point of view the vauntings of their companions, concerning their catching marine animals; the bladders, the seal's-skin, and cloth being emblematical of the spoil which the hunter triumphantly exhibits to view. The women array themselves for the dance in an upper garment, resembling the parka of the men which they confine with a girdle, tying round their heads a binder, like that of the native Aleutians, and carrying on their backs an arrow with an inflated bladder. The lady thus equipped, approaches the circle of men, who are all seated,

and kneels on a grass mat in the midst. When the song commences, she begins to move, and gradually rises with her hands both confined in her girdle; she then takes the arrow from her back, and, raising herself on her toes, in this attitude dances, without leaving the spot, at the same time suiting the movements of her head, and those of the arrow she holds in her hand, to the sound of the drum.

On the 17th the weather being fine and sun bright, I commenced my observations from the promontory of the place, and found our latitude 53° 51′. A small distance from the village I discovered a warm spring issuing from a cleft in a rock, which is, however, only visible at low water, being at other times wholly covered by the stream.

On the 18th the weather was calm enough for me to pursue my course; previous to which I took a survey of Makuschinsk. The shore leading to it extends in rocky projections towards south-east 60°; the entrance of the bay is about 2¾ miles wide, lying to the north-east 55°. At a distance of about 220 fathoms from the northern side of the bay towards the south-west are two high projecting rocks; 60 feet from the rocks the water was not more than seven fathoms, although in the middle it was so deep that our lead never once reached the bottom. The whole bay is nine miles and a half in length. At noon we were off the left shore, near Ikschaktak's bay, in lat. 53° 46′. In the afternoon we ran in and found the opposite shore, five miles distant from the mouth, divided by a neck of land into two parts, one called Udamak and the other Maganach.—The first extends to south-east four miles and a half, having in its centre two small islands. On the left hand, the space between the shore and the nearest island is about the third part of a verst in the centre. The water is 32 fathoms deep, with a gravelly bottom: the roads are about a verst in width, and so deep that a line of fifty fathoms could not reach the bottom. The other half, or Maganach bay, extends itself two miles and a half towards the south; it is very deep at the entrance, but three quarters of a mile farther shallows to fifty fathoms, and continues to become more shallow as you approach the opposite shore. A mile and a quarter from the island, both the shores approach each other, and form a road about half a verst in breadth, which leads to an oval basin, a mile in diameter.—This basin also receives a stream that descends from the mountains. In the centre it is seven fathoms deep, and at the mouth 25, with a muddy bottom. We took up our abode for the night on the first island, where we found a hut constructed of whales' bones, in which the Aleutians, from Makuschinsk,

usually reside during the autumn, for the purpose of catching sea-bears, which run into the bay at that season.

On the following day we left this place, and anchored again off the village Akmaga, four miles from the bay Makuschinsk. This village lies near the shore, in the vicinity of a brook which flows out of a lake, and has seven male inhabitants. Having passed the night here, we proceeded onward, and passed two bays which penetrated three miles into the island to south-east. They appeared unsheltered, and not well adapted for an anchoring-place, on which account I thought it needless to enter them. A range of high rocks extend themselves for about half a mile to south-west, beyond which the shore winds to south-east and south towards a bay, called by the Aluetians Alukoo, and by the Russians Makrowsk; its entrance is about a mile and a half wide, defended on each side by steep rocks, and penetrating towards the east about three miles and three quarters, and then winds to the south, where, although it is sheltered from the winds on one side, is still an insecure station from the rough rocks and numerous cliffs on its shore. Two miles and a half beyond the promontory is another bay to the south, called Koshiga, open towards the west a mile and a half long, and at the mouth three quarters of a mile broad; near which, on the right shore, is an inconsiderable island facing the ocean; a mile beyond, a high and slender rock emerges from the water, under whose surface lie concealed innumerable shelves. The depth between the rock and the island is 35 fathoms, with a gravelly bottom; at the mouth of the bay the water is only twelve fathoms deep, and shallows to seven farther on, with a bottom of fine sand, which, judging from the appearance of the shore, most probably covers the rocks at no great distance from hence, and occasioned the wrecking of Shebeshow's ship in 1790, who, having anchored in the bay to water, in his way from the island Badjak, was torn from his anchorage, and dashed against the shore.

On the inner shore of the bay lies the village Koshiga, consisting of three jurts, inhabited by thirty-two Aleutians, and two Russian hunters, left in the former year from a ship belonging to Shebeshow, on the western promontory of the island, while the ship itself wintered in the island discovered by the steersman Pribylow.

Among the Aleutians who accompanied me from Akmagan was a Shaman, who undertook the restoration of a sick woman at the request of her relations. The Shaman and some of his country people seated themselves in a circle round the sick woman, and commenced a Shaman's hymn, accompanied by the drum; to this, after a short time, followed a profound silence, occasioned,

as the interpreter informed me, by the appearance of a spirit, which the Shaman began to supplicate for the sick woman. The spirit appeared rather obstinate at first; but at the continued entreaties of the Shaman at length yielded, adding, that the sick person suffered on account of her father's having, while on the whale fishery, smeared his arrows with the spinal marrow of that fish, and since he was now dead, an evil spirit was charged to obtain satisfaction from the daughter. The song now recommenced, and at the expiration of five minutes silence again prevailed. The Shaman then addressed the spirit, which now appeared to be under his controul, and informed the bystanders, that it was now in the bowels of the sick woman, for the purpose of minutely examining the disease, and removing the cause, from which in three days her restoration might be expected. This hope, according to the assurance of the Shaman, was confirmed by another spirit, whose opinion he had obtained; and thus concluded the exorcism. The Shamans never demand any compensation from the people, contentedly receiving what is given them, and never requiring offerings for the spirits.

On the 21st, I proceeded farther with fine weather, and a calm sea; but towards noon a gale from the north-west blew so hard, that I with difficulty reached the first promontory, four miles from Koshiga to the south-west, and anchored off a little village called by the Aleutians Umschaluka, by the Russians Sedenka. It contains only twelve inhabitants. From the promontory is discernible a small rocky island, a quarter of a mile to the south-west and a mile to the west, a high rock surrounded with projecting cliffs.

On the third day the wind abated, and we made direct for the promontory of Amnak, distant from Sedenka about five miles to south-west 51°, and projecting far into the ocean with a range of high rocks. Between these two promontories are three open bays. The first, called Alimuda, commences immediately beyond Sedenka, penetrating two miles and a half into the island in a westerly direction: the second is two miles in extent to the south-west; and the third is only divided from the second by a small slip of land, running in a south-easterly direction a mile and a quarter into the island.

When we came directly opposite to the promontory of Amnak, we perceived the entrance of the Bay of Tschernowsk, two miles and three quarters distant from the back part of the promontory. The entrance is defended on each side by a sort of promontory of high rock, surrounded with projecting cliffs. The shore between Amnak and Tschernowsk forms a slight curve far into the sea, is alternately rugged and mountainous,

but evidently lower than Amnak, which, when viewed from the ocean, appears much elevated.

In the evening I arrived at the village of Tschernowsk, and on the following morning, notwithstanding the snow and rain, proceeded to survey the bay, which I found to be three miles and three quarters in length. The water at the entrance is 15 fathoms, with a gravelly bottom; half a mile from the entrance is 35 fathoms deep; and a mile to the interior, only 18 fathoms. A mile and a half from the entrance is a small cove, penetrating a mile and a half to the west, 14 fathoms deep in the centre, with a muddy bottom, and might afford an excellent anchoring-place. On the peninsula lies the village of Tschernowsk, consisting of one large and one small jurt, inhabited by thirty-nine Aleutians. The latitude of this place is 53° 29′.

It was now my intention to visit the western promontory of Unalaschka, and proceed to my vessel round by the southern-shore; but being detained here three days by violent winds, and my provisions being on the decline, I was compelled to return.

On the 1st of March I came to Koshiga, and was informed by the inhabitants, that not far from here on the south-side of the island is another very large bay, whose very fine situation determined me to visit it, although I was detained by wind and weather till the 6th, when I proceeded in a treble-seated baidar, five miles along an inlet between a double row of mountains. The bay is called Kullilak, and although not so large as had been represented, is admirably defended on all sides against the sea; its length from south-west to north-west is a mile and a half. The entrance of the bay is towards the north-west 65°, its breadth between two naked projecting cliffs 100 fathoms. Its depth in the middle is 11 fathoms, and near the cliffs from four to five. Farther in the bay curves to north-east, and becomes broader but shallower; and near to a small rocky island, the water is only four fathoms and a half: the bottom is sandy. On the left shore is a sand-bank, with several naked and concealed cliffs which ships must guard against by keeping to the right shore. After having passed this island, the bottom becomes muddy, and the depth of water increases to seven fathoms and a half, and continues so to the furthest shore, when it receives the waters of two brooks; one from the mountains, the other from a lake. The shore of the bay is in some places mountainous, in others high and rocky, then again forming a sloping plain. I then proceeded about three miles beyond the bay to a promontory on my right, to take a survey of the southern shore of Unalashka, and perceived that it has a south-westerly direction, and that the island is on this side very

narrow. On the other side of the Bay of Kullilak to the north-east, the shore was concealed by the steep and projecting promontory of Amtschik. The Aleutians were of opinion, that it might be easy to run into the Bay of Kullilak from the open sea; but it may not be amiss to remark, that when you sail from the side east-south-east towards the island, it appears to be divided into two islands.

Hazy weather and stormy winds detained me six days at the village of Koschiga, and obliged me to consume my small stock of provisions, after which I was compelled to make shift with dried fish, marine herbs, and vegetables, except once, when my host brought me some fresh fish, which they call Terpuge; but having neither bread nor salt I ate it with little relish.

The Aleutians becoming at length quite tired of bad weather, they one day collected themselves together men, women, and children, and repaired to an open field, where having lighted a fire and turned themselves to the wind, they clapped their hands and screamed with all their might, quietly returning in the full expectation of a favourable change.

Towards evening, I suddenly heard the drum beating in a corner of the Jurt, and was informed by my interpreter, that the Tojas and Shamans were conjuring a spirit for favourable weather. At the expiration of a quarter of an hour the Shaman began to cry aloud, but soon ceased, and fell senseless to the ground. The terror became universal, a crowd surrounded him; sung a solemn lamentation, and conjured the spirit to spare the good Shaman; notwithstanding which he continued some time motionless, but at last revived, and informed the bystanders "that he had summoned the spirit into his presence, and commanded him to send fine weather; but the spirit thought it by no means necessary, and he accordingly reproved him for his obstinacy and caprice, threatening, if he persisted in his refusal, to inform the people that he had not sufficient power, which would certainly not be much to his honour. Upon this the spirit became so furious, that he fell on him, and continued to torment him until he became senseless, during which period it was manifested to him, that the weather would be no better until three days after the death of a certain woman, (whose name he mentioned), which would take place in the course of the summer. Then (added he) we might sail as far as Makuschinsk, but no farther, as we should there be again overtaken by bad weather. He enjoined us therefore, by no means to attempt proceeding farther, even if advised to do so by the inhabitants themselves. He then informed me that on my return to my vessel, I should not find my companions and

people in a good state; but that although we might lament having passed the whole winter on the island, yet we should put to sea at the commencement of the summer, and happily return to the place from which we came."

The latitude of this place is 53° 31'.

On the 16th of March, I set out on my return to Makuschinsk; but being unable to proceed by water on account of the violent winds, I resolved to cross the mountains along the shore on foot, to Captain's Bay, which the Aleutians informed me was practicable during the summer in one day.

I went in my baidar to the extreme point of the Bay of Makuschinsk, where I landed and commenced my excursion with three Aleutians as guides. For above half the way, I proceeded with great facility; when I came to the back of a mountain, whose summit I could reach only by climbing a winding path, on the rocky shore of a river. The farther I advanced, the steeper it became; and being quite covered with hard snow, my labour was much augmented by being compelled with every step to stamp for myself a sure footing. Thus occupied, I fearlessly proceeded, unconscious of the height I had attained, until at last, finding I could go no farther, I saw to my dismay that I stood on the brink of an immense precipice, whose sides were covered with rocks, at the bottom of which flowed a brook. On the sudden discovery of my situation, I was seized with such an irresistible dread, that I could proceed no farther, and resolved to retread the path I had ascended, in doing which I expected at every step to be precipitated headlong to the bottom. Fortunately, however, I arrived in safety at the place from whence I set out, and was agan detained by wind and weather for the four following days.

On the 20th at midnight, a violent tempest began, and the wind blew on land with such fury, that no one could withstand it. On the following day the wind was less violent, but the sea remained much agitated. The latitude of Makuschinsk is 53° 50′ 35″.

The Toja of Makuschinsk, seeing my uneasiness at being thus long detained from my ship, and the great inconvenience I experienced for want of food, was at length moved with compassion, and informed me, that if the baidars were brought from the Bay of Makuschinsk to Beaver's-bay, it would be easy to pass to the vessels. By the aid of persuasion and presents, therefore, I at length prevailed on some Aleutians to carry their own baidars and mine, across the land which parted the two bays, the distance being about three miles and a half.

I began my little voyage on the 23d, and reaching the vessels on the following day, found that during my absence the crews

of the vessels had suffered so much from the scurvy, that eleven were dead on board the great ship, and three on board the small one. As I knew from experience, that this complaint is much relieved by change of air, I had the sick removed to the neighbouring villages with all speed, where they were placed in jurts, previously cleaned and fitted for their reception. Besides this, the snow began to melt in various places, and enabled us to procure green-herbs for their sustenance, which produced a visible and rapid change. The chief cause of this malady was the damp and unfavourable weather, which continued almost uninterruptedly during the whole of our stay at this place. Besides which the half putrified food contributed not a little to increase the disorder, particularly bad rye-bread, which at best was tasteless, and soon became mouldy.

CHAP. X.

DESCRIPTION OF UNALASCHKA.

THE Island of Unalaschka, or as the inhabitants denominate it Nagunalaska, is the largest in the whole chain of Fox Islands; it lies in the 54th degree of north latitude, and 194th degree of longitude east from the meridian of Greenwich. On the western side it is bounded by the island of Umnak, and on the east by the islands of Spirkin-Kigalga and Unalga. Its length from south-west to north-west, is seventy-four miles; and its greatest width twenty; terminating to the west near Umnak, in a small promontory. It is surrounded by a number of bays, some of which penetrate so far into the land, as almost to unite with others on the opposite side. Among them are three of considerable magnitude, Ugadjach or Beaver's bay, running from the eastern side sixteen miles into the land; Makuschinsk on the western side ten miles, and a third running from Captain's-haven, seven miles and a half in land. All these have lesser bays, or creeks, adjoining them. They are all so deep in the middle, that a 60 fathom line cannot reach the bottom; and in the sea, on the north and south side of the island, at the distance of six hundred feet from the shore, the water is above 100 fathoms, while in the straits it is not more than 20 or 30 fathoms. The whole island of Unalaschka is covered with mountains, whose summits are crowned with pointed and naked rocks; one of these mountains on the southern side is volcanic, and covered half-way up with moss and grass. The southern shore of the island is bounded by a chain of high rocks, but those at the northern extremity are rather lower than the others, and many slope towards the sea. The declivities of some of the mountains which are watered by brooks, produce grass

and herbs. On the low spots are grown various sorts of plants, among which is the epilobium angustifolium, the branches which are numerous, and shoot annually from the parent root on stems above three feet high, with long narrow unequal leaves, the flower consisting of four small roundish patent lanceolated petals, with eight pedicles, the fruit consisting of a very long capsule of a cylindrical form, with four valves. The seeds are numerous and oblong. It grows in marshy places in the north of Europe. We also found the arbutus uva ursi, a creeping evergreen of inconsiderable size, the leaves of which are tough, thick, not juicy, and rounded with the corners bent inward. Between these, campanulated flowers of a pink colour shoot forth, and are succeeded by tasteless round mealy berries. It grows in the fir-woods of the temperate parts of Russia, and is used in tanning fine skins. The leaves are esteemed a powerful diuretic, and the berries yield a serviceable dye.

I likewise met with raspberries of an amazing size, which, however, were watery and less inferior in flavour to those of Europe. Among the edible roots are the Macarscha and Sarana, as also a sort of yellow carrot, which the inhabitants maintain has so great a power of strengthening the sight, that, if they eat largely of it at night, they can on the following morning discern the smallest object at an incredible distance; for which reason they generally eat of it previous to going on the chace.

This island abounds with black, dark-brown, and light-grey foxes, but there are but few red ones. The Russian hunters catch them with traps; but in this open country they are by no means so good as those caught in the woody parts of Siberia; on which account they are much cheaper than the Siberian. Yet with all this disadvantage, the Russian merchants derive a considerable profit from this trade.

Besides the foxes there are no quadrupeds, except short-tailed mice, which burrow in the earth, where they find roots for their sustenance, and reside winter and summer; but they lay up no store for the former season.

Among the birds are eagles, with white heads and tails, hawks, woodcocks, and many kinds of small birds, some of which sing very well. Sea-fowls of different kinds are also numerous, as urilas, owls, &c. which frequent the ledges of the rocks, and are caught in their nests by the inhabitants, who convert their skins into garments as before described. The urilas are about the size of a wild goose, have long necks, sharp beaks, and black feathers, with a beautiful green ring round their necks. The breasts and necks of the males are frequently variegated by a mixture of white feathers. Their legs are so near the tail,

that when they sit on the rocks, they appear to be standing; their bodies and necks being almost perpendicular. The owls are about the size of a duck; their breasts are white, and the rest of their feathers black. The Toporkas are nearly of the same size, their feathers being grey, their beaks red, broad, flat, and prominent; their eyes shaded with a row of white feathers, arched like eye-brows. The skins of these birds are much valued for their firmness, and are mostly made into garments for the men. Their beaks are used by the women for the decoration of their cloaths. There are no birds so difficult to shoot as these, from the extreme closeness of their plumage, which repels the shot; besides which, they frequently plunge into the water, and when they swim clap their wings as in flying. Two sorts of geese also occasionally visit the island; the first, which come from the southern countries in the middle of April, and reside on the lakes during the summer, are of a moderate size, with grey plumage, and the head and neck black; in September and October they disappear again, and are succeeded by others of a similar size, with an ash-coloured plumage speckled with white. These latter come hither from the north, live the whole winter on the cliffs, that are often under water, and feed on the sea-weeds that abound in these parts.

In April, at the commencement of spring, they fly to the northern climates, where they probably breed. Yet we saw none of them in the country of the Tschukshens, whence I should draw the conclusion, that they make the shore of North America their summer residence. The amphibious tribe of animals are less numerous here, than in the other Aleutian Islands. There were formerly otters in abundance, the skins of which were made into vests by the inhabitants; but since the stay of the Russians here, the number of these animals has been greatly diminished, and they are now very scarce. Sea-bears make their appearance in spring and autumn, but for a short time only, as they withdraw to the north in the spring, and to the south in autumn. Sea-lions however, frequent the detached rocks both summer and winter, though not in great numbers.

Fish of different kinds are to be found round the island, as roach, cod, and another sort call terpuges, much variegated with yellow, green, and red spots. The rivers in June, July, and August, abound with ketas and the hump-backed salmon. Among the shell-fish are three sorts of crabs, the first round and large, with long feet, very similar to those of the spider, and on that account called sea-spiders: the second in like manner round but smaller, with shorter legs and longer pincers; the third sort resembles the small river crabs, ex-

cept that the tail is not covered with a shell, on which account they like to conceal themselves in the shells of snails, which they often drag about with them.

Judging from the barrenness, rude aspect, and deficiency of the necessary articles of food, one would imagine, that this island was not destined for the habitation of man; but, according to the assurance of the Aleutians, it was sufficiently peopled before the arrival of the Russians, but hunger and other untoward accidents had reduced the population to less than one half, and at present not more than one third was remaining. Their residences are all fixed on the shore of the sea, and on the north, east, and west-side of the island, that to the south being uninhabited; they reckon fourteen dwelling-places in the whole, and three hundred and twenty-three male inhabitants. Each dwelling-place consists of two or three mud hovels of various sizes, the largest of which are nine fathoms long, and three broad.

The floor of such a hut is sunk somewhat under ground, and the roof is made of the floating wood which they fish out of the sea, covered with moss and grass. The light is admitted through some small openings in the roof, that serve also for the egress and ingress of the inhabitants, by means of a ladder, which consists of different steps cut out of a plank. About seven foot from the outer wall stakes are driven into the ground, which partly support the roof, and partly serve to mark out the partition for each family, in which, instead of beds, platted grass-mats are spread. They sit on these mats in the day-time to work, and sleep on them at night, using their cloaths for covering. They empty their dirty slops and every filth, into the middle of this common dwelling, which becomes by that means excessively wet and muddy; and were there no openings in the roof, would soon occasion an insupportable stench and vapor. Each partition has a particular wooden reservoir for the urine, which is used both for dyeing the grass, and for washing their hands; but after cleaning the latter in this manner, they rince them in pure water, and dry them in the open air, by swinging them backward and forward.

They seldom make a fire in the juit, except to cook the flesh of the sea-animals, and some sorts of fish: but they eat the cod-fish raw after cutting them into small pieces, which they consider as a preventive against the mischief that they might otherwise receive from some small worms, supposed to be in the flesh of these creatures.

They obtain fire by striking two flints over the down of birds, sprinkled with brimstone, which instantaneously catch the falling sparks.

In the evening they burn train-oil in stone lamps, on which

occasion, they use dry moss for a wick. With this fire they not only light the jurt, but warm themselves, by taking it under their coats, and closing the opening, so that the heat cannot escape. In this manner they can make themselves as hot as if they were in a sweating-bath. The stone of which these lamps are made is very soft, and may be hollowed out with others of greater hardness, not merely for this purpose, but also for deep pots, in which they boil their fish. They use them however, but seldom, preferring mostly the iron and copper kettles, which they procure from the Russians.

The wooden utensils of these islanders are water-vats, made of split planks. The fat of the whales and the seals they preserve in bladders; the other dry provisions, in baskets, or sacks of braided grass.

Knives and axes they procure from the Russians; but they are not well acquainted with the use of the latter, to which they fasten a wooden handle, so that they can chip with them as with a hatchet, but neither split nor hew; they rive their large trees therefore by means of wooden wedges.

Nothing is more tedious and fatiguing, than their carpenter's and joiner's work, in making their baskets, their arrows, and the hulks of their baidars. One whole year and more is spent in building such a small boat, on which account they prefer purchasing it at a dear rate. The bare collecting together as much wood on the shore as is requisite for a baidar, is attended with infinite toil and trouble. The main part is the keel, 21 feet in length, which is always composed of two or three pieces. To this they fasten, by means of split whalebone, ribs of willow and alder-branches, on the upper extremities of which they place a frame with cross-bars, which in the middle is a foot and half broad, and binds the whole baidar together. Over the whole they stretch the hide of a sea-lion, or a large sea-dog, leaving on the top a round but smallish opening, in which the rower sits. This baidar is so light in all its parts, that altogether it does not weigh much above thirty pounds. The paddles are very long, and have shovels at both ends. They are held by the rowers in such a manner, that they can row alternately with one shovel on the one side, and another on the other.

The weapons of the islanders consist merely of darts and spears, which, as they use them for different purposes, are of various sizes. The first sort, which are used against men and animals, are four foot long, having a bit of lava affixed as a point, which is an inch and half long, and three quarters of an inch broad. The second sort is smaller than the first, and is only used against animals; points of bone instead of lava are tied on them

with sinews. The third sort, which is used for killing birds, is equal to the first in size, and provided with four barbed bone-points. The fourth sort is nine feet long, and also used against animals, having at one extremity a bony point, to which is tied a thong made of sinews, that is wound twice round the middle of the spear. The other extremity is adorned with a bush of eagle's feathers. The fifth sort is four feet four inches long, having a bony point, and in the middle an inflated bladder, to keep the mortally wounded animal from sinking. The boards with which these darts were thrown are about a foot and half long; one end is fitted for a handle, and at the other end a bone is fastened in like a nail, on which the dart is placed for being thrown.

The darts and boards are dyed with a red stuff, collected from the sides of the rocks, and dissolved in water secreted from blood, by which it is made proof against rain or salt-water.

The blood for this purpose they get from their noses, which they prickle with a blade of grass, until they have procured a sufficiency. On any excursion to sea, they fix their darts behind and before them, in thongs fastened to the baidar.

The darts, which the Aleutian always endeavours to get again, he throws with his right-hand, while with his left he manages the baidar.

He is so dexterous in the government of his bark, that the lightest sloop would certainly not be able to overtake him; for we had the experience of the Aleutians coming up with our vessel in their baidars, when it was going at the rate of four leagues an hour.

Mears says in his Travels, that the Aleutians could turn themselves over in their baidars, and regain their position at pleasure; but this is not the case. Whenever they are so unfortunate as to be overturned, their death is inevitable, if no one be at hand to assist them; on which account they take the precaution of going in companies, and put in stones for ballast when they have no other load. When they have occasion to stop for any purpose, they bind all their baidars close together; and if they wish to land safely in a violent storm, they must have assistance from the shore to draw their baidars to land.

Expert as these islanders are in the management of their baidars, they are incapable of swimming; and, from what I observed, are not in the habit of bathing, which may be owing to the severity of the climate.

Respecting the appearance, dress, and labours of the Aleutians, nothing is to be added to what has already been said on that subject, in the first chapter of this volume. It now remains to mention the different opinions relative to their origin, and

to take notice of their superstitions, rites, and funeral solemnities. It must of course be very difficult to trace the origin of a people so remote and savage, which has no other documents than what oral tradition affords, blended as it is with a thousand fables, and confused by a thousand contradictions. In such cases, the best means of getting at the truth, is to compare the customs, manners, and language of one people with those of another, and from thence to draw our conclusions. At the same time, I have not neglected any information which could possibly be collected from their incongruous relations, and for that reason took particular pains to converse with the old men on this subject.

From the thin population found in these islands, I concluded that they could not have been long inhabited, and that the inhabitants probably knew something by tradition of the place whence they came; but I could gain no satisfactory answer to my enquiries; for the two tales related to me by a couple of old men, did not at all accord, and afforded me no clue to a farther solution. "One informed me, that God, after the creation of these islands, also created men who were originally immortal, and when they had reached old age, went on a lofty mountain and threw themselves into a lake, from whence they came out possessed of renovated youth; but that God in the mean time fell in love with one of their virgins, and took her to be his wife, who once, in a familiar conversation, reproached him with having committed a fault in the creation of the Aleutian Islands, by giving them so many mountains, and no wood. Upon this God was extremely indignant, and killed her brother, which was the introduction of mortality among men."

According to the other fable, the Aleutians are said to descend from a dog, that fell from the sky on the Island of Umnak, which had two puppies, a male and a female, that had dog's paws; but the progeny of these were perfect men. As they multiplied, and the island became too small for them, dissensions arose, and they were compelled to seek habitations elsewhere, some going eastward to Cape Alaksa, others to the cluster of islands in the west, whence they received various appellations. The inhabitants of Atta, are called Sagignas; those of the Andrejenow Islands Negochas; those of the Rat Islands, Kogochas; those of the Volcanic Islands, Akogaoas; those of Umnak and Unalaschka, Kagulangas; those of Unmak and the other circumjacent islands, Kigegonas; those of Unmak, Sannach, and Uega, Kagantagumas; those of Kadjak, Kanagas; those of Cook's River, Kenaizas; and those of Prince William's Bay, Schugatschas. Not a single Aleutian can assign a reason for these different appellations; notwithstanding which, all these

people, except the Kenaizas, Kenagas, and Schugatschas, have the same customs, dress, and even language, with a few variations in some words, and in the pronunciation, which does not, however, prevent them from understanding each other.

On the islands, where the Russian merchant-ships anchor, as on Unalaschka, Umnak, and the Andrejenow Islands, the people are more civilized. Some of them speak good Russian, and many are baptized in the Christian Faith. But in the other islands, they are as rude and savage as ever. They acknowledge a God indeed, as the almighty and universally beneficent Being, but regard all worship, sacrifice, and prayer as superfluous, from the idea that God knows better than they, what is good for them, and will grant it without their request.

They consider misfortunes and diseases as the effects of wicked spirits, and on such occasions have recourse to their Shamans, who assume no particular garb, nor use any extravagant gestures in their exorcisms, but calmly sing with the other Aleutians, sitting in one posture, and sometimes beating on a drum. Their drums are not large, being the same as those used for every other song and dance. The Aleutians take one, two, or even three wives, as they are in a capacity of supporting them. They have no nuptial ceremonies. The bridegroom commonly treats with the parents for the bride, and promises what he thinks he can afford, either in cloaths, baidars, or what are termed Kalga, which is prisoners made in the other islands, or destitute orphans, who are consigned over to a rich Aleutian, to labour for their bare sustenance, and may be transferred to another on the same conditions. If the parties are agreed, the bridegroom begins to visit his bride, and frequently spends whole days with her, in the character of a lover. If they have any regard for each other, the bridegroom either takes her to his house, or repairs for a constancy to her dwelling. If they live in harmony, the father now on his part makes presents to the son-in-law; if, however, the husband be not satisfied with his wife, he can send her away, but has no right to demand his own presents back; on the other hand, if the woman will not live with him, he is at liberty to take from his father-in-law all that he had given for her.

No man is allowed to sell his wife without her consent; but he can resign her over to another, either for a term of years, or for a continuance, which is not unfrequent. The Russian hunters, in particular, make use of this privilege, and take Aleutian women or girls for a time, for which they give a trifling compensation. But it never happens that a woman grants her favours to another without the consent of her husband; for in this barter of

their persons, they are not influenced by love, but a desire of gain. Nor was this custom so frequent, before the arrival of the Russian hunters, and is not practised by any whose thirst of gain has not stifled their natural sense of shame; there are, however, many who would not carry on so disgraceful a commerce, for any emolument whatever. I was told, that formerly this custom was not practised for money, but from a sort of compassion, and a cordial attachment to an individual, who, on his return after a long absence, was allowed to sleep one night with every female, married and unmarried, in the jurt. Hence it is, that the man, who can never with certainty claim the children as his own, that are born by his wives, has not an equally unlimited power over them with the mother; nay, that the uncle on the mother's side has more authority than he.

The children of one father by different mothers are not regarded as brothers and sisters, and are accordingly permitted to intermarry; but the case is reversed, with respect to those by one mother and different fathers. The distribution of the property on the death of the father is regulated by the relatives, who usually leave the greatest part for the widows and children, and take the rest for themselves.

I had no opportunity of witnessing a burial; but I learnt from the inhabitants, that a custom formerly prevailed at the decease of a Toja, or any other man of consequence, of burying one of his servants with him. But now this barbarous custom is done away; and the baidars, darts, and other utensils only of the deceased are put in his grave. The entrails are taken out of the corpse; which is stuffed with hay. Persons in mean circumstances are put without any ceremony into the ground, or the cavities of the rocks, but the rich are laid in tombs, made of wood, expressly for the purpose. Into these earth is first shaken, and then covered with grass mats and skins, upon which the body is laid, and bound with thongs, in the position in which one usually sits in the baidar, with the feet approaching towards the breast, and the hands folded round the latter. Another mat is then laid over it, and covered with another layer of earth, upon which broken pieces of the baidar are placed. If the wife has an affection for the deceased, she cuts the hair off the crown of her head, as a token of her grief, and mourns for him several days; sometimes carrying it so far as to keep the body for weeks together in the jurt, for which purpose a frame is erected of a suitable size, in the shape of a prism, and covered with skins. The corpse is fixed into this case, as in a sitting posture, and remains there in a detached corner of the jurt, until the unsupportable smell renders it necessary for it to be buried. But little chil-

dren for whom such a frame can be made firmer and closer, are kept sometimes a whole year and even longer, until another comes into the world to supply its place. Such coffins are decorated by the mothers with enamel beads, thongs, and bird's bills, and hung over their beds.

I shall now conclude my description of these islanders with some few remarks on their capacities, propensities, and morals. The Aleutians have a good natural understanding, very considerable talents, and a quick comprehension; some of them were very expert at cards, draughts, or even chess, in which none of our companions could excel them. They are indebted for these acquirements to the Russian hunters, who, without intending any good to the islanders, sought by this means to enliven the leisure time, which hung heavy on their hands. Had they however, chosen to turn their thoughts to the introduction of agriculture and every rural occupation, they would have obtained their own object more effectually, and enjoyed the gratifying reflection of having contributed to the civilization of a savage people.

The inhabitants are very quiet and peaceable among each other, at least as far as we can judge from experience, having never observed the least discord among them, during our whole stay.

On my journey round the island, they every where received me with the greatest friendliness, and entertained me in the kindest manner, so that I may with justice place hospitality among the principal virtues of this rude people; it being displayed to all who pass through their places, without regard to relationship or acquaintance; for I myself was witness to their sharing the half of their own provisions with perfect strangers from other islands, and that too without receiving any compensation. At the same time they have the commendable custom of relieving every one from the painful necessity of asking for any thing, by setting before the weary traveller whatever they possess, as soon as he enters their jurt and is seated. In addition to this, the Aleutians form an exception to savages in general, and particularly those inhabiting the Eastern Islands, that they are not thieves. Nor have I observed any other evil propensities among them, but indolence and ingratitude. They never betray any vehement emotions, nor do their countenances ever indicate either vexation, melancholy, or joy, on any occasion, however extraordinary. On the return of a relative from a distance, he is received with as much unconcern as if he had never been absent. He likewise goes himself without saluting any one, or speaking a word, into his partition of the jurt, seats himself by his relations or wives, and takes off his

travelling attire. If he asks for any thing to eat, it is set before him, and if he is cold he has a lamp given him; after which, he begins relating some particulars of his journey, and they on their part inform him of what has passed at home during his absence; but all this goes forward without the slightest indication of curiosity or interest.

CONCLUSION.

THE reader will perhaps not be unwillingly detained a few moments longer at the close of my narrative, to learn the fate of my partners in this toilsome expedition.

The chief of the expedition, Captain Joseph Billings, retired on a pension as commodore, in the year 1797, and now resides at Moscow.

Robert Hall, captain, now rear-admiral and knight, residing at Petersburg.

Christian Behring, captain, a grandson of the famous navigator, from whom Behring's Strait receives its name, died of a consumption in August 1803, in the forty-third year of his age, as a pensioned major-general of the fleet.

Anthony Batakow, steersman, supposed to be dead.

Sergei Batakow, steersman, dead.

Kondratow, second steersman, his fate totally unknown.

Aphanassi Bakow, boatswain, is now boatswain with the rank of lieutenant, in the service of the fleet at Cronstadt, and has obtained the Wladimi order of the fourth class.

Michael Rohbeck, first-surgeon, is now first-physician of the hospital erected some time since at Petersburg, by her majesty the empress.

Surgeon Allegretti, so honourably mentioned by Mr. Lesseps, in his Journey through Siberia, was some years first-surgeon in the service of her majesty the empress, and had married a grand-child of the famous Euler, but died in the year 1799, in consequence of the bite of a mad dog, in the most melancholy condition.

Lehmann, first surgeon's assistant, is now living as first surgeon of one of the gallies.

Wassilei Woloschenow, second surgeon's assistant, received a post in the government of Woronesch.

Martin Sauer, secretary, known by his description of this Voyage, in his native language the English, is now a broker in the Petersburgh exchange.

Joseph Edwards, mechanic, is an overseer, in the silk and cotton manufactory, erected by her majesty the empress, at Alexandrousk, not far from Petersburgh.

M. Woronin, draughtman, follows his profession in the service of the Admiralty.

Serjeant Bakulin died as lieutenant at Ochotsk.

Doctor Merk, a man combining an almost puerile timidity with extraordinary intelligence, died in the year 1797. He understood the Jakutish language very well, partly from his having married a native of Jakutsk, who was descended from Russian parents. His widow is still living. The results of his observation and researches, together with that of the other voyagers, were consigned over to the celebrated Pallas.

Daniel Haus, steward, died during the expedition.

John Main obtained a situation some years ago in an iron-foundery of Mr. Gascoyne, at Petrosawodsk.

Charles Krebs died as bookbinder to the Admiralty, some years ago.

M. Wassilei Siwzow, the chaplain, remained after the expedition at Jakutsk, whence he had been taken, and is said to be still alive.

Captain Timophei Schmalew died during the expedition at Ochotsk.

Secretary Jerlin remained in Siberia, and is still living.

The provincial secretary Karpow died at Irkutsk.

Gawrila Pribylow, steersman, the discoverer of the islands named after him, remained in Siberia; and if still living, must be a very old man.

With regard to myself, it may suffice for the reader to know that I am still in the service of his Imperial Majesty, with the rank of Admiral, and member of the Board of Admiralty.

END OF SARYTSCHEW'S TRAVELS.

TRAVELS

FROM

ST. PETERSBURGH

THROUGH

MOSCOW, GRODNO, WARSAW, BRESLAW, &c.

TO

GERMANY;

IN THE YEAR 1805:

IN A SERIES OF LETTERS.

BY G. REINBECK.

TRANSLATED FROM THE GERMAN.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR RICHARD PHILLIPS, 6, BRIDGE STREET,

BLACKFRIARS,

By J. G. Barnard, 57, Snow-hill.

1807.

PREFACE.

IN the following series of Letters, I offer to the reader merely such cursory observations as I had an opportunity to make on my late tour, after a long residence for several years in Russia. It has been my strenuous endeavour to represent the objects exactly in the light in which they appeared to me; but it is far from my wish to obtrude my opinion on others. Whether these views be interesting, must be left to the public to determine.—*Russia*, the country in which *Alexander the Good* sways the sceptre, at present occupies in a very eminent degree the attention of the rest of Europe. Hitherto, Europe may be said to have communicated its light to that country; but, by a singular change, it now would seem as if we expected from it light for ourselves. This may give rise to a double error; first, in looking forward for greater efforts from that quarter than can possibly be accomplished, and in under-rating the real merit of what is actually performed; and secondly, in misleading the Russian nation itself, by over-rating its degree of culture and political powers. Under these circumstances I am inclined to believe, that any communications relative to objects closely viewed with an impartial eye, will be readily received without needing any apology: even the confirmation of an opinion renders it absolutely neces-

sary, that the object should be considered on more than one side; while the less splendid side itself acquires a certain degree of interest from an unbiassed inspection, provided there be no glaring attempt to display this point alone.—Such reproach will, I trust, not apply to my letters; but should any person think it applicable to them, he may rest assured, that he does injustice to the author.

Whether cultivation prevail in a superior or inferior degree in the other parts of Europe than it does in Russia, is a question which I must request permission to leave undecided.

THE AUTHOR.

TRAVELS

FROM

ST. PETERSBURGH

TO

GERMANY.

LETTER I.

YOU request me to communicate to you some of the details relative to my late tour. You wish to acquire a more accurate knowledge of an empire, which, in every respect, at the present epoch so strongly engages the attention of the rest of Europe, and respecting which the accounts are often so widely different. I promise to give you every information in my power on this head, but with this condition, that you are not to expect too much, and upon no account whatever, any thing farther than cursory remarks, frequently founded on mere recollection: for, deprived as I now am of all sources of information, it is impossible for me to correct my observations by those of other travellers, on that part of Russia and Prussia, through which I hastened back to my native soil, or to add any topographical and statistical remarks. Besides, it is man and his occupations that chiefly interest you; and I know that you willingly resign to the politician and geographer the task of estimating the population, situation, and distance of the places, &c. You are particularly desirous of ascertaining the nature of the soil which Alexander the Good meets with in his extensive and benevolent designs for the culture of his millions; whether every thing is duly prepared for, or, at least, whether it is susceptible of any improvement; whether the seed already sown has taken root and thrives, and what results Russia and the world at large may hope from it? In this, however, you expect of me more than I can perform. To determine these points is required not only the most perfect acquaintance with the spirit of the nation

in general, and in a very eminent degree with the spirit of those who are to carry those benevolent designs of the dignified monarch into effect; but even a thorough knowledge of the national customs and manners, of the forms already existing, of the degree and nature of the culture prevalent in the interior, and of the obstacles, and the means of removing them. Without this knowledge any decision must be partial, uncertain, and consequently can be considered only as a petulant presumption.

It is an absolute impossibility to judge of a nation from the inhabitants of a residence, and the effects of the capital are not confined within its own walls. Whoever knows Russia, for instance, only from the district between Petersburgh and Moscow, can have but a partial, and frequently incorrect, knowledge of the nation in general. The pestilential air of great cities, that pool of moral corruption, in which the refuse of human passions is in a continual state of fermentation, and so often attended by the most tremendous phenomena, unfortunately extends its havock over the surrounding country far and near, and penetrates even into the rustic cottage. In no instance is this fact so evident as in the district between the two cities above-mentioned, whither the contagion, from the perpetual communications to and fro, is incessantly conveyed. Hence the philanthropist, in travelling from one of these cities to the other, finds so few pleasing objects; and, by the bye, throughout the whole of the distance, nature has provided but a scanty repast for her admirers. The want of population is every where visible. Notwithstanding the great number of births in the villages, the question is, how many attain to the age of maturity, and how many are left to attend to agriculture, particularly as the country must naturally be drained of its best source of population, by the considerable and repeated levies for military service, and by the incredible throng crowding to the capital, where the rustic becomes a petty shop-keeper and salesman. But, independent of this consideration, even the villages are rare. We frequently meet with an extent of more than twenty versts, totally uncultivated, and presenting to the eye one continued barren heath. Every thing but the immorality of the inhabitants is in a state of infancy. On this road it would be in vain to look for proofs of that good-nature and officiousness for which the Russian nation in general is so justly commended. Any embarrassment to which a person may be exposed, becomes to the Russian inhabiting this district, a source of perfect joy; nor will he fail to increase the distress to the ntmost of his power, because he rates the amount of his gain accordingly. A curious anecdote here occurs to my memory, which was related to me at Petersburgh. Shortly

after the appearance of a certain publication, in which the greatest encomiums are paid to the disinterested officiousness and good-nature of the common Russian, the author of the work happened to cross one of the canals in Petersburgh, when the ice gave way under him. He supported himself above water as well as he could, and kept calling for assistance, but for a long time in vain, it being the middle of the night. At last a fellow on shore asked, what he wanted; when the unfortunate person, almost perishing with cold, implored his assistance. What will you give me! was the reply. Whatever you demand; only rescue me speedily, exclaimed the sufferer. I shall do nothing except you give me a silver ruble, resumed the other; nor did he stir to extricate the panegyrist, till his demand had been acceded to.

It is money alone which can induce the Russian in this district to afford any assistance; and even then he expects not merely a recompense, but a treble or fourfold payment. In former times brandy was, according to the assurances of travellers, a certain stimulus to rouse him to exertion; but even that all-powerful means has now nearly lost all its virtue: not that it is at present disagreeable to the palate of the nation (for a sober person on this road is a rare phenomenon), but because the Russian here immediately calculates, that the money will purchase him more than the single glass which the stranger gives. Though he will not refuse it, yet he never forgets the payment in cash. It is also not advisable immediately to give him the whole sum intended for him; for, however adequate it may be, still he is never satisfied with it, and often expresses his discontent in a manner that would irritate the most forbearing temper. Instead of being grateful for the money received, he will endeavour to play the traveller some trick, or excite others to do it. On this account the stranger ought to be on his guard, and never omit to observe well, that the screws be properly returned to their places after greasing the carriage-wheels, and that the pin be securely fixed in the thill. It is a general observation, that the Russian has a strong propensity to bantering, and is endowed with a peculiar talent for the purpose; but this sarcastic mimicry, and jeering repetition of a stranger's words is only peculiar to the inhabitants of this quarter, and to the plebeian of the cities. A threat, with the cane elevated, immediately puts the wretch to flight, but the insulted person is exposed to the ridicule of the bystanders, especially should he be ignorant of the language of the country. Still, how extremely unjust would it be to form an opinion of the whole country from this insignificant and small district, however superior to the others in European culture?

You may therefore draw such results respecting your interest-

ing inquiries, as may arise from the unbiassed description of what I observed and experienced in the course of this tour; but whatever I send to you shall at least be *truth*, that truth which you so often miss in the accounts relative to foreign countries, especially the northern.

LETTER II.

OF St. Petersburgh I shall not attempt to give any description: for of late you must have so often read of its flourishing state, of its daily displaying new beauties, and of its justly meriting the epithet of splendid, that it would be prolixity to repeat it. Besides, several months have elapsed since I quitted that city, so that I could scarcely offer you a correct account of its present state: for where so many new worlds in miniature appear almost every day, called forth, as it were, with a magic wand, you may naturally suppose, that the whole must assume a change in a very small period. If a residence of a series of years, engaged in various, complicated, and extensive connections and relations; if attention to the occupations of those around him, accompanied, perhaps, with some small share of talent for connecting the numerous phenomena, can entitle a person to a belief that he has been able to form a knowledge of the city, I may venture to boast, that I know St. Petersburgh. But then a difficulty, almost insurmountable, presents itself, where we are to give the particulars of a place, in which we were not mere spectators, but agents in a greater or smaller degree. The connections and situations in which we live there will always have a considerable influence on our view of the different objects. I must confess, that I feel no inclination to observe imperfections, and, perhaps, not merely to pass them over in silence, but to give them even a gloss of perfection; to represent every thing as delightful and admirable, whatever errors and defects may be perceptible, and that in the more glaring light, the more one has an opportunity of obtaining a conviction of the smallest circumstance by a nearer approach to the object. Whoever feels this propensity, may possibly feel himself comfortable on the occasion; but, in respect to myself, I am at least perfectly assured, that, without considering the languor of my pencil, I shall never obtain honours and titles for my representations; because I do not understand the art of beautifying an object of complete ugliness.

At the same time, I must request you not to infer, that I imagine myself to be selected, as the first who has been enabled to speak the truth: for, however good my inclination be, still I might

be deficient in a true unbiassed and impartial mind. And it certainly is a question which merits a mature consideration, whether, under the same conditions, the traveller or inhabitant be the more competent judge of a city. If the former have seen more cities, he will be exempt from prejudices on either side; if he have acquired a certain degree of deliberateness in forming an estimate of the phenomena as they present themselves, and if he be possessed of penetration, I would, notwithstanding the superficiality of several of his opinions, immediately side with him unconditionally. Behind the scenes a play appears widely different, than when beheld from the pit.

LETTER III.

I shall not attempt to describe St. Petersburgh. Of its daily increasing and flourishing state (whence it justly derives the epithet of *splendid*,) you are already too well informed to need any repetition. Besides, several months have elapsed since I left it; consequently, I should not be able to give any information respecting the wonders which daily start up, charmed forth, as it were, by a magic wand, which naturally change the aspect within a very short space; and a description of its interior, that is less changeable, would require more time and space, than the letters will afford me. But if a residence, during a long series of years can entitle a person, occupied in the most various, complicated, and extensive connections and relations; if attention to the various occupations and general bustle, together with a certain degree of talent to watch the crowding phenomena: if these qualifications can entitle him to a knowledge of a city; in such a case I may boast, that I know St. Petersburgh. But it is attended with infinite difficulties to communicate information of a place, where we were not merely the spectators, but rather to a certain degree agents. The connections and situations in which we lived there, have always a considerable influence on the aspect of the objects. To unconditional encomiums I do not feel the least propensity: for, it it is painful to observe imperfections, and not only to be silent on the subject, but perhaps even to give them an appearance of perfection, to represent every thing as excellent, every thing as astonishing, whatever chasms and defects we may perceive; especially, where, from a close view we have more opportunity of approaching the objects, and convincing ourselves of every detail. Whoever feels such a propensity, will never be an object of envy to me.

Honours and titles I do not lay the least claim to, on account of my ignorance to beautify actual ugliness.

I trust, however, that the conclusion will not be hence inferred; that I imagine myself the first called forth to speak the truth. However good my inclination may be, still I might want a certain degree of impartiality. In fact, the question would merit a serious inquiry, whether, under equal circumstances, a traveller or inhabitant be best enabled to judge of a city.

LETTER IV.

I QUITTED the splendid city of St. Petersburgh at three o'clock on the morning of May 28, N. S. and June 9, O. S. the very day on which Whitsuntide is celebrated. In conformance to a custom which is recommended to every traveller, I proceeded the first two stages with Ischwoshicks or job-horses: for post-horses are seldom to be had at the last stages to and from the residences. An uncommonly early and delightful spring had been succeeded by continual rains, which had rendered the road to Nowgorod extremely bad: this morning, however, the weather was pretty clear. The dawn had thrown a light veil over the city; the clouds began to be tinged with red, and the sun dispelled the mist: the streets were deserted; there was a pause in the general driving, crowding, and bustling of the grand residence. This silence formed a striking contrast with the sensations which in this moment fluctuated in my breast. I quitted a place in which I had spent a series of years, the prime of my life, in unremitting activity, and not without deriving benefit from it. How many a tie, where my heart was closely connected, was rent asunder in this moment! Every cheerful and every gloomy hour, to which those walls had been witness, now crowded on my phantasy; a tear glittered in my eye, and no noise interrupted my various feelings, except that here and there the tolling bell summoning to prayer, gave to my mind a more solemn turn. With these sensations I rolled along the broad streets in a convenient carriage drawn by four horses.

I know that it will meet with your approbation if I occasionally make short digressions, as often as an opportunity occurs to direct your attention to any superiority of Russia, as in the present instance, to the eminent degree, which the trades and mechanical arts have attained in St. Petersburgh. A carriage of that manufactory unites the greatest convenience with the utmost elegance and solidity; though it naturally is here to be

understood, when a German or other foreigner built it: for, notwithstanding the work of the Russian is by no means deficient in elegance, it still wants durability; which is very natural. The same price is never accorded to him, which is given to the stranger; is it therefore to be expected, that he should pay the same attention to the selection of the materials, and to the finishing of the work? His carriages are always some hundred rubles lower in price than those of the foreigner; and yet many a carriage purchased at Newsky, (that part of the city where the Russian coach-makers have their repositories, and exhibit their extraordinary quantity and variety of carriages for sale) passes for German manufacture. And, in general, even the coaches of the foreigners are chiefly of Russian workmanship: for the greater part of their journeymen and apprentices are Russian vassals, consigned to them by their masters. Whatever is requisite to build a carriage is manufactured in St. Petersburgh, even to the springs, which are by no means inferior to the English. The slightest chaise costs from four to six hundred rubles; a larger one, from seven hundred to a thousand; one for two persons, from eight to twelve hundred, and upwards; and for four persons, from twelve hundred to six thousand rubles. The Emperer Paul prohibited the importation of English carriages; and whoever quitted that country, while permission was granted to travel abroad, acted prudently in furnishing himself with the proper documents, that his vehicle was actually of Russian manufacture, if, on his return he wished to avoid the risk, of having it declared to be English workmanship, as well as of his meeting with a refusal to re-enter the country, as was often the case. But exclusive of the coach manufactories and whatever belongs to them, the gold and silver workers, especially the jewellers, have attained the highest degree of perfection; it would, however, be a difficult matter to point out any other place, where industry in these branches meets with so liberal a remuneration.

The road to the imperial palace of Zarskoje-Sselo, which we had to pass, is not to be compared with the Peterhof Chaussée: it is neither kept in such good repair, nor is there so much variety and culture in its course. There are only a few country-seats which stand singly, and certainly have no very striking appearance; while on the other hand, on the Peterhof Chaussée the villas are in abundance, many of them resembling palaces surrounded by entensive parks most delightfully arranged. Here are considerable districts quite barren; there the smallest spot is employed as a kitchen-garden. St. Petersburgh, however, distinguishes itself from other cities, because scarcely any grain is

cultivated in its vicinity, so that many citizens for years never see a field with its undulating varieties. Most of the estates about the residence, particularly such as are situated near a river, have only meadow-land and pasturage. An exception from this rule is the English colony, lately established by the present monarch, and situated on the road to Pergola, a delightful seat of Countess *Schuwalow* in a mountainous country; though large districts contiguous to the city are set apart entirely for the culture of cabbages and other vegetables. This part of husbandry is understood by the Russian to perfection; but you will scarcely find a city in all Europe, where the consumption of cabbages, cucumbers, and potatoes is so considerable as in St. Petersburgh and Moscow, where the first two articles almost exclusively form the main support of the people.

Seven versts from the city is the Equestrian Castle *Tshesma*, so denominated by Catharine (instead of its Finlandish name *Kikerekeksino*, or Frog-place) in honour of Orloff's victories; it is built entirely in the gothic style, with small turrets, and the stones unpolished. Exclusive of the celebrated gallery of portraits of all the former sovereigns, among which are several master-pieces, and the greater of which were presented, by the princes themselves, is the Knights' Hall, of the George and Wolodomir Order, which, on account of its architecture, and splendour, is well worth seeing. An inkstand of bronze and enamel, on which is represented, in the most brilliant and finished style, the burning of the Turkish fleet, together with several others of his heroic actions, is placed on the round table before the throne, both of which are covered with red velvet, embroidered in gold; this valuable present was made by the former court of Versailles. The Emperor Paul, who had never obtained the Order of the George (which was only conferred for military services), and who had from motives, easily traced, as great an aversion to that as well as to the Wolodomir Order, caused the Chapter to be closed; but the present monarch has re-opened it. The two churches adjoining the castle are splendid and beautiful; the surrounding forest, however, is by no means so close as some have asserted, especially, the author of the "Pocket" formerly alluded to, who, misled by a laudable but mistaken patriotism, has so enlarged and beautified his objects, that in fact, all enjoyment of the little that otherwise would be pleasing, is completely lost. I admit the value of patriotism; but when its deception becomes so great as to hoodwink every defect, or even to pretend to see what might and ought to be there, but is actually not there, then it denotes a childish weakness, and is unworthy of our esteem.

LETTER V.

As you proceed, the road assumes a more lively and cultivated, as well as romantic appearance. About twelve versts from the city is a considerable German colony, which is generally called the "Colony of the Twenty-two," from the number of families which settled here. You will recollect, that there are several colonies in the vicinity of St. Petersburgh, which were established by Catharine in the early part of her reign, and endowed with great privileges. These colonies, if I am not mistaken, were exempt from all taxes; independent of which, they received every requisite for agriculture and domestic economy. Few colonists in Russia met with a lot equally fortunate. Though the soil about St. Petersburgh is not the most fertile, still they had one great advantage, that, under the eye of their monarch, they could follow their labours, secure from all oppression; and the contiguous city afforded them a liberal market for the produce of their grounds and cattle. This colony is closely related to the colony of the Forty-eight, which is situated in a more delightful district, across the Newa, and opposite Alexandrowsky, a seat, which belonged to the late Prince Wjasemskoy, where the benevolent dowager empress has formed a cotton and spinning manufactory: the work itself is performed by the children from the late Foundling-house, (which at present is the Imperial House of Industry) under the direction of an able English manufacturer. It stands also in connection with another in the romantic spot Colpina, where Peter I. established a cannon-foundery. The spiritual concerns of all these colonies are consigned to one clergyman, who resides in the large colony: he is of the Lutheran persuasion; but the Calvinists and Catholics, who are mostly Palatines, Wurtembergers, &c. apply in matters respecting religion to the clergy of St. Petersburgh. The parsonage in the colony is said to be very productive; but from the turbulent overbearing spirit of the colonists, delighting in chicanery, it is connected with numerous difficulties. As they mostly intermarry among their own circle, and never intermix either with a Russian or Finlander, they have naturally preserved their customs and language tolerably pure.

The principal articles with which the colonists at present supply the residence, are milk, butter, potatoes, and eggs. The colonial butter is reckoned one of the luxuries of the imperial city, and almost every respectable family is eager to obtain it,

to eat with his bread. The Finland and Russian butter is ony used for culinary purposes; for the latter is never churned, but left to prepare itself by the heat of the stove. The colonists bring their articles to the city in straw-carts, with one or two horses; in general, however, the females accompany them; and notwithstanding there are so few beauties among them, still the *Chronique Scandaleuse* insists, that homage is frequently paid in the city to their rural charms.

The farmer who brings his goods to sell in town, is not bound in Russia to expose them to the purchasers in the open market only; on the contrary, he has the liberty to hawk them about the town, and his customers willingly pay a few copeques more for the advantage of supplying their wants at their own door. The colonists in particular avail themselves of this advantage, and, from their extensive dealings, such as are active and sober managers, soon acquire a certain degree of opulence, which often renders them arrogant and stubborn, but still, in general, without in the least influencing or altering their accustomed simple and often needy mode of life. The Finlander, however, who deals in the same articles, mostly leaves the sale to the forestallers, who among themselves, fix a price on the goods, and hawk them about town. Hence poverty and misery constantly attend him: for what he earns, is not his own, and the little which he does get, is immediately expended on his favourite cordial, brandy. And in order to afford him the most convenient opportunity for obtaining it, such provision has been made, that on all high roads he is sure to find a Kabacke or brandy-shop every two hundred yards. From this reason, when he goes to town, and particularly on his return, he is seldom sober, but mostly (and not seldom as well as his amiable consort) in an enviable state of absolute insensibility; so that were not his horse to retain his reason, their return would often be a ticklish point. It sometimes will also happen, that some good friend eases him, when in this state, of the remaining trifle of money.

The disposition of the Kabacks along the high roads is certainly the most efficacious means of soon bringing the money back into the coffers; but how ruinous and degrading this is to mankind:—on this subject there can only be one opinion. Besides, the smallest share falls into the coffers of government. All these Kabacks, as well as the sale of the brandy in the towns, nay even that of beer, are in the hands of a company, (the members of which are called Compagnieschicki) which annually pays several millions to government for this monopoly. During the late reign their contract terminated; and it was even rumoured, that it was not to be renewed. The Compagnies-

chickis, however, applied the most sovereign remedy, not only to avert the threatening storm, but they even received from the emperor gold swords of honour, and medallions for their merits, of their country and government: they declared their readiness to pay a considerably larger sum every year! The concerns of this company involve millions of rubles, and render the holders of shares likewise worth millions.

The abuses arising from the forestallers in Russia are incredible, and affect every article of the first necessity, particularly poultry, flour, groats, wood, coals, &c. These monopolizers have their commissioners, even to a considerable distance in the interior, and on their will depends the settlement of the prices, at which the townspeople are to supply their wants. In the late reign attempts were repeatedly made to reduce these prices, by establishing a certain rate for each article: the consequence of which was, a still farther increase in the prices; because the forestallers immediately withheld their articles from the market. Notwithstanding the rigid strictness which the police evinced in support of the order, it now became absolutely impossible to obtain any thing. As the monopolizers bought up every article far up the country, and went to meet the people on the road bringing provisions to the towns, which they immediately purchased. It was in vain a proclamation was published, prohibiting them from purchasing of the peasants before a certain hour, in order to afford the townspeople a preference in buying; nothing was brought to market, or at least too little to supply the general demand.

This instance is a sufficient refutation of the paradoxical assertion, namely, that it is not profitable either to the country at large, nor to the inhabitant of a town, if the latter receive his supplies from the first hand; because the peasant thereby loses so much valuable time in going to market, for which the other must indemnify him: hence the supporters of the paradox maintain, that it is far more advantageous to both parties, to leave the purchase to these salesmen, or engrossers, and allow them a small profit. But are they content with a moderate profit? and would it not be consigning both the citizen and peasant to the vilest usury, if the latter should be drawn from the habit of going to market, or perhaps even prohibited from attending it?

Immediately behind the colony of the Twenty-two rises a considerable chain of hills, covered with wood, along the declivity of which are situated several villages, which, together with their meadows and fields, afford a most delightful view from the summit. The road runs in a direction close to this slope. The sun had already gilt the undulating corn; the lark was soaring aloft from the meadows covered with clover; the

flocks were breathing the balsamic vernal air, bleating with joy; and the villagers were walking to church. I once more cast a mournful eye towards the gilt steeples of St. Petersburgh, and wished my friends a pleasant morning.

LETTER VI.

WHO can approach the splendid imperial residence of that great woman, whose name appears with such lustre in the annals of the century in which she lived, without experiencing the painful sensation of departed greatness? A German princess by birth, and yet to be the idol and pride of the foreign nations over which she governed, and which still devote to her memory many a silent tear and the most respectful homage! Even without any farther evidence than this incontestible truth, her greatness I consider, as perfectly decided, however envy may gnash her teeth. It is with the most heartfelt emotion that I still recollect a scene that deeply affected me at the moment. I was one day in an apartment of a nobleman's house at St. Petersburgh, in which a portrait of *Catharine* was suspended; it happened to be shortly after the accession of her nephew and favourite to the throne. Being alone in the room, the sight of the striking resemblance excited in my mind the recollection of a variety of circumstances from former days, and comparisons with the present, when suddenly the two wings of the door flew open, and a brilliant company entered, conducted by the venerable matron of the house, who had been one of Catharine's court ladies. The assemblage tacitly formed a semi-circle around the picture, and after contemplating it for some time without averting an eye, broke out in the exclamation, "Oh! she was a great woman!" I saw tears glittering in many an eye, and the company again retired in solemn silence. This homage to the picture of a despotic monarch, at a time when her smile could no longer excite ambitious hopes; when her hand could grant no more vassals nor badges of honour; paid by persons who owed their dignity, not to her, but to her successor: this indeed appeared to me to be the most affecting triumph of true greatness.

But the greatest man will always remain but a man, with innumerable infirmities and failings; and frequently these very imperfections are an inducement to reconcile us to his greatness, which otherwise might be oppressive to us. The discussion of the questions, whether Catharine's greatness tended more to injure than to promote the welfare of her people? and whether

her faults did not often strike incurable wounds, is best left to history to decide? that rigid judge of those who are clad in purple.

You will often hear it asserted, that her wars have deprived the nation of its most generous supporters; the rights of nations were no obstacle to her aggrandizement; she despoiled them of their countries, and even of their existence as a nation. Her ambition promoted disunion and contumacy; her will, however opposite it might be to the existing laws of other empires, was to be the law for all: her feminality gave too wide a scope to the ambition and avarice of her favourites; her vanity gave her people an appearance of culture, which, on the slightest agitation, again vanished. She disowned the spirit of wisdom, which sows at a proper depth the seed, that is in future times to shoot up to a wide-spreading fruitful tree, under whose shade posterity may find refreshment; she threw it forth scarcely covered with earth, and was delighted with the rapid growth; for she was resolved to enjoy both shade and fruit. She placed the spirit of the nation in a hot-house, where it luxuriantly sprouted up to leaves and blossoms: some of the blossoms became fruit; but the fruit was either sapless or watery, and, accustomed to the heat of the hot-house, no transplantation can well take place. You will often hear her charged with these failings; but is it, on the other hand, to be expected of the greatest woman, that she should entirely lay aside the character of her sex? and was it Catharine's fault, when she observed so apparent and rapid a developement, and inhaled the balsamic odours of the blossoms around her, that she should be dazzled by the appearance of this phenomenon, and in consequence attribute to the spirit of the nation which she governed, more inward strength, and a greater degree of maturity, than perhaps the sequel evinced? To probe to the bottom is no characteristic of a female; her talent principally lies in catching up any thing superficial that may present itself to her eye; in converting it to her use, and in beautifying it. And when we consider the pliability of the Russian spirit, united to the incomparable talent to adjust itself to any form, together with the susceptibility for a splendid external polish, was a young elevated female to blame, if, inspired by the sublime idea to be the modeller of an empire, and to procure it an honourable place in the list of the cultivated nations, she mistook the shadow for the substance, and was delighted with the appearance of the reddening fruit?

Respecting her wars, was it then absolutely impossible, that her keen female eye should point out to her the necessity of placing her nation on the highest degree possible of political

importance, of attracting the eyes of all nations towards it, and of uniting its interest as closely as possible with the interest of the other parts of Europe? The nation, she judged, will then feel unwilling to remain behind those, which it has not only overtaken, but even excelled in the arts of war and politics. The sense of its weakness, in this respect, will be felt as a burden, and it will then suddenly and majestically unfold its internal strength. She considered it as her principal duty, to provide the means necessary for this intellectual developement, whenever the happy period for activity might arrive. Hence she made it her principal study to establish good schools; she exerted her endeavours to invite men of understanding to her country: hence she frequently was contented with a less perfection, especially where it related to a production of her nation. If she anticipated the period, when it would be awake to a sense of its own energy; and if she, on some occasions, mistook the course, or treated the nation, which was still to be modelled, as already full formed, who will impute it to her as a crime, that she was not omniscient? Who is ignorant of the manner in which some knew how to bound her views, by pointing out to her apparently smiling objects, on which her eye could not fail to rest with delight? Who has forgotten Potemkin's towns in the Crimea?

Catharine was, if not superior to the æra in which she lived, at least far superior to the nation which Fate subjected to her sceptre. Was it then not a true patriotic wish of the mother of her country, that this very nation, from which she believed she had reason to expect so much energy, should approach her with a gigantic step! Which is greater, the attempt to elevate a nation to a higher degree of perfection, or to reduce it to a low scale, as we may daily in some parts secretly observe?

LETTER VII.

I TRUST you will excuse the prolixity in my last letter; the great object, however, which I touched upon, irresistibly hurried me along. The execution of so copious a theme as Catharine's character, spirit, and government is, must be transmitted to impartial posterity by the keen, penetrating eye of history; for this grand theme has never yet been properly viewed, much less exhausted: I shall only add a few words, respecting the personal appearance of this singular woman.

I saw her repeatedly a few years before her death, but almost always in the circle of her castles, for she seldom appeared in public; though in her latter years she was oftener abroad than formerly. In person she was of a middling stature, rather in-

clining to corpulency, but still so as not to be in the least unwieldy. Her look expressed an ineffable mildness; her delicate blue eye still retained its original lustre, even at her advanced period of life: dignity and grandeur were exalted on her majestic front, covered with snowy locks. Her skin was very white, and the deep red was alone artificial. Her small head-dress of lace covered her hair, above which glittered a small diamond crown. Her dress differed from that of all her court ladies, and even from that of all the females of the empire, excepting her friend the princess Dashkow; it was a mixture of the Oriental and European, and though no fashion altered the cut, still it was not less convenient than it was elegant; nay, I must say, it was quite adapted for a matron. On her left breast glittered the diamond star of the St. Andrew's order; but I do not recollect to have observed the blue ribband: the finest silk stockings were partly covered by white satin shoes. Her walk was still upright and tolerably firm: in short, female majestic grace pervaded her whole form.

On gala-days, when she passed through the apartments of the palace to table, she was preceded by twelve chamberlains drest in rich embroidered clothes, with a lord chamberlain with his wand at their head; then came her majesty, her train being borne by chamberlains and pages; behind her were very few ladies. The procession then closed with the rest of the court. On these days, surrounded by her nephews, and the splendid circle of her nobles and friends, she was cheerful and sociable, and frequently facetious. Before her stood some particular small dishes, from which she selected some, and presented the same to one or other of her friends. The band of music, placed in an opposite gallery, which played the most melodious notes, appeared to excite but little attention; still it sometimes happened, that she would even compliment the artists by arranging fruit and confectionary on plates, which she would afterwards send to some of the performers.

On occasion of the nuptials of the present monarch, a public supper was given after a splendid ball. The whole imperial family was here assembled, together with all that had the least claim to the bon ton. The sight of the beautifully illuminated hall, the splendour of diamonds sparkling on the richly embroidered clothes about the head, and on all the fingers; the handsome chevalier-guard, all picked young men of uncommon stature, with their silver armour, and the helmet with its waving plume, stationed at the lofty folding doors, the crowd of pages covered with gold, and the rest of the servants: all this captivated the senses of the unaccustomed spectator, and placed him in other respects in a kind of stupefaction. No restraint what-

ever prevailed, and no one, whoever he might be, and of whatever rank, found himself uncomfortable or neglected, provided he had been formerly accustomed to appear in the great world.

The ball was opened by the charming grand-duchess, the present dowager empress, and a nobleman; they were succeeded by all the tender branches of this excellent family, with that ineffable grace which distinguishes all the female part of the imperial house. Catharine stood in the circle, and smiling attended to the dance of her fair grandchildren. Even Paul Petrowitch was present in a red velvet suit, with that stern countenance which nothing in this circle was able to cheer. His body was only partially turned towards the assembly; his head was thrown back; his cheeks, as usual, rather puffed with wind; his arm in his side, and one foot advanced. A certain resoluteness was the character expressed in his figure, look, and position. He would occasionally converse with some general near him; in other respects he seemed to interest himself little in whatever transpired: in his look might be evidently read, "*Here I must be.*"

During the dance, her majesty took a seat at one of the card-tables in the back part of the hall, which is separated by pillars: here she played with Count Cobentzel, at that time Austrian ambassador, who was seated opposite to her; on her left was Prince Platon Subow, with a dark blue richly embroidered uniform; and, if I am not mistaken, Baron von Stedingk, the Swedish ambassador on her right. You will probably recollect, that Catharine had expressly requested this conqueror of the Russians as ambassador to her court, and that she had a particular esteem for him. Does not this simple feature announce a great soul? In the same were several other card tables, occupied by the other ambassadors of the nobility of the court. A heap of gold was spread before her majesty, and beside it a small gold shovel, with which she pushed forward to the winner what she had lost. She played some hazard game, but which has escaped my recollection. Her attention was not much fixed on play, and was every moment interrupted by the presentations which now took place. To each she said something obliging; many a one she would call to her side, and converse longer with him, in which conversation they were frequently joined by the duke in a tolerably intimate manner.

The grand marshal of the court now made his appearance, and by a deep bow announced to her majesty that the supper was ready. Catharine arose, and the dancing and music immediately ceased. She proceeded through the halls, most graciously bowing towards the spectators of the feast, who had arranged themselves in two rows. The procession was as before described; but it was now preceded by a great number of pages, carrying

silver sconces. All followed her in crowds into the hall, where the table was extended in the form of a horse-shoe, and every thing was united that taste and splendour could produce, in order to excite sensuality. The effect of the whole, of the gold and silver vessels, of the rich liveries about the table, and of the splendid circle that was admitted to it, surpasses all description. Catharine, however, whose smiling mien animated every thing, and the sweet circle of her grand-children, among which was now Elizabeth with the charming mother, captivated every eye. But scarcely had Catharine quitted the table, and turned her back, when the whole scene changed, and presented an image or picture of the primitive chaos. I saw the fruits and blossoms, the ribands and flowers torn off; I saw pockets filled with the remaining fruit and confectionary; and the servants, apprehensive of going away quite empty, mixed among the high nobility, and availed themselves of their house-right: so that all depended on who could grasp the most. Several pieces of plate are said to have disappeared on that evening. I stood in the crowd like one who was petrified, and exerted my utmost endeavours to avoid the kicks and blows: but to escape was impossible: indeed, this was not the conclusion which I ever could have expected of such a fête.

Her majesty rode repeatedly in her sledge in the course of the last winter which she saw; behind her stood prince Subow and the grand master of the horse, surrounded by an immense suite on horseback: then followed the imperial family, and finally the court. The splendour of the procession afforded the pressing crowd a brilliant and majestic scene, while the grace which beamed forth from the eyes of Catharine, and her amiable family, charmed and captivated every heart.

Whenever Catharine rode abroad, she was always preceded by twelve hussars, who rode two and two at some distance from each other. Her carriage, though not splendid, but still very convenient, was surrounded with pages and heyducs: a master of the horse gallopped aside of the carriage, followed by a number of imperial stablemen. Her majesty has often been censured for this propensity to sumptuousness; but an empress of Russia is not to be considered on a trivial scale; and she knew her nation: hence she never made her appearance in public too often, without retiring again in a most striking manner. The opportunities of beholding her were rare, but each of these were a fête; and when she appeared, it was always in the splendour of the sovereign commanding respect. Still she was by no means unpopular; on the contrary, the people adored her.

LETTER VIII.

We have now arrived at Zarskoje-Sselo; it lay on our right, and only a part of the park and the beautiful aqueduct, the bold performance of Bauer, was visible: this was, however, still sufficient to excite all those sensations which pervaded my breast several years ago, when an accident led me hither.

I had visited this place during the life of Catharine; for who could have left Zarskoje-Sselo unvisited? What a throng around the castle! how the splendid equipages rolled about! see every one crowding to catch a ray of the all-enlivening sun! how proud was he whom fortune favoured! while the less fortunate rested at least satisfied with the refraction: but he who met with neither silently withdrew from the crowd, which, eager for his vacant place, scarcely perceived the party who had just quitted it; they did not follow the custom of the common Russian. Whenever he meets a criminal in custody, he takes off his hat, approaches him with respect, and gives him alms. This may be interpreted in Sterne's language so: "To-day it is your turn, to-morrow mine!"

The nearer we approached, the more lively the scene became. The entrance leads through a gate in a rock, above which is the walk leading to the park. To the left, the eye is surprised with a number of small, neat, elegant Chinese houses, partly painted, and partly hung with tapestry, so as to represent a village; but which were, in fact, destined to be the residence for the chamberlains and pages in waiting; but to the best of my knowledge, they never were employed for that purpose, on account of their humidity. To the right, at the further end of the buildings, one story high, occupied by the imperial servants, we meet with the iron lattice richly gilt, to which a door, resembling pillars, leads, and where the principal façade of the castle makes its appearance. In directing our eye towards the court-yard, we again observe a number of similar dwellings for servants, one story high, so that the court-yard is surrounded by them in the form of an amphitheatre. Similar entrances, like the one in the centre, lead to the court-yard. It is here that the spectator is first able to overlook the almost boundless scene. A lawn on each side, the grass of which always kept as closely cut as velvet, announces to the astonished visitor, that here is a country-seat; a thought which, from the numerous pillars and costly gildings, might easily vanish.

The larger and more beautiful part of the park is situated behind the palace. The structure itself is three stories high,

and terminates in two recoiling wings; that is, the right contains the bathing-rooms, both being covered with a cupola: the chapel on the left hand is ornamented with the customary five spires, and richly gilt crosses, and the bath with a globe and star. The colour of the whole is green, most splendidly covered with gold.

It was here that Catharine I. surprised her husband with the original plan of the palace; but the structure itself was raised in the reign of Elizabeth, and evinces in its architecture, as well as in its exuberance of gildings, the taste of that period.

Catharine II. erected a separate palace for her residence, built in the most simple but elegant style of architecture. Before her lay spread her own and new designs, and her eye surveyed the monuments which she had erected in honour of her heroes, and of him who was to her more than all, of her Orloff. These were placed on the open lawn, and towards the latter part of her life were often visited by her in solemn silence. The park, which abounds in shady walks, in new prospects, in temples and bridges, in ruins, &c. occupies a considerable extent of ground. A gentle slope leads from the middle story gradually into the park, so that her majesty had no use of stairs. The gallery of great men, from which the bust of Fox, on a late occasion, was obliged to disappear, hermitages, the bridges of pillars, the arcade with a marble colonnade above it, the Rutschberg with its forest of pillars have, like every thing else remarkable in the castle, been so often described, that it would be unnecessary here to repeat it. In short, the whole was a most perfect model of the taste of its inhabitant, and her æra. Catharine's apartments were splendid, but in the style of noble simplicity, cheerful and lively, like the mien of the possessor. Her bedchamber, with the mirrors and the glass pillars quite resembled the dwelling of a fairy. From her apartments she had an open prospect to St. Petersburgh. Here, it is said, that she was sitting at a window during the last autumn which she survived, and observed that a sudden storm was collecting over the residence. Directing the attention of the company to the circumstance, one of them had the temerity to repeat a Russian proverb, which signifies, "Command, sovereign, and the flash shall light!" In that moment the flash actually struck and set fire to the gallies, all of which were consumed. Her majesty arose with indignation, cast a gloomy look at the unseasonable flatterer, and retired to her apartments, where she soon received messengers from St. Petersburgh, announcing the damage sustained by the storm. Shortly after she repaired to the city, and saw her favourite Zarskoje-Sselo no more! and its splendour vanished the moment her eyes were closed.

A few years after I visited it again—what a change! Every where the works of the corroding tooth of time were visible. All was in a ruinous state! With mournful feelings I reclined against Orloff's pillar, and cast my eye towards the windows of the late sovereign; but that great spirit, which animated the whole, had disappeared. A hoarse *halt* issued from the rocky gate. The interior of the palace was already deprived of its greatest beauties. There was even a report, that the whole castle would be converted into barracks; and, if I am not mistaken, a guard was actually ordered hither. The Emperor Paul delighted only in his own plans and devices, and those of his imperial consort; Gatschina and Pawlowska were, notwithstanding their confinement, his favourite places: he even despised the greater convenience; and, at least in respect to Gatschina, the greater beauty and richness of the surrounding country. Whether this proceeded from a disgust to whatever was concerned with the former period, (as it is said to have been the case with the Tauridian palace in St. Petersburgh), I leave undecided. In point of beautiful scenery, Pawlowska certainly bears away the palace in respect to Zarskoje-Sselo. The hard resolution, totally to destroy this proud imperial seat, was, however, soon altered; so, that not only every thing was ordered to remain in the same state in which it was found, but even additional furniture was conveyed hither; and the suite of apartments were fitted up in the lower story of that wing, which Catharine had inhabited, for the late Princess Gagarin.

Though the favourite residence of his grandmother, the stage of his happy infantile years, is sacred to Alexander, still all is kept in the same state though not inhabited. He finds more delight in the charming Peterhof, and Caminoy-Ostrow; which are nearer to the residence, but very confined. Here he passes the greater part of the summer with his imperial consort; and the dowager empress in her favourite Pawlowska.

LETTER VIII.

The road to Moscow leads between rows of houses which conceal the prospect towards the castle, and which belong to Sophienstadt This town contains an elegant church, after the model of the celebrated St. Sophia church at Constantinople: it was built by M. Starow, subrector of the Academy of Arts in St. Petersburgh, and merits attention. Most of the arrangements in Zarskoje-Sselo were planned by an English architect, named Cameron, whom Catharine highly esteemed, and imperially rewarded; but who was not so happy as to meet with

Paul's patronage. This new church of St. Sophia has not, however, met with the same fate as the cathedral of "the Mother of God of Kasan," in St. Petersburgh, built in imitation of St. Peter's church at Rome, but which will resemble its model as much as the nest of a swallow is like that of the eagle.

However incredible it may appear, still it is not less true, that on a road so repeatedly passed as the one in question is, from St. Petersburgh to Moscow, scarcely any provision is made for the convenience of travellers. The post-houses, which are the only houses where they can stop, except in the towns, are miserable in the extreme, and do not afford the least refreshment. Eggs, cabbage-broth (Tschi), and pork, are the only articles to be expected; and even this is prepared in such a manner that a person must be very hungry indeed (which, fortunately, is seldom the case with those who come from the capital) only to taste it. I advise every one to carry his own provisions with him on the road. In the vicinity of the residence, it is even a difficult matter to obtain milk, this article finding a ready market in the city.

From Ishora, the first stage from St. Petersburgh, commences the straight road, extending 120 versts in length. It was the intention of Peter the Great to continue it to Moscow; but this plan was frustrated by marshes, forests, and a want of suitable situations for post-stages. According to the Pocket-Book above mentioned, the beginning was made in the year 1712, under the direction of Forkwarson, who drew a straight line from the summit of the steeple of the Admiralty in St. Petersburgh; and found, that the shortest line between the two capitals extends 395 versts in length, while the distance at present amounts to 728 versts. This straight road, cut through forests, is most intolerably melancholy, and so lonely, that one rarely meets with a carriage or a person in passing it. As for villages, scarcely any are to be seen. It terminates near Tshudowo, a miserable village, inhabited by carriers.

The finest forests in this part of Russia are deprived of their principal charm by the death-like silence which prevails there. The cheerful songster is scarce in these districts; and in the vicinity of Petersburgh still more so, in consequence of the innumerable attempts to catch all singing birds, and on account of the frequent explosion of fire-arms, especially in those quarters inhabited in summer by foreigners. Independent of this, whole districts of wood are burnt, either intentionally, in order to make the land arable, or in consequence of the imprudence of the waggoners and peasants, who are in the habit of lighting a fire at night in the forest. Such a conflagration

took place, last year in the vicinity of St. Petersburgh, which frequently enveloped the city in smoke, till at last a considerable body of the military was called out to extinguish it. This was effected partly by cutting down a number of trees, and partly by digging ditches.

Though the price of wood for fuel is daily rising, still not the least attention is paid to economy on this head. Even the orders of the Emperor Paul remained ineffective. The present Emperor has also directed his attention to this subject: but the nobility deem it an infraction of their privileges, to be limited as to the quantity they may legally fell every year on their own grounds; hence arise frequent and violent disputes with the delegated foresters. In respect to frauds committed on the crown forests, the superior officers are too interested there; and a forethought for posterity is still foreign to the Russian. Hence the introduction of any order in this respect will be attended with endless difficulties.

In respect of firing, it must be confessed, that considerable progress has been made at St. Petersburgh in the saving of wood, as well as in the art of keeping the heat collected. The contrivance of their stoves and convenient kitchen-hearths, in many houses, is worthy of imitation.

The stoves at St. Petersburgh are built with numerous tubes, so that the smoke passes into the chimney almost cold; and the chimney is connected with the stove by means of a small flue of brickwork. As soon as the wood is burnt to a live coal, which is greatly accelerated by a powerful draught, the tube in the stove is closed by means of a close iron slider or valve, over which is placed an iron lid. The stoves themselves are made of pottery; the inside of which is well coated with loam and ground brick-dust. The space for making the fire is as confined as possible, and the live coals are frequently stirred about. Such a stove retains its warmth for twenty-four hours, when it begins to become lukewarm; and, as the heat in the stove gradually diminishes, the temperature in the rooms remains nearly the same.

But these stoves cannot be called Russian stoves (which are clumsy, and by no means possessed of these qualities): for in St. Petersburgh and Moscow alone has necessity induced the foreigners to devise an economical contrivance of the stove, in which they have fortunately proved eminently successful.

But the contrivance of the hearth introduced in many houses at St. Petersburgh, seems to merit still greater attention. They are built of pottery, similar to the stoves. In height and form they resemble a common hearth. On the uppermost surface are several round excavations, in which pots of cast iron are

bricked, around which the fire is conducted by flues, so that the same fire heats four or five such pots. The food is then put into deep upper vessels, expressly made for the purpose, covered with a lid, and then placed in the iron pots, an iron or tin cover being placed over both. Such a hearth is heated with very little wood, and within the space of an hour it has mostly attained the due degree of heat. The flues are now all closed as in the stoves; no fire is visible, and the dinner is in a state of preparation. Should the heat be too great, the vessel is taken out, and placed on the hearth, where it remains in a moderate heat. The advantages of such a hearth, independent of the saving of fuel, are very great. No fire is to be seen, nor can any soot or smoke enter the apartment; the food can neither be smoky nor under-done, nor can a fire ever break out, &c.

The English kitchens, as they are denominated, with iron plates, have most of these advantages, except that, on the least boiling over, steam and smell are unavoidable.

In my domestic arrangement at St. Petersburgh, I had five stoves of this kind, with a kitchen and oven, which were daily heated; and these cost me, in a most severe winter, (which generally continues eight months,) at the utmost, twenty-five sashenes or fathoms of wood; while, without such arrangements, a dwelling of the same size would require from fifty to sixty fathoms, and still my friends would often complain of the heat in my apartments.

LETTER X.

THE denomination of a Carriers' Village will probably excite much surprise in the minds of many of my readers; but I must remark, that there are considerable villages, especially on this road, which are entirely inhabited by carriers; and from this circumstance they derive their name. These carriers undertake the transport of goods, convey travellers from place to place, or even send their servants with horses to the towns, in order to act there as hackney-coachmen. The village-carriers are called *Jemtshuki*, and the town-carriers *Ischooshuki*.

The arrangement of the Russian post from St. Petersburgh to Moscow differs, in my opinion, entirely from the post in all other countries; but it certainly is not entitled to that indiscriminate applause, which, Heaven knows why, it has acquired. In the whole extent of this road government furnishes no horses, except in the first and last two stages, and in the towns; hence arises the difficulty of obtaining horses, as I have mentioned

[illegible]. The [illegible] are established in the carriers' villages, and these furnish the horses according to contract. They drive in rotation, and the Starost or senior (a dignity which does not always depend on old age,) decides whose turn it is. He then attends to the greasing of the wheels, and provides horses, which latter part is done according to the direction of the post-secretary, who only enters the route; (but he does not receive, as in Germany, the post ticket, from the hand of the postillion, but from the hand of the passenger himself, to whom it serves as a passport) and in the next place is on the alert, that the traveller drinks his miserable coffee, or at least pays four-fold for what he might have drunk.

A certain shuddering seized my whole frame, as often as I approached a new stage. The moment you arrive, about twenty ragged fellows, with physiognomies such as I should not wish to meet with in a desolate place, hurry to the carriage, surround the traveller, enquire of the driver quite loud, how much money the passenger gave him. They then drag the thill to and fro, and begin quarreling who shall drive. They treat the traveller in the most shameful manner, and laugh at him, should he express his dissatisfaction at their conduct. After waiting a long and painful hour, some miserable skeletons, called horses, are dragged forward. No one seems to care whether these horses are capable of drawing the carriage, or who is to drive: the latter is often a boy from twelve to fifteen years of age, who hardly understands the management of horses, and who often leads the traveller into the most unpleasant embarrassment, a circumstance, which I have more than once experienced in the course of this tour.

The servants of the post have no particular dress nor any other mark of distinction, excepting the little bell attached to the extremity of the thill, but which is frequently not used at all, unless the traveller insists upon its being placed there. Clamorous as his reception was, his departure is not less so, and perhaps attended with the loss of a part of his effects, (for the eyes of Argus himself would scarcely be sufficient to watch every motion). If he have no title, or cannot prove that he is engaged in the service of government, which, fortunately for me, was noted in my road-pass or Padaroshna, the answer immediately is, "There are no horses." He must then wait four or five hours, and, if his business should urge his proceeding, he must pay treble and four-fold the customary price. And who are these miscreants, that presume thus to abuse travellers? Miserable wretches! scarcely superior to brutes, or ragged beggars, and drunkards. Notwithstanding the numerous regulations for the post, as well as for every other object in

Russia, and which, in fact, are in no other country so [illegible] as here, the question is, who attends to observance of them? To whom can an appeal be made by the aggrieved? To the post secretary? He is a Mushik, or common fellow, [illegible] than the carriers themselves, and who unites with them in plaguing and plundering the traveller. He is not ashamed to [illegible] openly, while the carriers assume the appearance as if they condescended to accept the traveller's money. Assured of impunity, they deem every thing lawful for their purpose. [illegible] many complaints have been already made to the supreme post department, but all without effect: they have even the impudence to tell you that, and to adduce instances in proof of their assertion, if you threaten them with complaints. In fact, it seems to have become a maxim, to render travelling with extra-post as difficult as possible; and still this is the only mode of travelling in Russia.

In regard to expedition in travelling with the Russian post, the general opinion is, that it is scarcely excelled in any other country. According to the Pocket-Book repeatedly mentioned, the horses are harnessed to the carriage in a moment; the postillion mounts his box, pushes his cap over his ears, flourishes his knout over the horses' heads, strikes up his song, and flies on. But on the high road itself the scene is wonderfully changed. There the traveller may wait a full hour before the horses are put to; and even then it is called very expeditious. The fellow now mounts the box, and immediately the whole crowd roar out Hoha! hoha! in order to urge the horses to move from the spot. Every thing goes on tolerably well in passing through the village or town; but scarcely has the traveller entered on the high road, when the postillion falls asleep. No song is now to be heard, and whoever can find any delight in single and uniform sounds, issuing from a hoarse throat, impregnated with brandy, may enjoy the pleasure with all my heart. In the next place, he seldom proceeds more than twenty-two versts in four or five hours. To remove all obstacles on the part of the postillion, I always gave to the fellow who drove me the last stage fifty kopeks, in order not to pass (according to the Pocket-Book) for a *crow*, but a *falcon*. By the former appellation, the scoundrels characterize such as give but little; and by the latter, such as give them a plentiful sum to buy brandy. In winter the case may be quite different: for then the cold may urge man and beast; while the sledge flies over the hard frozen and glossy surface of the snow. But in order to observe the utmost impartiality, it must at the same time be confessed, that it is widely different when a Russian of rank travels. On such an occasion, there is no want of money for presents, the substitute being the cane, or knout, which accord-

[illegible] is in [illegible] agitation. As soon as the nobleman arrives at the stage, the post-secretary ceases to be master of his own house. The Starost is dragged forward by the servants, who notify to him with so many blows, the number of horses which he is to furnish. The latter then employs the cane on the shoulders of his comrades, and thus pays off with compound interest the capital which he has just received. The horses are now mustered, and whichever is disliked is rejected with [illegible]. His lordship now enters his carriage quite unconcerned, after having indulged his convenience as well as possible in the house: or perhaps he has remained in his carriage, and a couple of strokes with the cane announce to the postillion whom he has the honour to drive. All stand most respectfully, with their caps in their hand around the carriage; the servants take their places; a hearty curse is pronounced, and on the carriage flies. Now the word of command is given "Sing!" or "Hold your tongue," and immediate obedience is the result. At some few stages a trifling present may be given, but in general the compliment consists of kicks, horse-whipping, and abuse. Should a noble traveller find the horses provided for him, of an inferior quality, and every assurance still be given him that they have no others at present, and should perhaps another plebeian traveller be in the act of getting into his carriage, the servants immediately give directions (for their master seldom interferes) to unharness the horses, and put them to their own carriage. The whole crowd immediately sets to work, particularly if he be a foreigner, all resistance or threats are in vain. The horses are taken out amidst the most scornful derision. If he then wish to proceed, he sees himself compelled to take the horses rejected by the nobleman, or perhaps even the jaded cattle which conveyed the latter to the present stage. The officer has every thing still more easily done: he leaves the whole business to his man, or dentshik, who regulates all with the cane in his hand, and who is hailed on all sides with the appellation of "Your Honour." According to the assurance of a very respectable gentleman, he once found to his great astonishment, on his arrival at the place of his destination, the purse into which he had counted out his post-expences, untouched in the carriage. Upon enquiring into the circumstance, he received for answer, that the cane had paid post-money and every other expence. In this manner, a person may certainly travel with uncommon expedition, and may even arrive at Moscow from St. Petersburgh within the space of three days and three nights. Though I rode during the greater part of my journey day and night, and during the remaining part at least from three o'clock [illegible] morning till eleven at night, still I spent eight days on

the road, without stopping any where at my own desire. Of my motive for leaving off travelling at night, you shall be informed in the sequel.

LETTER XI.

YOU wish for a description of some Russian village or other, and I feel myself particularly happy, in being able to gratify it; especially as the task is so easily accomplished. They all resemble each other, as much as two drops of water. The huts, none of which differ in the least in their structure, are built of wood; and, according to the ancient Russian style, so that one beam is laid across the other, and small openings are left for the windows. The space between these beams is closed with flax and moss. A large door on the side leads to a dirty yard, along the one side of which runs an extensive and open shed for the cattle, carriages, &c. The house itself stands on piles driven into the ground, without any other foundation; sometimes it is merely run up from the surface of the ground itself. If it be elevated, a few steps lead to it from the yard: here is a kind of hall with numerous conveniences for milk and other necessaries, and the family-room with a tremendous stove built of tiles, which is always red-hot, even in the midst of the most sultry summer; it serves for warmth, as well as for culinary purposes. Sometimes, however, a small parlour is parted off by means of a few planks, and contains a separate hearth. Wooden benches are fastened to the wainscot all round the room, before which stands a table in general tolerably clean. In one corner is suspended the Obross, (the idol or holy picture, which the Russian without ceremony calls his God,) and on a small shelf underneath stands a lamp, which, in the houses of people of rank, is continually burning; but with the common people it is only lighted on holidays: on particular solemn occasions, or when they wish to atone for a peculiar sin, they place a lighted wax-taper aside of it. Fowls, dogs, cats, pigeons, in short the whole family is here collected. Of the boasted cleanliness you may readily form an idea. An elastic cradle is frequently suspended from one of the main beams in the ceiling. This is a kind of basket, tied by ropes to an elastic piece of wood, which is attached to the ceiling, and by means of a suspended rope is set in agitation. This sort of cradle appears well adapted to avoid any injury that the brain sustains from violent rocking, and is perhaps worthy of imitation. Independent of this family-room, there is seldom any other habitable apartment, unless there be a second house in the

[illegible]

[illegible], as is [illegible] the case in the vicinity of the ca-[illegible].

The street, which is formed by a double row of houses, is [illegible] broad, but very dirty. In the larger villages there are more than one such street. But upon the whole the houses are [illegible] close together, without any intermediate space for gardens. [illegible] house has a far projecting pointed gable, which is, like the [illegible] and window-posts, often neatly ornamented; some have [illegible] small gallery underneath the gable. The bathing rooms [illegible] from a fear of fire, generally separated from the houses; [illegible] are situated either in the yard, or, if possible, on some open [illegible] close to the banks of a river, because men and women [illegible] forth from the glowing bath into the cold river. Even in the most severe winter, they often come naked out of the bath, and run about in the snow, or roll themselves in it. Though for the moment this practice may not appear to be attended with any serious consequences to his health, still, upon the whole, the Russian attains to no great age, and the female sex, in particultar, has the appearance of senescence at a very early period. A woman at the age of forty is reckoned very old, this is attributed principally to the Russian baths. On some constitutions, however, the bathing has not the smallest injurious influence. In the Imperial palace of Crasnoe-Sselo, and its vicinity near St. Petersburgh, there are said to be several persons, particularly women, who have passed their hundredth year. One of them even boasts that she was the first bride among all the colonists of that place, and that she danced with Peter the Great at her wedding. A few years ago she still retained a number of sound teeth, as well as a considerable portion of vanity.

The Russian village is entirely destitute of trees, and you may often in vain look round for one to a considerable extent. Thus, the very circumstance in Germany and France, which renders the sight of a village so delightful in those countries, is not to be met with at all in these villages. They have all a certain nakedness and sameness, and would just as little as their inhabitants incite a Gessner to an Idyll! All the country round them, but particularly about the carriers' villages, is mostly a large uninhabited district, or consists chiefly of grass-land for their cattle. In the next place, the men are virtually without the least employment, excepting that they watch for travellers, and attend the Kabacke, which must upon no account be missing in any village. Even the women are mostly found sitting inactive before their own doors, and staring about them. As for the singing and dancing, mentioned in so many descriptions of Russian villages, I seldom observed any thing of

the kind, though I repeatedly passed through villages on holidays. But these were perceptible only by the increased number of drunkards, and by the finer dresses of the women and girls, several of whom excite astonishment by their beauty, though the red and white of their cheeks are generally borrowed. In this respect, however, one village has a considerable advantage over all the others.

In *Spasskaja-Polist*, one of the most miserable villages through which I had yet passed, the thill of my carriage broke, which, considering the violent treatment it experienced at every stage, was no wonder. As I could not proceed without a thill, one soon made its appearance: but for the piece of wood alone, for the iron-work was supplied from the broken one, they demanded five roubles. I acceded to this exorbitant charge, upon the express condition, that it should be immediately got ready and fixed; and after waiting full four hours, I had the pleasure to see it attached awry and crooked. How long these four hours would have been to me, which I was obliged to spend in the open road, before the most wretched of all post-houses, I cannot tell, had not the sight of the blooming women and girls, who passed by me in their holiday cloaths, (for it happened to be a holiday) shortened the time. Almost every one could lay claim to a pretty figure. The male sex is likewise a well-formed race, but dreadfully addicted to inebriety.

I must request you will always keep in your mind that district of Russia, of which I am speaking; and that whatever I may observe of it is perhaps totally inapplicable to any other.

One stage more, and then I shall reach Nowgorod, which once acted so conspicuous a part in the history of the Sclavonians: it must also interest the German, as it was united with the Hanseatic towns.—Alas! how low is it sunk at present!

LETTER XII.

NOWGOROD, of which the arrogant proverb is so well known, "Who can contend with God and Nowgorod!" is a city completely in ruins, situated at the influx of the Wolchow into the Ilmer sea. Across the Wolchow, a very broad, fine, navigable river, is a large bridge of pontons, which connects the two parts of the city, the Sophia town, and the Market town. The aspect towards the lively stream, covered with loaded barks, and towards the silver surface of the Ilmer sea, surrounded by verdant shores, is delightful beyond description. Thus circumstanced, what might Nowgorod be, if more attention were directed to this quarter! But in Russia no other city can attain to

any degree of eminence, in consequence of the all-devouring St. Petersburgh and Moscow; and most unquestionably a number of flourishing towns of the second and third rank, would be highly advantageous to the cultivation of the interior. If it be a problem, whether, even in very populous countries, immoderately large cities be advantageous or disadvantageous to the country, still in empires so totally deficient in population, no doubt on this subject can exist. Here are cities of the first rank, and a want of towns of the third and fourth rank; a circumstance which is incontestible, a principal obstacle to the internal cultivation. And this is, unfortunately for Russia, her case.

In Sophia town, is the ancient fortress, or the Kreml, with its dry ditches and ruinous sharp-pointed walls, covered with moss, which were built in the year 1044, by Jaroslaw. Here is the ancient palace of the Czars, a long structure, built in a tolerable stile, as also the rich Sophia-convent, containing a treasure of innumerable remains of undecayed saints, which are diligently visited by devout pilgrims from every quarter. Close to it is the residence of the Metropolitan. A part of the fortifications has fallen into ruins, and the other part is daily tumbling to pieces; whether this be a consequence of time and neglect, or of intentional destruction, is to me unknown.

After passing over the bridge, you perceive to the left of the Wolchow, the new massive palace, a structure two stories in height, but in every other respect very simple, which the Emperor Paul new furnished, and the doors of which were carefully painted with black, white, and red, like the Prussian sentry boxes. Its situation is solitary, and it is without any guard. The tolerably large court-yard is covered with grass, but the plan for a very strong palace guard is evident. The door leading to the little garden towards the Wolchow stood open. I entered it, and with melancholy steps, I wandered through the limited walks of elder, of which this garden entirely consists, and which is often formed into arbours, inviting to retirement. Upon the whole, peace was the character which prevailed here. The prospect from the balcony towards the noble stream, must be extremely picturesque.

In this part of the town, which derives its name from the celebrated market-place, to which place the bell once collected the inhabitants of Nowgorod, is situated the stone hall, (a small unimportant building) the town school, and the seat of government. Besides what the Kreml contains, there is no other vestiges of antiquity, at least not in the city; which, however, must certainly, when it was in its flourishing state, have had a considerably more extensive circuit. The vicinity of Nowgorod is

extremely delightful: its beauty is still more increased by the number of convents, which probably in former times belonged to the city, but which at present raise their heads from the thickets with which they are surrounded. At a distance, Nowgorod distinguishes itself like every other ancient Russian city, by the number of steeples, which give to the whole a commanding aspect. I spent a couple of charming hours rambling about from one place to another.

The females of Nowgorod are certainly handsome; but the married women disfigure themselves by a long piece of coloured stuff, attached to a high piece of pasteboard, which falls down about their head and shoulders. The girls wear fillets, ornamented with pearls and stones, which are well adapted to a neat Madonna face.

The inn at Nowgorod, which is kept by an Italian, affords the traveller every convenience which he can expect, and at a very moderate price. The principal trades-people are Germans.

LETTER XIII.

SOLITARY as the high roads are, the fields are not less so. I seldom perceived a body of countrymen together occupied with agriculture. But the way from Nowgorod to Bronutzui, the next stage extending thirty-five versts, affords an exception. It is highly agreeable, is enlivened by the labourers in the field and by numerous flocks, and leads between flourishing fertile fields and clumps of birch-trees. On a level spot to the right of the road near Bronutzui is a high hill, perfectly circular, and resembling an inverted cone, on the summit of which is a church. The declivity of the hill is covered with corn, in such a manner that one row of each sort of grain is succeeded by another sort, which affords a most delightful effect. This work must, beyond any doubt, have been produced by human hands. It is said, that in ancient times a celebrated Pagan temple stood here, which was, in those days, frequently visited by the ancient northern kings. In the year 1800 the greater part of the village adjoining was destroyed by fire. But Alexander, the philanthropist, advanced to the sufferers the sum of 26,000 roubles, for twenty years, without interest, towards the rebuilding of their houses.

The small towns, which we occasionally meet with on this road, afford but a very melancholy aspect; for instance Krestzui, situated near the little river Chalon. Its site is pleasant enough, but the place itself is a picture of misery. In passing through the street, some large massive buildings present themselves at its

farther extremity, and the traveller anticipates the pleasure he expects from this appearance; but on his nearer approach he finds them in ruins, burnt, deserted, and the residence of owls and bats; and in this state they have remained several years. In many of these small towns we meet with imperial castles, as they are called; but few distinguish themselves by any thing else except that they are built of stone, and are often two stories high. They serve the imperial family to alight at on the road.

I now approach Russian Switzerland, namely, the singular chain of Waldai mountains. This chain, which in this quarter excites our surprise, stands in connection with no other whatever. Near Jaschetobutjui, where it commences, I had to pass a small bridge, which was just under repair. The beams for the repair lay to the right; and the space left for driving was only just broad enough for the carriage-wheels to roll along on the right side of the ruinous bridge, which of course was without any balustrade. As it is often a difficult matter to distinguish the common Russian when drunk (for, even when he is sober, traces of his late excess are still visible in his face), I had not taken any notice of the state of my driver. On my arrival at the bridge, I wished to alight; but to all my calls I received no other answer than "*Nje bos*," or, "never fear," and he drove on. The left wheels now caught one of the beams, and the carriage lost its balance, inclining towards the river. Notwithstanding my repeated and loud calls, and the evident danger, the fellow insisted on the beam's giving way, and continued to urge the horses on. Here it was, however, that I learned the true value of wretched post-horses; for the sensible creatures refused to move from the spot, in defiance of the incessant lashes and roaring of their driver. A couple of smart cuts with the cane across his shoulders brought this brute to his recollection, and I gained time to alight: but it was impossible for us alone to effect our liberation, and not one of the numerous by-standers offered us the least assistance; among whom were the workmen, who only rejoiced at our dilemma, still without shewing the least inclination to relieve us. At last some persons came to us from the post-house, cleared away the beams, and the carriage passed the bridge in safety.

The mountains now commenced. I proceeded down one steep declivity and up another, and frequently aside of precipices, the depth of which fills the traveller with horror. I now perceived, to my great terror, that my gentleman on the box was [illegible]rfectly qualified to distinguish hill from valley. My [illegible] increased, and his "*Nje bos*" was insufficient to inspire [illegible]th confidence. At last we were met by another postillion, [illegible] mine was searching for his whip, which he had lost on the

road. I immediately applied to him, and offered him a handsome present if he would mount the box and drive my carriage. He agreed to it, and we drove on. It was in vain that my sot called after us, curst, and swore; he could not overtake us, and, I suppose, that he remained with his whip on the road to sleep out his fit in order to awake to a fresh one.

Amidst all these embarrassments night came on; the shades of which between the hollows of the bushy mountains, often presented to our imagination figures and phantoms not altogether qualified to cheer up the mind. It was midnight when we arrived at Waldai, or rather at the carriers' village beyond that place; this village bears the portentous name Simogorje, or Winterwoe, to which name it has the most incontestible claims. It is impossible to form an idea of a more melancholy scene than this heap of sinking ruins, which require the greatest difficulty to convince one that they can serve human beings as dwellings. I had no other resource than to remain on the high road, and sleep in my vehicle as well as I could, guarded by my conductor. The exertions, anxiety, and fatigues which I had experienced on this road, together with the conviction that I was at present on level ground, afforded me a gentle slumber till three o'clock in the morning, when fresh horses were put to the carriage.

LETTER XIV.

WALDAI, which is stated to be most delightfully situated on the Holy Sea, a silvery piece of water of considerable extent, which is the more remarkable at such a height, contains (at least according to the "Pocket-Book") several handsome stone public and private buildings, an imperial palace, courts of justice, churches, an orphan-house, and an hospital. The place itself derives its support from the leather-manufactories, soap-boilers, and traffic at the fairs of the adjacent places. It is, however, particularly celebrated for the beauty of its female inhabitants, who often afford the traveller for a long time the most painful recollection of their claims on his regard. Vipers are said to be lurking beneath the roses.

The greatest libertine is here at home; as, in general, the Russian girls cannot be reckoned among the cruel ones. Being the absolute property of their masters, they all serve to gratify their passions, which soon require a change of subject. The brute, without the least hesitation, orders such women and girls as may please him, to appear before him at his seat; and no bud is suffered to blossom which he does not pluck. The more refined libertine endeavours to increase the charm of variety by an

appearance of festivity. Count ———, a handsome man, who for a short time acted a very brilliant part in this respect, lived with his countess not in the best harmony. She loved him with the most glowing ardour; and though he could not refuse her his esteem, still he was too much the libertine to find gratification in her arms alone. In summer, when he resided on his estate in the country, he gave to his own subjects and the inhabitants of the surrounding villages, rural feasts, with which a fair, or public games, were connected. A dance closed the fête; and as he often distributed presents among the women and girls, all crowded to his festivity in their best apparel. Here he made his choice among them for the week, and to each of the selected a day was allotted. During this fête, his lady generally passed her time in some other part of the country, and bewailed her mis-spent affection on the bosom of her confidants. She never returned till she presumed that the fête was concluded.

Matrimony is no obstacle to these dissipations; and the husband, who is perhaps following his occupation in the distant capital, has often, on his return, the pleasure of finding himself surrounded by a circle of children without the least trouble on his part. Whoever would in the least hesitate to avail himself of this facility of gratification, would be deemed a great fool for his delicacy; and in the houses of the nobility, there is not one, down to the meanest stable-boy, who does not vie with his master in the variety of his gratification!

That the children, particularly the sons of noble families, hardly attain the period of puberty without participating of sensual gratification, is a matter of course; and, in general, the careful father and tender mother hasten to select an object which is then admitted into the house, and is in every respect treated as his concubine. As soon as he is tired of her, which at such an age must naturally soon take place, another is procured, and the former given in marriage. The daughters seem to be more inclined to preserve their innocence, or female shame and dependence know better how to cover their enjoyments with the cloak of decorum and secresy. The consequences of so dissolute a life are easily conceived. This facility of gratification is, however, attended at least with one advantage for youth in that country, who seldom resort to the one of self-pollution. In the towns, however, and especially in the establishments for cadets and boarding-schools, this as well as other vices connected with it prevail to a most incredible degree.

The licentiousness among the peasants is often still greater. The father of a boy, from eleven to thirteen years of age, makes choice of a bride for his offspring: she may naturally be expected to be sixteen or seventeen years of age. The tender parent sup-

plies the place of his son with his daughter-in-law, until the son feels himself able to fulfil the matrimonial duties; and the children originating from this connection are consigned to the son. Notwithstanding these alliance are prohibited, yet the priest, for a few roubles, is easily induced to confer his blessing upon them.

But particularly injurious to morality is the manner, in which matrimonial alliances are concluded between the lower classes in Russia. In this respect the vassal is absolutely dependent on his proprietor. Still there may be here and there individual noblemen, who place their vassals under no restraint; by far the greater number, however, pay not the least regard to affection, or to harmony of tempers, but consider the matrimonial alliance in the same light as they do their stud. Should the bride be an abandoned wretch, and the bridegroom be a drunkard, that may still pass; though misery must certainly attend their domestic affairs.—But where one of the two is unfortunately endowed with better inclinations, and must, notwithstanding, see himself rivetted to a creature, who has not only no idea, much less a sense of these superior inclinations, then the connubial knot is not only a galling fetter, and matrimony itself not only a hell upon earth: but it must be the brood of a degenerated race, whose innate licentiousness can only be kept within limits, by the chains of slavery. It would indeed be a striking proof of the inborn gentleness of human nature, should this assertion not be found generally confirmed.

Under these circumstances, the consideration can no longer astonish us, that all the females here are prostitutes, who, without hesitation, resign their persons to any one, who is inclined to resign himself to them.

Whoever is acquainted with Russia, will not find any exaggeration in this description; and should it fall into the hands of the Russian owner of an estate, he would not, by any means, be able to comprehend, how a person could spend his breath on a subject, which appears to him to be quite in the order of things. —The philanthropist sighs, looks around him for a deliverance, and beholds . . . . .

LETTER XV.

THOUGH religion, to which you attribute the salutary power of enabling man to evince his superiority over the brute creation, the noblest present of the Deity in the hand of the wise, will never become a sword in the hand of the Russian, nor a bridle to his sensuality; it is with weary step, and trembling hand that I approach to draw a little aside the curtain which

covers the abyss. Every religion, which teaches adoration of our Creator, the performance of our duties to mankind, and toleration, is venerable; and in this sense it appears to me, that different religions cannot exist; but that there can be only one *religion*, however different the symbols may be, under which the eternal truths are represented in a manner adapted to our individual senses. We all believe in one God! But when, not the eternal truths, clad in a sensual form, but the symbols, sketched by the frail hand of man, become the primary object; when the whole system of religion degenerates to a mere external ceremony; and when even this seems directed to act on the uncultivated mind, without considering its spirit: in such a case it contributes but little to the improvement of man; nay, on the contrary, it proves an obstacle to the elevation of mankind.

Here the pen sinks from my hand, and I quit the scene with a bleeding heart! Cultivation obtained in schools, however numerous the latter be, can only operate individually, and very naturally acts in an eminent degree on the mind; while, on the other hand, cultivation, proceeding from religion, influences our whole existence, and operates on head and heart.—Here is a grand mark for the Russian clergy to point their attention to, where unfading laurels hail their approach.—Ye ministers of a God, who will be adored in spirit and truth, have compassion on the orphan nation; let it attain to the true summit of cultivation, to which Alexander is endeavouring to raise it, and illuminate Russia's horizon with that beneficial light, which he is striving to kindle. Without your co-operation, only single rays will reflect immediately around the throne; and the darkness in which the whole is enveloped, will only become the more visible. The noblest authority with which a man can be blessed, is the dominion emanating from love and esteem; the most degrading is that, which arises from a subjection and annihilation of the generous manly faculties. Toleration will wind round your front the wreath of the ever-green myrtle; suffer it not then to degenerate into indifference! Seize the torch, which is lighted by the pure beam of reason, and with it guide the people! Collect the flocks, to which you are appointed shepherds, and be their model and example! Teach them to acknowledge, that to make crosses, and observe fast-days are intended merely as external forms, to exalt the mind, and to open the ear to that voice, which speaks so loud in every breast, namely the voice of God. Make an artless and simple system of morality their duty; and endeavour to draw more closely the tie, which church and state have, by your means, slung round your flocks.—Oh! if ye could accomplish only this one point, the father of a family would prefer resting himself in the

circle of his children and on the bosom of his wife, to joining the rioting set of his Kabacke companions; and if you had sufficient power to induce the great lords of estates to check their lusts, and not to consider female innocence and fidelity in so very trivial a light, then you would be true priests of a God of love, and holiness! Then you would truly merit, that a grateful posterity, as pilgrims, visit your secret remains, and praise the wonders effected by you.

LETTER XVI.

A DELIGHTFUL morning was smiling on me, when I awoke at three o'clock in the village with the ominous name. I felt myself refreshed by the sleep, and with tranquillity and resignation I looked forward to the still more difficult stage which I had now to pass, according to the Pocket-book. But how agreeably did I find myself disappointed! The road is by far less inconvenient and dangerous than the former stage: hence the thought never entered my mind, to compare it with travels across the Pyrenean mountains, as is the case with the author of the Pocket-book, in his patriotic enthusiasm. This morning, however, was incontestibly the finest that I had enjoyed during the whole journey.

In consequence of the inequality of the road, our proceeding was very slow; I therefore alighted, and walked along the road, close to the Holy Sea.—What a magic scene! To the right lies expanded the silver sea, bounded by its green embroidered shore; the soft lisping aspen gently inclines itself forward to behold its summit in the silvery mirror; and a second green shore smiles at the spectator from the sea, which, with its gentle splashes, toys with the flower, which gently nods its head in return.

Farther on the fir raises its majestic head; to the left rises hill above hill, and one evergreen abyss succeeds the other in rotation. I stood with my face directed towards the sea, and my heart expanded itself at the sight of its wide-extended bed. A sensation of solemn calmness thrilled my whole frame: the earth vanished before my eyes, and my soul soared to that Eternal Being, whose sacred temple surrounded me.—I still do not blush at the tear which rolled down my cheek: it was the sweetest tear I ever yet shed. From the shore of this sea we observe the pinnacle of the convent raising its head, which the patriarch Nion instituted, and which he called Iwersh Convent, from a picture of the Virgin Mary brought to this place from the mountain of Athos, and at that time the sea derived

thence its name. In this moment I felt it most strikingly, how natural it is for a person who has escaped from the great world, to fly for refuge to such an asylum, in order to assuage the raging storm in his breast. Perhaps too, the more refined mountain air might contribute, according to an observation of Rousseau, to add serenity to my soul. I never felt myself before so completely happy, never before so completely cheerful!

I must beg to apologize for this effusion of sentiment;—but it is a grateful acknowledgment for so glorious a morning. Alas! this morning could not let me foresee what was to await me in the evening, which had nearly been the last evening of my life! —It is possible, that I may be mistaken; it is possible that I may add apprehensions to the adventure which occurred to me, and which, on a more close investigation, might prove unfounded. By me, at least, it will always be considered as one of the most dreadful nights that I ever witnessed.

LETTER XVII.

TOWARDS six in the evening I perceived the dome of Wuishny-Wolotshok, on the borders of Zna. This town extends itself to tolerable advantage at a distance; and fortunately, the weather permitted me to take a slight survey of the curiosities of this place, so important to Russia's western provinces. The sluice built by Catharine, so splendidly with massive blocks of granite, presented itself first to my view. It supplies the canal which unites the Zna with the sea Msta, and by this means connects the Caspian Sea with the Baltic. The Russian products come from Astrechan, from the most remote provinces of Siberia, and from other Stadtholderships, without delay as far as Twer; but the Twerza, which they must now enter, contains numerous flats, and is often very shallow. An inhabitant of Nowgorod, named Serdukow, proposed to *Peter the Great* a plan, to employ the water collected from the bogs, seas, and small rivers, in a junction canal; and received his imperial majesty's permission to establish the canal and sluice-works at his own expence, and reserving to himself certain advantages. Empress Elizabeth afterwards purchased all these sluice-works from the heirs of Serdukow. But of all the successors to the throne of Russia no one followed up Peter's plans respecting the inland navigat on of the empire with so much spirit as Catharine. In return for her attention to this point, before you come to Twer, you will observe on the banks of the Soshka-Retshka (a canal formed under her directions) a monument of common sand-

stone with her name inscribed, and at the top of the stone-pedestal, is a St. George and dragon, in tin.

When the vessels reach Twerza, they wait till the sluice near Wolotshok is opened, which confines the sources of this river. As many barks as the depth of water will permit are then drawn up this river by horses through the sluice into the canal near Wuishny-Wolotshok. The sluice in the Twerza is now closed; and the other in the river Zna is then opened; and now the course of all the different waters by means of the canal follows the direction towards St. Petersburgh, and the vessels float down the stream, first through the Sea-Msta, and then through the river of the same name. They next proceed through a part of the Ilm-sea, thence through the Wolchou; and finally along the Schlusselburger canal, which unites the Ladoga-sea with the Newa.

The passage through the sluice, which is very narrow, where the vessel might, on receiving the slightest oblique direction, be easily dashed to pieces by the powerful current against the stone bulwark, is attended with some danger; but the Russians are pretty well trained to this business: independent of which, several pilots are appointed to conduct them through. Though, according to the original establishment, only 300 vessels were to pass the canal at Wuishny-Wolotshok at the same time; yet, when the weather is favourable, sometimes more than 900, exclusive of the small craft, are admitted. The barks, which are very shallow, sharp-pointed fore and aft, but which are very broad, in the middle very wide, and uncommonly long, after being unladen at St. Petersbugh, are sold to the highest bidder. This is not done with a view of returning with them, (for that would be an impossibility); but to take them to pieces, and sell them as wood for fuel and building. A few years ago, a middle sized bark of this description, fetched 25 rix-dollars.—What an astonishing quantity of timber must be yearly consumed in the structure of these barks!

When the vessels assemble to pass through the sluice, an immense concourse rabble assembles from all quarters, to assist in the passage of the barks; and at this time the bustle is almost indescribable. Several vessels were already collected on my arrival, and were to pass in a few weeks; hence Wuishny-Wolotshok was consequently filled with labourers and a race of low fellows, employed in dragging the ships along, &c. At first, I found great difficulty to obtain horses; but, after waiting a few hours, the finest and swiftest horses were harnessed to my carriage, such as few travellers by post can boast of driving with; and a tall broad-shouldered fellow, with a dark complexion, black hair, and rough red beard, mounted the box. I had fre-

quently perceived this fellow to be in close conversation with one of the ship's labourers, whose wild physiognomy had forcibly struck me, but without once suspecting, that I and my luggage were probably the subjects of their discourse. Shortly afterwards four or five other fellows, all of the same aspect, joined in the conversation; and on our departure, the only one of them then present, challenged my driver to drink another small cordial, which the other refused, adding, that he should relish it better afterwards.

We now flew from the inn, close to a church, built by the Emperor Paul, in a simple and elegant stile, over the remarkable wooden bridge, generally called the Mechanical bridge: it consists entirely of beams, which are so ingeniously united, that the bridge is suspended in one arch across the very broad canal, and is such a height, that the vessels, loaded with hemp, freely pass under it. If my recollection be not treacherous, I think that I have seen a model of the kind in St. Petersburgh, destined for the Newa, by a celebrated Russian mechanic, and ornamented by Catharine with the medal of merit. It is impossible to conceive any thing more solid and bold than this bridge. We ascended the hillock with such speed, that I trembled for the wheels of my vehicle, and was obliged to call out to the fellow to drive more carefully.

A little beyond Wuishney-Wolotshok is a solitary chapel in a small wood; and hence commences a sandsteppe scarcely passable, together, with a close and gloomy forest; the whole, if I am not mistaken, extending thirteen versts in length. A bridge-dam which was just under repair, in consequence of the intended journey of the emperor to Odessa, leads through this steppe. Here I was greatly surprised to see the day nights, one of St. Petersburgh's greater advantages, disappear so suddenly. Night already spread her veil, and the moon did not rise till late; it was impossible any more to distinguish any distant object. On our approaching the chapel, before which our driver, to our great edification, very devoutly crossed himself, my servant observed, that somebody was getting up behind our carriage. As his orders were, never to suffer this, because it afforded an opportunity of loosening the luggage, the ropes of which are easily cut by those vagabonds, he called out to the fellow to descend: but this he flatly refused to do. Our driver now proceeded step for step, without in the least interfering in the dispute; nor was it before I interfered, that he desired the shameless wretch to dismount. He at last complied, and we drove but very slowly on account of the deep sand.

We now drew near to the wood, and the same fellow, whom we now distinguished to be one of the ship draggers, came without a hat or cap to the carriage, and insisted with the

greatest assurance, upon our taking him along with us, stating that he had a brother about three versts off with whom he wished to converse. Our postillion attempted to gain our consent, notwithstanding people of his stamp, in general, from a consideration of their horses, are but little inclined to agree to such a proposal; but upon my repeated and decisive refusal, he again ordered the fellow to desist. At a short distance farther on he stopped, got from his box, and walked aside of the carriage. It was now so dark, that one could scarcely see an object at the distance of a few paces. He remained upwards of five minutes, till at last I called to him, and asked him, why he left to themselves his nimble horses, which began to be turbulent? He replied, I wanted to know what that fellow wanted. The assurance of the ship-dragger had already excited my suspicion, still without my harbouring the least suspicion against my postillion. I therefore asked him, whether it would not be more advisable to return to the town, and there await the morning. He no sooner heard these words, when, in defiance of the deep sand, he lashed his horses, and we flew on, as if we were riding on the pinions of the wind. In this manner we proceeded four or five versts, so that we could scarcely breathe. At last he stopped, and remarked, I'll defy him now to overtake us. I immediately inquired whether this part of the country was not safe for travellers? Not quite so, was the reply; for, it was only a few weeks ago, that an English lady had her trunks cut away from the carriage not far from the chapel, which were shortly afterwards found empty in the forest. We returned him our thanks for rescuing us from this apparent danger through speed of his horses. Shortly afterwards, however, a different interpretation respecting his haste forced itself upon us: for he now drove at a slow pace. In about half an hour, when I thought that the horses might have recovered themselves, I reminded him to drive a little quicker; but not so furiously as before; but I was preaching to deaf ears; he still observed the same pace, and continued gradually to turn off from the bridge-dam towards the forest, where there appeared not to be the least trace of a rut, and where the sand reached up to the axle-tree. All my attempts to induce him to remain on the high road were ineffective, and we now heard a shrill whistling at a distance behind us in the forest. You may easily imagine our alarm; but how did our fears increase, when our scoundrel by his singing and talking to his horses appeared to answer this whistling. It was impossible to make him either approach near to the road, or to drive faster; on the contrary, he now often stopped so still, dismounted, and had every minute a something to do either with the horses, or else with the harness, on which

occasion he always appeared to be listening towards the forest. My alarm now arose to its height: for he began to treat my express command, to turn into the main road, with insolence and ironical remarks. At this moment the thought suddenly, and most forcibly, struck me, that he might possibly be in league with the fellows. His behaviour now became more and more suspicious; I therefore seized the sabre which lay at my feet, and which I took care should glitter on his face.

Relying on the celebrated safety of the Russian roads, I had omitted to provide myself with fire-arms; and it was with great difficulty, that a friend, whom I still sincerely thank for his kindness, had forced upon me the sabre which now had hitherto lain at the bottom of the carriage. But against this negligence I caution every traveller; especially, if he travel alone. It is absolutely necessary, to be furnished with fire-arms, and often to shew them. A pair of pocket-pistols frequently suppresses many a wicked thought that might arise, and most undoubtedly often does arise in the mind of many a one, when an easy, and perhaps even a rich prey presents itself to his view. Fire-arms, however, will always keep the Russian in respect; and prevent him from making any attack. Independent of this, the traveller must feel additional confidence to know himself possessed of means of defence. It would be in vain for any one, in case of an attack, to expect to save his life, unless he defend it; for the Russian knows of no mercy. His first business is to murder, and then to plunder; nor does he omit any precaution to prevent detection. Where such a robbery takes place as probably was intended to be undertaken against me in this dreadful night, they generally carry off the booty in the light carriage, called Telege, with four wheels, in order to bring their persons and booty in safety.

But to return to our postillion. He continued his usual pace, and the whistling came nearer and nearer, particularly the more he inclined towards the forest. He now made a manœuvre, which filled me with horror. He cast a piercing look at my servant, who sat aside him unarmed, and in the mean time drew from his bosom a long and narrow instrument not unlike a knife, and placed it in his right boot. My poor man was struck with horror, when he saw the destructive implement drawn forth, and I already prepared myself, on the slightest attempt of any violence, to cut the scoundrel down with my sabre; when in this, perhaps decisive moment, we heard some waggons (*Abosen*) moving on the opposite side, with their drivers singing. What a sensation pervaded our breast at the sound of these human voices, whose sonorous song was to us a proof of their unconcern!

St. Cecilia herself with her silver strains could not have produced more rapturous sensations, than the rough tones of these brandy throats excited. I now commanded him with a determined voice to turn off to the road; and, as the songsters were now so near us, that we could easily call out to them for assistance, our worthy gentleman, in order to suppress all suspicion, at last, in spite of the most glaring reluctance, found himself compelled to obey my command. On our approaching the waggons he cried out in a peevish voice: What is it you want, they belong to our people!—At these words our courage almost forsook us; fortunately, however, it turned out that they were none of our amiable worthies, but, on the contrary, that they were two good-natured fellows, attending ten carts loaded with rags. We immediately addressed them, and inquired whether they had noticed any thing particular? But was our suspicion confirmed, when they informed us, that they had perceived several of the ship-workers in the forest without hats, but with small carriages, and had moreover heard the suspicious whistling; they therefore advised us to remain with them in the next village, where they intended to stop. Our driver absolutely refused to listen to this proposal. If no offer would before induce him to drive faster, he was now determined, in defiance of the sand, which was, if possible, still deeper, to set off at full speed. None but the most forcible and expressive threats could withhold him from proceeding; and at last he found himself compelled, to drive with the carts, step by step, the remaining four versts to the next village. The whistling now continued to increase on the opposite side; and as our villain did not venture to emit a tone, a name was at last quite distinctly called aloud. No answer was returned; and the jarring of the carts, together with the song, which the carmen struck up, probably deterred our persecutors from approaching. What grateful sensations did we feel in our hearts towards our deliverers!

It was midnight when we arrived in the village, where, by the advice of the honest carmen, to whom I expressed my acknowledgment in a more active way than is usual, I called up the bailiff. Our postillion now began to justify himself, as he too plainly perceived how much we suspected him, and appealed to the general testimony of the inhabitants of this village, who, according to his assertion, all knew him. There seemed, however, to be reason, rather to suspect this; for the bailiff advised me, and particularly as the postillion himself could not deny it, that the forest did not seem safe, to let another man whom he would recommend, accompany us to the next station; and the first moment he could seize to speak with me alone, he told me

to take my servant into the carriage, and let the boor sit on the box aside of the driver. This proceeding he took to be the most prudent; for possibly our persecutors might have gained the start of us, and would waylay us. As it was impossible to find shelter in the village, there was no alternative but to accept the offer, especially as the morning already began to dawn. In this manner we had nearly reached the next stage to Wuidropusk; but previous to our arrival, the two fellows agreed to go into a kabacke, and make themselves merry at my expence. This was no sooner jovially accomplished, than our guard, probably by the persuasion of the postillion, who was desirous to avoid all disgrace and stir at the station, insisted on my dismissing him, as there was now no danger to apprehend. I did so, and on our arrival in Wuidropusk, I determined to rest there a few hours.

Our postillion never mentioned a word respecting our adventure, till I mentioned it to the post-secretary, who directly took a full survey of my gentleman. He asked, is it you? the moment he saw him; and now the other began a long story of the affair of the night, assuring us, that we had not the least reason for apprehension; for had any one attempted to attack us, he certainly would have been the first to crush him to death. A certain reserve towards the fellow was, however, evidently observed; and the post-secretary directed a driver, not in rotation, to convey us safe to the next stage at his peril, and not to return without a certificate signed by us to that purpose.

I awaited the complete dawn of day in my carriage in the yard of an inn, and proceeded thence to Torshok, not a little astonished, however, that no farther notice was taken respecting the fellow's design. But, wherever we came, I learned the solution. Where I mentioned it, the parties would exclaim: "Then most undoubtedly, you were driven by ——" (here they pronounced to me exactly the same name, which I had heard in the wood)! And now they gave me the most accurate description of the fellow. Why he is a downright villain. In Wuishni-Wolotshok, they added, he has built himself a large house, and nobody can rightly understand, whence he got the money to execute it. He has the finest horses, and is often very pressing to drive travellers. It is almost a pity, that the fellow did not offer to attack you; for then we could have laid hold of the fellow! I thanked them sincerely for their humane wish, and expressed my astonishment that the property, and perhaps even the life of travellers should be thus exposed, without resorting to proper precautionary measures, unless when complaints are made, as I did. Who is to undertake that, was the reply: for

who will venture to encounter with him? The peasants are afraid to inform against him, even if they know of any affair; as they would incur the danger of seeing their houses in flames, as frequently has been the case, whenever they assisted in discovering a robber. Besides, these fellows are in union with the petty magistrates of villages, so that I would not advise you to notice the affair in any serious manner, unless you wish to implicate yourself in the most tardy inquisition, and in the greatest embarrassments."—I know from experience the justice of this advice.

I now put an end to travelling by night; my determination, however, always to await the morning at a stage, could not every where be executed without great inconvenience, in consequence of the total want of inns. My place of resort generally consisted of the dirty yard for the cattle, where I was compelled to prepare my couch in my carriage, surrounded by grunting swine, and lowing cows! Many a delightful evening, however, amply repaid me with a walk towards dusk, or by moon-light; and with what a relish did I take my breakfast on the following morning, seated on the wooden bench before the door of the hut! Here I often had an opportunity of admiring the elegant architecture of the churches in common carriers' villages, and which owe their existence to Catharine. The handsome rotunda, ornamented with Corinthian pillars, mostly stands in an open spot, and is often too richly decorated for a village-church.

In this manner a day fortunately closed, which had commenced with such liveliness, but the end of which I, for several minutes, never expected to survive; still I enjoyed a comfortable night's rest, and wish you the same.

LETTER XVIII.

THE fine weather had set in ever since our departure from Nowgorod, and rendered my journey highly delightful. It was nine o'clock in the morning, when I arrived at Torshok, a small town, which boasts of a remote antiquity. It is divided into two parts by the Twerza, the steep banks of which are connected by a long floating bridge. On approaching this place, the view is charming, particularly on account of it's numerous steeples: for, according to the "Pocket-Book," it contains no less than twenty-three churches. The site on the Twerza, is quite picturesque, and in particular the prospect from the height, on which the palace and the upper part of the town stand. Here you behold Torshok, the delightful river, and the surrounding smiling landscape, spread before you like a panorama. Of

its antiquities, nothing remains but a mud-wall. In other respects, the buildings are new, and constructed of stone; while a sight of the city evidently proves, that it must have witnessed many a revolution.

The public buildings are falling to ruins, but in the private houses considerable taste is displayed in the manner of painting them; and a particular neatness is added, when the *window-blinds*, which are often ornamented with small pillars of gypsum in the lattice style, are set off with blue and white, or white wreaths of flowers in stucco are laid on a light-blue ground.

The sight of the opposite bank, induced me to descend the steep acclivity near the castle, and proceed to the floating bridge. Here I was witness to the brutality of a Russian, tolerably well dressed. Along the bank are booths, in which are women, who are often more likely to attract your eyes towards them, than the articles can which they expose for sale. One of them in particular, with beautiful black glossy hair, an uncommonly white skin, roseate cheeks, sparkling eyes, and nearly the same shape of person as a *Flandrian Grace*, attracted my attention: she was disputing with a customer about seven kopeks, and charged him with a design to cheat her of that sum. The fellow's physiognomy did not seem formed to contradict such a charge; but this did not prevent him from seizing with his rough left hand, the hair of the beauty, while, with his right he struck her in the face. The poor woman called out; but all around were mute, and could, without the least emotion, behold tears descending from such eyes. My blood was in a state of fermentation, I had already raised my cane, and I should have suffered myself to be hurried to an act of temerity, had not another well-dressed Russian interfered, and parted the two antagonists. The poor woman was at last obliged to put up with the loss of the seven kopeks, notwithstanding several of her female neighbours bore testimony against the defrauder. The uproar was soon quelled; and every thing being tranquil, my pretty shop-keeper returned from the booth to which she had retired, with the same smiling countenance as before.

I continued my walk across the bridge, and found the projecting tube of an ancient aqueduct, as it was denominated by an inscription, and entered a convent for females, where several, but all very antiquated and charmless sisters, covered with their black veils, were passing and repassing. In the court-yard is a very neat church, a rotunda ornamented with pillars, the cornices of which, on a close inspection, give no great idea of the taste of the architect. The same may be said of the

talents of the painter in respect of the fresco paintings above the entrances, which are mere daubings. Though the church is new, the outside is beginning to wear off.—The "Pocket-Book" highly praises the *temple*, built at the expence of Catharine, by the sons of the town, as it expresses itself, according to the plan of the Italian architect Buzza: it is situated in the convent of Bovis and Gleb, instituted by the monk Ephraim; in this convent rests the body of the founder, still undecayed, and splendid enough, in a silver coffin set with diamonds, inclosed in lattice-work, resting on a pedestal of white marble. On each side are continually burning three large wax-candles, which have been brought as offerings: this, the "Pocket Book" adds, is a most incontestable proof of true christian piety.—My time would not, however, permit me to view all those fine and grand things; and I was obliged to stop here. I must therefore give credit to the "Pocket-Book" for all the finery which I could not view myself.

In other respects, art has done very little for Torshok; and however neat it may appear at a distance, the interior is scarcely worth examining. But it furnishes articles peculiar to the place. These are the gold embroidered bags, caps, tablets, and pocket-books, which are mostly sold in the other parts of Europe as Turkish manufactures; besides the convenient port-folios, which contain every requisite of a gentleman's toilette and writing materials for a journey. But they are extremely dear even on the spot; for on enquiring the price of a small bag, or rather of a *ridicule*, I was asked five roubles, and the seller would not make any abatement. The women here wear saffian shoes, without soles or seams, which are very convenient, and give the foot a neat appearance.

The landlady of the inn, at which I had put up, was a German, a native of Mecklenburg-Schwerin. The attendance does no great credit to our country. There seemed to be but very little business going on in her house. The poor woman complained bitterly, while she was showing me a small, but neat little garden behind the house. She said, she and the barber, whom they call here the staff-surgeon, were the only Germans in the place; she had lost her husband many years before.

The sand near Torshok is intolerable, and corresponds with the miserable pavement of the most wretched high road to Twer, which I reached the next morning by nine o'clock.

LETTER XIX.

THOUGH Twer has by no means that fine appearance at a distance which Torshok displays, and which proceeds from the want of the numerous steeples; still in respect to its interior the latter cannot bear a comparison with the former. In the year 1768, the old town and fortress built in 1242, had the happy misfortune to be destroyed by fire; and Catharine rebuilt Twer entirely of brick and stone, according to a regular plan, and decorated it with many handsome structures. The surrounding country is extremely charming, and particularly beautiful is its situation on the Wolga, that majestic stream, which, together with the Twerza, and Timac, both of which fall here into it, divides the town into three parts, namely, into the town *proper*, this side of the Wolga, into the part on the opposite side of that river, and into that on the opposite bank of the Twerza. The streets are broad, and run in a direct line; the houses have a chearful aspect, and opulence seems to be pretty general here. Several open places filled with stately structures serve to ornament the town.

Having determined to spend a forenoon in Twer, I employed the time to take a view of the town, especially as the weather was very favourable; and, in order to do this with the greater convenience, I sent for a Droschke, but neglected to take the precaution of bargaining beforehand for the use of it. In less than half an hour I had paraded the whole town in all directions; and when I was about to discharge the Droschke, the Iswoschik demanded not less than three roubles. Though I was determined not to be cheated at that rate, still I found great difficulty in dispatching this fellow with a rouble and a half.

Of all the buildings, the castle is constructed in the most noble style. It is of considerable extent, consisting of the principal building, and two projecting wings, which form an open square in front. It is uninhabited, and seems to be falling to decay. Formerly the governor resided in it; but at present he inhabits a house, called the Government-house. The inn, kept by an Italian, is large and pleasant, and the accommodation is good and the charges moderate. The landlord, who at the same time keeps a well-assorted shop full of fancy articles, was building a handsome new house of stone, which will probably be finished by autumn. Economy like this must certainly be very profitable. Formerly there was a private theatre in Twer, but at present not the least vestige of it is to be perceived. It is a most remarkable circumstance, that in all the towns on this

road, most of which are situated on the banks of considerable rivers, there is a total want of fish, which is stated to be occasioned by the checking of the rivers higher up by the proprietors of the fisheries. Just before we reached Wuishny-Wolotshok we had trout offeredus, and in different villages the peasants brought boiled prawns to the carriage door.

It happened quite accidentally that we met with several funeral processions. I could not suppress the idea, that such a procession would afford a most appropriate subject for a satirical pencil.—In front waddle unwieldy masses of priests in their gold and silver embroidered capouches, and their badly combed stubby hair, which are the sport of the wind. They carry lighted wax-tapers in their hands, and in their refulgent faces very little of the holy appears: this is, however, compensated by that monkish air of comfortableness, and that insignificance, which must become natural to the mien that is never ruffled by a single thought. Six men, in their common coloured caftans, but bare-headed, carrying after them the coffin on their shoulders, which is covered merely with a gold-fringed pall with crosses, the coffin-lid being carried by the side of the coffin. They are followed by the nearest relations as mourners, with tapers in their hands, in wild confusion; and then come generally droschkew, telegens, &c. with the attendants. All hasten to the church-yard at a sharp trot.

Hasty interment is here still a prevalent custom; and even premature burials are said to be not quite unknown. A short time previous to my departure, the following horrid circumstance was related in St. Petersburgh.

A young nobleman, who had squandered away his fortune, found his sister, to whom he applied for assistance, not the least inclined to sacrifice her patrimony to his taste for dissipation. As he considered himself her heir, the wicked thought arose in his breast, to make himself master of her fortune. With this view, he found means to give the unfortunate lady a sleeping-draught. She was now considered as dead, and with every appearance of the deepest sorrow her interment was resolved upon. The corpse was already placed before the altar, when one of her friends happening to pass through the place, was informed of her sudden death. She hurried to the church, where the priest was already pronouncing the blessing over the corpse; and, in order to impress the last farewell kiss on the lips of her late dearly beloved friend, she hastened to the coffin. She seized her hand, and found it rather flaccid, but not stiff; she touched her cheek, and imagined she still felt some natural warmth in it. She insisted on stopping the ceremony, and trying whether her friend might not be recalled to life. But all was

in vain; neither the brother nor the priest would listen to her solicitations; on the contrary, they ridiculed her as a person out of her mind. Unfortunately, she no where found assistance. She immediately in her anxiety threw herself into her carriage, and hastened to the neighbouring seat of government. Here she found a hearing; proper persons accompanied her to investigate the affair, and she drove back with speed, but found her friend already covered with sacred earth. The interment had taken place the day before; and the inhuman brother had already obtained possession of her property, while priests and witnesses attested that the unfortunate person was actually dead. Among the Russians it is reckoned to be a heinous sin to dig up a corpse; and thus the desire of the generous friend for a long time experienced the most violent opposition to convince herself of the truth by ocular demonstration; till at last the Commission of Inquiry conceived some suspicion, and insisted on opening the grave; when the poor unfortunate lady was discovered to be suffocated, with her face lacerated, and the impression of her nails in the coffin-lid. The brother and the priest were immediately taken into custody, and confessed their crime. The punishment they underwent I have not heard of.

LETTER XX.

THE convent of Otrotsch, at the efflux of the Twerza, is a very agreeable situation, and is rendered interesting, by its connection with the history of the unfortunate Gregor. I shall briefly repeat the history of this martyr to love, from the "Pocket-Book," for the authenticity of which I in this instance make myself responsible.

Gregor, a handsome Knascen boy, at the court of the first Twersian Knas, Jaroslaw, enjoyed the favour of his master in a very eminent degree, and was loaded with whatever a prince was capable of giving. His rank and his riches, as well as his personal merit, gained him the esteem of the principal Bojars, and it only depended on his will, which of the beautiful daughters of the nobility he would favour with his hand. But his heart remained free, till the moment, when, visiting the village of Jedimonovo, a present made to him by his lord, his fate led to him the charming Xenia, the daughter of the poor sexton. To see her and love her was the work of a moment. He offered her his heart and hand; and the prince, who could not refuse his favourite any thing, granted his consent to their union.

Everything was ready. The miserable cottage was now, with a princely magnificence, converted into a bridal cham-

ber; the ringing of the bells called the enraptured pair to the altar, and Xenia tottered with the burning taper at the right hand of her father, to pledge eternal fidelity to her beloved.—The crowd now suddenly opens a passage, and who should appear, but the prince himself! His falcon, during the course of a hunt, had settled on the steeple of the church in Jedimonovo. Jaroslaw perceiving the villagers in their richest garments, all hastening to the church, immediately discovered the cause, and resolved to render the ceremony still more splendid by his presence.

Xenia cast down her lily eyes with a blush. Her hand dropped from that of the embarrassed Gregor. The prince was struck with astonishment. Hurried away by her powerful charms, he approached her, seized her trembling hand, and demanded whether she would pledge to him the bond of eternal love and fidelity. Dazzled by the lustre of grandeur, Xenia suffered herself to be led by the prince to the altar, where the priest tied the indissoluble knot, and Jaroslaw conducted, amidst the acclamations of the people, his charming bride in triumph to the new town of Twer.

The unfortunate Gregor, who, as if by a flash of lightning from a serene sky, felt himself so suddenly precipitated from the summit of happiness, mingled with the crowd, and changed the splendid garment of the bridegroom for the garb of poverty. He selected the dark forest as a witness of his pain, and here grief wasted the vernal season of life.

After the first transports of enjoyment were over, Jaroslaw began to think of his injured favourite. He offered a considerable reward to any person who would bring back Gregor. After numerous searches, he was dicovered; but worn out with grief, and emaciated, a sacrifice to perjured love, and to princely power.—What an interview!—Jaroslaw with contrition offered him the most splendid remunerations by way of atonement; but what could replace in a heart like his, the loss which it had sustained! He refused the highest honours, and requested as the only favour, permission to form a cave at the efflux of the Twerza, and to select a faithful monk as his companion. This was granted him; but his tender, loving soul soon escaped to its better home, where no love deceives, and where no princely power can destroy the Eden of the heart.

His lord built the convent of Otrotsch over his remains; but neither marble nor inscription points out the spot where he is interred.

The monks, whom I saw sitting before the convent, appeared to me to possess but little of Gregor's soul; I therefore felt no inclination to enquire of them about his grave.

In Klinn, the last stage but one to Moscow, it was my wish, according to the general advice which every one, and even the post-secretary gave me, to take free horses to the capital; but the shameless fellows demanded not less than twenty roubles, and thus I deemed it more advisable to leave it to fortune. Nor was I this time deceived. A silver rouble procured me from the post-secretary a note to his brother at the following stage; and for a second silver rouble I received here also, to the great grief of the Jemtschicken, very good horses, and arrived on Sunday morning, June 4, O. S. in Moscow.

LETTER XXI.

YOU envy me the enjoyment of having seen Moscow. Any description of it would be impossible: for the unwieldy and colossal mass is not to be detailed. You must have seen it yourself, in order to form an idea of it. Even the approach to it, is grand and antique. As soon as you quit the last stage, you see the road before and behind you covered with a thousand different carts, conveying necessaries to the tremendous vortex, but which, almost as soon as they arrive, disappear again. To each of these carts, which have two wheels, and are heavily laden up to the top, a large and very strong horse is harnessed: a greater number of horses is never put to, so that every horse must exert himself to the utmost. One driver generally attends three, four, and more carts, and he walks alongside of them, generally singing. The whole string then mostly join in a song, but the frequent repetition of the tune gives it an air of melancholy. But even without drivers, the horses, which often shew more sagacity than their masters, would find their way, avoid every obstacle, and miss no kabacke, nor inn, where they are accustomed to stop.—The dust in summer renders the roads almost intolerable.

On the left side of the road is the Peter Palace, adjoining a cluster of trees, built in the gothic style, with the bricks and tiles of their natural colour. On the long wall are numerous round towers, partly indented, partly arched; and the interior of the palace is pretty extensive. Here the emperors alight, before they make their entrance into Moscow for their coronation.

This immense city, with its innumerable steeples with bells, among which the celebrated Iwan-Weliki so stately distinguishes itself by its peculiar, round architecture, as well as by its loftiness, now appears to the astonished spectator. A hollow

rumbling, resembling the roaring of the sea, sounds from the city; and the nearer you approach it, the more the noise increases. At last two high pointed pillars appear, on which the double eagle, richly gilt, displays itself, and open the entrance into the city. I immediately saw myself surrounded by the bustle of an incalculable population. It was a market-day; but of the solemnity of a Sunday there was not the least trace. It was with difficulty, that the postillion could force his way through the crowd; and being a total stranger to such a city, it was difficult to direct him where to drive.

One of the greatest inconveniences to travellers in Moscow, is the want of good inns. I do not know of any one that could, in regard to situation and accommodation, be compared with Demuth's inn in St. Petersburgh, and much less with the Hôtel de Prusse at Warsaw. On the contrary, the most wretched are so dear, that the stay of a person, who is obliged to reside at an inn, is more expensive, without the least comfort, than in the most splendid inn of any other great city. The filth is not to be described; bad provisions, want of attendance, in short, whatever can tend to render the stay at an inn intolerable, is to be met with here in perfection. But bad as it is, it is even frequently a difficult matter to obtain admission at an inn; the influx of strangers, even in summer, having of late years uncommonly increased. In winter, when the nobility from the surrounding country and the most remote provinces come to Moscow, and the population is increased by at least 100,000 souls, such a thing is not to be thought of. To board with a family is a difficult matter, and equally unsatisfactory, for not the least convenience is to be expected. A stay of six weeks (one third of which I spent with a friend at his country seat) without a carriage, or frequenting any public amusement, *which, by the bye, are not very rare at Moscow, and eating* no supper, from which I have many years abstained on account of my health, still cost me 400 rubles.

We drove about the city full two hours, before I could obtain even an arched apartment in the cellar of an inn, situated opposite to the great theatre, lately destroyed by fire. That I changed this habitation as soon as possible for a far better one, it is no more than natural to suppose; but now I resided so far from the city, that it required half a day's walk, whenever business or a visit to a friend called me thither. Of Moscow's extent you have already heard and read much. Its circumference is stated to be forty versts; but it includes immense pieces of waste ground, sufficient for a middle-sized town to be built on them. In some parts it is said to be fourteen versts in breadth. It is built on several hills, so that few streets are level, and the declivities are so steep, that they are with difficulty ascended

in a carriage with two horses. On different points you perceive a city before you; and a second in a deep hollow; and, beyond this again, a third. The highest station is the Kreml (the ancient fortress). With this inequality of ground the streets cannot be otherwise than very irregular.

The number of stone palaces surpasses all imagination, and you are often surprised in a narrow by-lane, surrounded only by ruinous, miserable barracks, with the sight of an extensive structure built in the grandest and most noble style. Were it possible to arrange together all these excellent but colossal buildings, and to destroy the wooden huts between them, it would be a difficult matter to find a more beautiful city than Moscow would be. These palaces belong to the richest and greatest families in Russia: for there is perhaps no family of note in the whole empire, that has not a palace here. Their structure is generally conducted with great taste, and with an extravagance, which renders it an absolute impossibility for many of the founders to continue the building. Hence you see nowhere else, and even in the most inhabited parts of the city, so many fine buildings begun but unfinished, the scaffolding of which has already tumbled to pieces, and which, without ever having served to live in, decay, and fall to ruins. In no other country are so many ruins built at such an enormous expence.—Another most remarkable circumstance is, that many of these palaces, when finished, cannot be inhabited on account of their magnificence; which is, for instance, the case with the celebrated Paskowian palace, an edifice built in the Italian style, of extraordinary extent, which cost millions of rubles, and the exterior and interior of which would do honour to an imperial palace, but which has this only fault:—it does not stand in the climate of Italy. From this reason the proprietor has been obliged to take up his residence in an insignificant wing, the only part which was habitable. Most of the houses form an equilateral square; the principal door is in the court-yard, the entrance into which is through a gateway: they are two stories high from the ground floor, and some of them have considerable parks adjoining. The houses are all so abundantly furnished with pillars, that in this respect Moscow might justly be called the city of columns; indeed, without such additions the smallest pavilion is considered as incomplete. Statues are also not wanting, and bas-reliefs, some of which are extremely well executed, are common: but on the whole, the way in which the buildings are overloaded with ornaments, militates against true taste.

In the centre is the Kreml, to which the part peculiarly [illegible]tinguished by the name of *The City* adjoins. Both lie on [illegible] ground, and are surrounded with indented walls, but the [illegible]l has in addition a deep fosse, with fortifications and [illegible]h-towers. In the Kreml are innumerable churches and

cloisters, as well as the senate-house, and the old palace of the Czars; while the city contains the Bazar, which, however, in point of appearance cannot be compared with that at St. Petersburgh, though it is much superior to the latter in intrinsic value of the articles exposed to sale in it, which indeed is almost beyond description. There are besides, here, the courts of justice, many private residences and churches, and a variety of hotels and Greek coffee-houses where the numerous Greek inhabitants, in their national costume, and with their characteristic manners, pass away their time. There is not here an Exchange, properly so called, or place for the meeting of merchants.

The throng of people in the City is uncommonly great, insomuch that what with carriages and pedestrians the passages are frequently blocked up, particularly between the hours of eleven and two. Some of the streets are very narrow, and the houses very high, and in consequence the apartments are dark. The entrance into the city is through deep arched stone gates with pointed roofs, which are neatly covered with shining green tiles, and surmounted by the spread-eagle, finely gilt. Over each of the gates hangs the image of a saint, to some of which particular veneration is shewn. One of the gates, which is painted with a blood-red colour, and is called the Spaskische, has the privilege that no person must pass through it either on foot, in a carriage, or on horseback, with his head covered: an excellent means truly to inoculate the people with a fever; for beneath these long arches there is such a strong and continual current of cold air, that the passenger feels all his limbs as it were benumbed, and his teeth chatter in his head, particularly when going through them after having travelled for some time exposed to the rays of a burning sun. Here, if I do not mistake, the Tartars were defeated, when Moscow was delivered from their domination. But probably it is not on this account that the ceremony is observed; for I believe this worship is chiefly intended for the miraculous image of the Virgin and Child, (which is said to be of pure gold). In the time of Catharine, however, this custom was neglected; but during the reign of Paul it was renewed by an express command, and the sentries are obliged to see it strictly put in force: they therefore call out to such as appear inclined to pass through with their head covered, even at a considerable distance, *Hats off!* And I would not advise any one to refuse obeying the order: not even coachmen and postillions are exempt from the observance of it. Over the gates there is, I believe, a chapel, where a monk resides; and pious believers never pass through without crossing themselves in a most devout manner.

You cannot proceed twenty paces without meeting with a church, and in the Kreml, within the circumference of a few paces, you find yourself surrounded by ten or more. Each church has, in conformity with the Greek custom, besides the high pointed bell-steeple, four or five smaller towers, ornamented with gilt crosses; and there are not less than 1600 of these churches in Moscow: so you may easily conceive what a forest of towers arises over the city These little spires, or towers, or cupolas, for they will in general admit of either definition, have sometimes the most singular shapes. They are vaulted round with a projecting swell, frequently wound into the shape of a turban, generally covered with resplendent green tiles arranged like scales, as in a coat of mail, and terminate in a spire of no great height, and adorned with a cross. Between the four corner towers, a cupola of considerable size rises somewhat higher from the middle of the building; and at some distance is the large bell-tower with a lofty spire. The whole has a very odd appearance. Many of the churches are embellished with al-fresco paintings, which are generally insignificant, sometimes fantastical, but always gaudy; the golden glories round the heads of the numerous saints being particularly striking. On the walls are likewise exhibited images of saints, before many of which is a lantern or lamp. Some of the more modern churches are, however, master-pieces of architecture: they are often enclosed with handsome iron-rails, which are only opened at the times of prayer and divine service; and within the enclosures, round the churches, there are grass-plats and walks planted with trees; so that altogether the appearance of the church-yards, which are not used as burying-grounds, is extremely pleasing.

Moscow contains many large open places, some of them regular, but not remarkable for their embellishments. The pavement is miserable, and the dust that rises from the carriage-way is intolerable. The stones are laid without being properly joined to each other; and the practice of filling up the interstices with sand, but particularly with the rubbish from old buildings, increases the dust, and renders it more injurious to the eyes and lungs. The same practice prevails in the beautiful city of St. Petersburgh. The dust rises in clouds over the streets, so that we seem to be passing through a mist; and these clouds conceal from the eye a view of the city at a distance. An inhabitant of Petersburgh, named Schröter, has, however, shewn that this evil may be remedied, by making an improved pavement before his own house; and it is to be hoped that the government will adopt his method, and reward him for his exertions.

There have lately been formed here, according to the plan

of those at St. Petersburgh, Boulevards, as they are called, which are walks for foot-passengers, in the middle of the broadest streets, and planted with trees. The length of four such walks, which follow each other with some intervals, is about eight versts, or nearly six English miles; but the dust checks the growth and vegetation of the trees.

The time of my stay in Moscow being in the finest summer months, the number of people then in that city had diminished at least 100,000; for the nobility and people of fortune retire, during the hot weather, to their seats and country-houses. According to the most moderate computation, the population therefore in summer amounts to 300,000, and in winter to 400,000; but this number is undoubtedly too small. People of high rank constantly drive with six horses to their carriage; but in the time of Paul the practice was on the decline, in consequence of the example set by the monarch himself, who likewise wished to diminish the enormous herds of useless and lazy idlers and retainers in the houses of the higher and middling orders of nobility. Alexander, in this respect, likewise sets his nobles an excellent example; for he and his empress have not to their carriage more than four horses, and their attendants are always few in number. Staff-officers, as well as people of an equal rank in the civil service, are allowed to have four horses; and accordingly all those who can possibly afford it, and even many who cannot make use of this privilege. The citizen should be drawn by only two horses; but in Moscow a man of business would make but little progress with two horses; and consequently it may not be considered to proceed merely from vanity, as is generally the case in Petersbuagh, when the rich citizen has likewise four put to his carriage.

The number of houses in Moscow is estimated at 20,000; and for each house may, on an average, be reckoned a carriage with two horses; besides which there are at least from six to seven thousand carriers-waggons and droshkens. Here, as well as in Petersburgh, the provisions are brought to the houses by the dealers, or conveyed about for sale in carts. Every morning, but particularly on market days, crowds of people, perhaps to the number of 50,000, throng from the neighbouring villages into the town with their goods, the majority of them in carts, the remainder on foot. What with the loud and hoarse cries of those who vend the articles, the singing of the isbvosshicks or drivers, the clamour before and in the inns of the public houses, the fiddling, piping, and organ-playing in the dancing-rooms, the rumbling of the carriages, the ringing of innumerable bells, of which a single tower or steeple has sometimes more than twenty, and at intervals, the drums and martial music of the numerous garrison—a stranger is absolutely stunned and stupefied in the first week of his residence.

The physiognomy of Moscow totally differs from that of other cities. The national character has been far less altered by the intermixture of foreign manners and customs, than is the case in St. Petersburgh; and the old oriental and substantial style of luxury and magnificence, are much more prevalent here than at the capital. The opulence of Moscow in gold and silver, rich stuffs, and genuine pearls and diamonds, must be enormous; for all these superfluities are considered as articles of necessity, even by the middling classes, and the people of fashion have an abundance of them; the lady of a private nobleman, even of no high rank, frequently possessing much more property of this kind than many of the more opulent German princesses. Dress and every other thing seems calculated for show; but in particular the luxury of horses and carriages. The latter are very tasty, but they are not built in a durable manner; and as for the droschks, or drivers, Moscow has always been famous for them. Even the emperor has them from hence for his service. The eye of the stranger is here less frequently offended by seeing wretched hacks drawing a splendid coach: he is more likely to meet with the most beautiful horses to an old fashioned carriage. As most of the proprietors of estates in the neighbourhood of Moscow, and particulary in the Ukraine, have fine studs; it is easy to conceive whence this larger and more beautiful breed is obtained.

Mental culture is certainly at a much lower ebb here than at St. Petersburgh; though some of the great men form an honourable conception. As to refinement of manners, it is to be found only in the houses of high rank and of foreigners. Among ten person we may not expect to meet with more than one that is sober; and he frequently would prove to be only half so. Public morals are of course but at a low ebb. But notwithstanding the unbridled licentiousness of the populace, which seems to be universally sanctioned or permitted in Russia, in spite of the conflux of the dregs of the people from all quarters, public security is preserved to an admirable extent, infinitely more than at Petersburgh. Robberies are indeed committed in the neighbourhood of the city; but even these are, comparatively speaking, very rare.

LETTER XXII.

YOU complain of my description being too general; to which I can make you no other reply than what I received myself from one of the most intelligent inhabitants of Moscow, on enquiring whether there was no topographical description of the city. "No one," says he, "has yet ventured on this ardu-

ous undertaking: for, although I myself have been an inhabitant of Moscow for thirty years, and continually moving from place to place; as yet, I may venture to say that I am unacquainted with at least a third of the city."

The environs of Moscow are very delightful, abounding in pretty views, agreeable walks, and an endless variety of country seats and parks scattered over its mountains. The soil is here and there sandy indeed, but diversified with much wood, which, for want of water conveyance, is, notwithstanding its abundance, a third dearer than at Petersburgh. The country is intersected by a number of small rivers, which supply the inhabitants with a sufficient quantity of water; but not with the fish and navigable stream of which the latter city can boast. The climate is milder than there, and the summer lasts a month longer. The weather is much less variable both in its favourable or unfavourable transitions. I remember but few cloudy days during my six weeks stay, and these, which followed one another in succession, served to refresh the thirsty earth with refreshing showers. This more settled state of the weather adds in no small degree to the enjoyments of a country life, to which the Moscovites are ardently devoted. Thunder-storms are said to be very general and violent, and not unfrequently attended with conflagrations.—Day-nights, such as exist in Petersburgh, are not to be found here; but the moon and stars certainly diffuse a greater lustre and brilliancy here over the darkness of the night, than in our quarter of the globe. The nights are cool, but upon the whole not cold: yet no traveller will do well to be unprovided with a great coat towards evening, even in the hottest summer. The mornings are commonly fresh, and the heat in a summer's day often oppressive. Foreigners will experience no inconvenience, if they only guard against colds, the source of all disorders in Russia, and take care to reside in the higher parts of the city.

Moscow will afford but little amusement, particularly in summer, to a passing stranger. Every inhabitant hastens into the country after he has terminated his business, where in the bosom of his family he has his own peculiar enjoyments, in which none can participate who is not admitted by the right of hospitality, as was my good fortune. The town itself is totally barren of amusement. Public coffee-houses, which might serve as a resort for respectable persons in the evening, are totally unknown here; and in lieu of them is only a club-room filled with smoke, and a mingled society of citizens; and a formal English club, as it is called, in stately rooms full of glittering chandeliers, and gaming-tables covered with gold. The Russian theatre is not suitable to a foreigner, and is likewise seldom open. Nor is it supplied by any other; for the French, Italian, and

German ones have hitherto been but ephemeral, and exhibit very insignificant, nay, even offensive performances. It is possible that a German theatre may in time be formed for the use of the eight thousand Germans, who occupy a distinct town called German Sloboda (village or suburb,) at one end of Moscow. Almost all the inhabitants of the German Sloboda consist of tradesmen or artizans, entirely secluded from every other description of people, having their own customs and mode of living. But their sphere of action and importance being much more limited than in Petersburgh, their advances in culture are proportionably slower. Separated from their native country, not merely by mountains and seas, but in a moral sense, by the obstacles which government still opposes to the introduction of foreign literature, as well as by the narrow exclusive spirit of the guilds, which prevail here in all their rigour, Germans, in this remote city, are concerned for little else than supporting existence. Every amusement, therefore, except an occasional ball, is unknown amongst them.

From the increasing taste, however, for theatrical performances, and the encouragement given to such as have rendered themselves agreeable to the public, it is fair to presume that farther improvements will be yearly made in their representation. Mr. Steinsberg, the manager of the German stage in Moscow, has contributed in no small degree to the refinement of public taste. During the summer he has established a Vauxhall in the large but neglected garden of the Demidow palace, which, together with the theatre that conveniently holds a thousand spectators, he has rented at the moderate rent, if I mistake not, of 900 rubles a year. For a silver ruble admittance, he there, on Sundays during the summer, treats the public with a little play or opera; afterwards an illumination with variegated lamps; then fire-works, which are by no means contemptible; and finally a ball. The concourse on these evenings is very great, and in some degree respectable; for even Russians of rank, and foreigners of other nations, who in other respects are very little connected with the Germans, frequently resort thither. The Russians, indeed, seem to have a predilection for German theatrical representations, which, miserable as they have been, have notwithstanding excelled the French and Italian.

Every week there are two promenade days, as they are termed, that is, days on which the fashionable and unfashionable, on foot, on horseback, and in carriages, flock from all quarters of the city to the public walks on the Summer-garden, and on the Boulevards. Upon such occasions there is a great display of grandeur; and on particular days, such as the first of May, the throng is inconceivably great. At seven o'clock the company begin to collect, and at nine to disperse.

These form the only amusement of Moscow in the summer, at least since the departure of Count Sheremetjeff, whose magnificence and liberality gave him an importance here, which he could not acquire in the gay capital. He used frequently to make festivals on his pretty little estate of Astankina, where the public at large, but particularly foreigners, met with a cordial reception. There are now, indeed, upon the whole, few examples of this species of liberality among the Russian nobility.

The return of winter, which is said to be severe and lasting, but yet serene, gives new life to Moscow. The votaries of rural sports then flock from their estates to participate in the amusements of the town, which consist, as in most other places, of balls, masquerades, public exhibitions, concerts, &c. &c. Excursions on sledges, which in Germany and other countries afford so much entertainment, seem to be regarded in Russia as an ordinary matter.

Whoever has any thing to exhibit to the Moscovites, may be sure of a good reception. They still speak with enthusiasm of one Alexander, a pupil of Garnerin's, who descended with a parachute. He had already made a trial in St. Petersburgh, which proved more to his honour than his advantage. He contracted debts to the amount of several thousand rubles; and was reduced to the alternative of either going to prison, or repairing to Moscow with his creditor, and there exhibiting himself. You may easily suppose the choice he made; and the event proved that his creditor had not speculated badly; for the first fruits of his exhibition were sufficient to discharge the debt. Some weeks after, Alexander, impressed with the liberality of the public, announced a second trial of his skill: the whole city ran to gratify their curiosity; but strange to tell—the greater part of those who had carriages preferred remaining without the boundaries, to paying a ruble for admittance. All rope-dancers, mountebanks, show-men, conjurors, and the like, make a much longer stay here than at St. Petersburgh.

As is well known, all lotteries that afford an opportunity of gaining money, are altogether prohibited throughout the Russian empire; unquestionably one of the wisest regulations of government, considering the passionate character of the people. In St. Petersburgh, it is even attended with difficulties to obtain permission for public raffles or lectures. What was my astonishment then to see the word "*Lottery*" painted on a board in the streets of Moscow! I found, however, that this was a lottery where the prizes consisted of goods instead of money; and where the winners had been so few, that scarcely one would be tempted to throw away a ruble on the slender chance. At first, gaming in this lottery, which held out flattering prospects, became a

rage, and occasioned much trouble to the police. How such a fraud could ever be publicly tolerated, would be unintelligible, if the officers of the police were not known to be its principal protectors.

That in the heterogeneous medley of people, which compose the Moscow and Petersburgh public, there cannot be a uniform ruling tone or spirit, is too manifest to need illustration. I shall therefore class the inhabitants of Moscow under distinct heads, in order to give you an idea of the mode of living in this city. They are as follow: the nobility, gentry, Russian merchants, the populace, the Germans, the French, and the literati. This division might be very considerably enlarged; but as I have obtained no information respecting any other class, I shall content myself with communicating to you what I know of these in my next letter.

LETTER XXIII.

MOSCOW is the favourite residence of the richest, and most distinguished Russians, as its distance from the capital enables them to lead a more unconstrained life, and exposes them less to be eclipsed by the splendour of imperial magnificence, while those, who cannot exist out of the atmosphere of a court, bask in the sun-shine of princely favour. In this seclusion, where a spirit of independence is cherished, a train has often been laid by which a mine has been sprung near or even under the throne.—Catharine is said not to have been partial to Moscow, and did not honour it with her presence for the last years of her reign.—Paul had at first many adherents there; but as they gradually diminished, he found it advisable to entrust the executive authority to his minions, whose existence depended on his will. Alexander, on the other hand, whose benevolent character is the passport to the hearts of all his subjects, has in that city none but warm admirers, who would rejoice at having their beloved monarch in their circle. As report goes, he would have repaired to Moscow for some years, had not the war prevented him, with a view of lowering the price of provisions at St. Petersburgh, an advantage which the latter city would have considered as dearly bought.

As the great in Moscow consult their own ease and enjoyment more than the maintenance of any particular character, their style of living is higher, or, properly speaking, more extravagant than in St. Petersburgh, where many content themselves with apartments, who in the former city keep their own palace exclusively to themselves, and maintain a certain parade of more or less magnitude. They are surrounded with idlers in even a

greater number than at St. Petersburgh. A swarm of attendants and livery-servants of all descriptions stare you in the face at your entrance, and amount in some houses to above fifty, exclusive of women and children. The class of domestics, according to a moderate computation, are estimated at above 80,000, whose maintenance would be altogether beyond the capacity of their employers, were they obliged to defray it with ready money, instead of having all the necessaries for housekeeping brought thither by the peasants, even from their most distant estates. In this manner, every family receives several caravans in the year.

The Russian nobles have the character of sociability, above those of every other country; and in Moscow the remark is more applicable than in Petersburgh. Unencumbered by any serious occupation, the Muscovite nobleman, without possessing any extraordinary share of philanthropy or hospitality, is happy to collect around him a circle of individuals, who can give life and variety to the dull uniform scene of good living and idleness. His doors are therefore open to every well-dressed person; but particularly foreigners, whom he is proud to receive into his house, from an idea of the honour shewn to his family, by this preference to the numerous other candidates for company and entertainment. If the visitor consent to attend them during summer into the country, the favour is doubly heightened by his supplying the want of social diversions, which the winter season affords in the city. The guest is here not only provided with every thing he can desire, but may follow the bent of his own humour, as if he were proprietor of all in the house. At dinner only, and in the evening, he devotes himself to his hospitable entertainers. Whoever is free from all business and connections, and is disposed to purchase a maintenance with a becoming pliability and accommodation of his social talents, need never be at a loss for a comfortable house and home. He must of course set every consideration of his individual self out of the question, or he will very shortly be instructed in a manner not the most delicate, that his company is no longer valuable than it contributes to the pleasure of the host. His noble patron, and still more, his noble patroness, will leave no stone unturned to reduce him to entire obedience, and mould him to their own form; but should he have resolution to withstand every assault, and maintain his own post with firmness, he may very probably obtain great concessions from his illustrious patrons. But cards are an indispensable condition, without which no one is admitted to their table. Fortunately their play is not so high in family circles as at St. Petersburgh; nay, among themselves, the game of Boston is not unfrequently played for a kopeck (halfpenny) the fish. On the other hand, games of chance

are now becoming again more prevalent than ever, and indeed games in which thousands are lost. Some of the ladies, in particular, are said to have their faro banks. From these parties, the stranger, whose incapacity is taken for granted, is released; or he may take part in it, according as he himself may feel inclined. Sometimes, indeed, he even receives a certain sum from his patron, to enable him to join and make up the party, in which case the winnings are his own.

The Russian nobility cannot upon the whole be termed uncultivated, for there are among them many intelligent individuals; but their intelligence is confined simply to matters of fact. It would be vain to look for principles among them, and still less for a definite character. Such, at least, constitute the grand mass of the higher orders, to which there are very few exceptions entitled to consideration. Where in fact can men acquire principles and character, who have no other pursuit than the enjoyment of ease and pleasure? Nine, and often eleven is the hour of rising. During breakfast they either learn the news of the day from their own servants, or from some casual visitors. About one they are ready for a walk or a ride, when the gentlemen go to their mistresses or the club, and the ladies to their French milliners, where every sort of accommodation is generally provided. By three the master and lady of the house are both returned, and the dinner party is assembled; the larger the better, with parasites innumerable. The card-tables being at hand, a game of Boston is commonly played until the dinner is served up. In the mean time several sorts of liqueurs are handed round in small glasses, and refreshments are placed on the sideboard. The time of dinner, which lasts till five, is occupied with laughing, talking, and eating; but not so much with drinking, that being a vice to which the Russian nobility are by no means so generally addicted as some have maintained. The military only form an exception, and some individual statesmen, who, perhaps, consider the liberal use of liquor as a good means of illuminating their understanding. Three or four sorts of wine are however always in circulation; amongst the number, perhaps some very nice *nalifki*, or fruit-wines of their own making. The table is covered with a remarkable superfluity of provisions, in the choice and preparation of which, the most refined epicurism prevails, particularly in their national dishes, which they know how to render agreeable even to foreign palates. The vivacity of the company is generally kept up at the expence of one poor simple or bashful mortal, who, as the but of the rest, has to endure every species of jest; or by some droll genius, who knows, as many Russian wits do, how to excite laughter by frequent corruscations of true humour. But peculiar refinement

or acuteness is not requisite in the latter for the diversion of his audience. On the removal of the cloth, an universal bowing closes the dinner-scene, which is succeeded by coffee; when the party disperses without any further ceremony. Every one follows the bent of his inclination, either to play at Boston, or recruit his exhausted strength by a short nap, till seven, when they repair to the theatre or some public place, and at the conclusion re-assemble for cards and supper. At twelve they sit down to supper, and retire to rest at two. Every day is open table, but on holidays a few covers extraordinary are added: on Easter, New-year's-day, and birth-days, all acquaintances who do not keep house themselves are expected; but on patron-saints-days, in particular, very grand entertainments are given, to which custom requires that all relations and acquaintances should come without being invited. On such family-festivals presents are interchanged; and amongst some of the great it is a custom for them to receive the congratulations of their acquaintances and dependants, who crowd the antichamber before their hour of rising. At Easter the eggs are not forgotten, which now constitute an article of great luxury. They are made of glass or porcelain, with fine paintings, and often cost 50 rubles. It is not unusual for a present of more real value to be annexed. These are the customs in town, which differ but little in the country.

Intellectual pursuits form no subject of consideration, except what relate to theatrical amusements. Some ladies of rank have discovered peculiar talents for the stage, particularly the celebrated Princess D——, and the Countess T——; the former of whom combined good action and a melodious voice, with extraordinary grace and beauty. The master of the house takes no immediate part in the representation; the male characters are performed by the danglers and dependants on the family, particularly foreigners, who are the instruments of their amusements. French plays or operas are mostly chosen for representation; that honour being very rarely shewn to the productions of their native poets. The practice of forming a company of actors from their vassals is now becoming less common.

I must, however, not forget mentioning a particular species of exhibition, which was borrowed, I believe, from the old French court, and was many years ago in vogue among the fashionable circles of Petersburgh. This was the representation of some interesting subject of the old Grecian mythology or history, by living persons on the stage. The most suitable moment was chosen; the stage was hung with gauze, and decorated in every minute particular, conformably to the age and subject; all the performers were splendidly attired in the ancient costume; the whole group disposed according to the rules of perspective,

and the scene rendered doubly brilliant by the most picturesque illumination. On drawing up the curtain, nothing could equal the astonishment of the beholder, during a few moments' illusion, while these human statues were enabled to preserve the same attitude; after which the curtain dropped again, and the magic picture again dissolved into nothing. Among the generally beautiful and delicate persons of the Russian females in the higher classes, performers were not wanting for their representation, who of course were selected for their peculiar advantages of form and feature, which were heightened in a particular manner by all the refinements of art, so as to give the whole an indescribably forcible effect. I once saw a Venus at her toilette, whom the Graces, in the persons of the three lovely young princesses, were decorating, and before whom the three younger sons of the princes, in the character of Cupids, held the looking-glass, while others were sporting at her feet. Here youth, beauty, taste, magnificence, and art, emulate each other in producing a perfect whole. The above-mentioned princess D—— was Venus, in the attitude of arranging her naturally long and beautiful hair, a tall slender form, the prettiest foot imaginable, a noble and truly Grecian profile, an expressive eye, surrounded by the most enchanting forms---and every thing which youth, beauty, and art could afford to transport the spectator.—A thousand pities that the captivating spectacle lasted but a moment. The most icy imagination would have been melted by the scene.—A second representation was Pygmalion, in the moment when Cytherea listens to his vows, and his eyes, glistening with the intoxication of love, are fixed upon the heaving bosom of the consenting goddess. But it all lasts only a moment; and perhaps you may conceive the enjoyment not to be adequate to the expence. Yet so it is in Russia, as every where else, that the proportion which expence bears to enjoyment is not so nicely calculated by the nobility. A yearly income in Russia of 25,000 rubles, scarcely places a man in the third class according to his wealth; and Luxury, the offspring of Wealth, has this quality in common with her stepbrother Avarice, that enjoyment only provokes appetite.

There are many passionate lovers of music among the nobility, and several who keep chapels for themselves, and form bands of musicians from among their vassals, whom they have instructed, or rather trained by skilful foreign artists.—Painting is cultivated by many of the fair sex, and carried to great perfection in simple copying; but the superior talent of invention rarely discovers itself: neither do the ladies pursue this amusement after they leave the parental abode, which generally takes place at an early period.—Dancing is a matter of great importance in Moscow, where more pains are bestowed upon it than

in Petersburgh.—The females are unquestionably more accomplished upon the whole than the males. They commonly speak, besides their native tongue, French, English, and Italian, but German not so often, except when they have to converse with artisans. Books of amusement are become to them an article of necessity, which to the men in general are an object of disgust. It is true, however, that their reading is principally confined to the French novels, and extends at most to the productions of Voltaire, Rousseau, Mercier, Raynal, Florian, Marmontel, and Lafontaine. To be ignorant of these would be unpardonable: but it is not reckoned a disgrace to know as little of the poets of their own country, as of those of the Hurons. The superficiality of culture is peculiarly discoverable from the manner which the Russians appreciate the fine arts, as appendages of greatness, rather than as the means of refining and exalting the human mind; so that, notwithstanding their total want of taste, they submit to the rules of fashion, and collect all the treasures of ancient and modern art, with as much diligence as the most enlightened philosophers.

A library, of course, constitutes an indispensable part of the furniture of the house of a man of fashion, though himself, perhaps, never looks into the books he possesses Count Buterlin, however, is an honourable exception to this remark. He has not only stored his mind with a fund of information from extensive travelling, but also collected a library of 25,000 volumes. The house where it is arranged is pleasantly situated near the Summer-garden; and notwithstanding the spaciousness of the halls, they are kept during winter in an agreeable state of temperature by means of stoves. Admittance to it is not difficult to be obtained, and the use of the books is willingly granted. A Mr. Ronca is appointed librarian, with a considerable salary. —The literary productions of the 15th and 16th centuries, together with all the splendid editions of Didot, Baskerville, and Bodoni, are found here; as likewise a most rare and valuable collection of Bibles. As there are many duplicates, and the whole has cost the proprietor immense sums of money, it was resolved on to dispose of the superfluous copies; but this resolution has not yet been carried into effect.

LETTER XXIV.

HAPPY marriages, among persons of fashion and high rank, are a great rarity in all countries; but no where more so than in Russia. Interest or subserviency to family arrangements is the universal principle on which matches are formed, and disgust is the invariable consequence of such matrimonial unions.

However, as divorces, according to the rules of the Greek church, are very rarely granted, at least, so as to restore liberty to both parties, they endeavour to lighten the burden for themselves as much as possible, by making all the separation which lies in their power. Economical considerations rarely impede them in the indulgence of their wishes, as a Russian lives only for the present moment, heedless about his posterity, whether they are provided for or not: at least, on their account, he would not deny himself the gratification of the most frivolous humour.

Nay, even when love is the author of an alliance, it can seldom ensure domestic felicity, owing in a great measure to the unfavourable character of the men, who, accustomed from their youth to perpetual variety, are incapable of a fixed attachment, and cannot satiate their blunted senses, otherwise than by a succession of female charms. Of course, such men will be constant violators of their fidelity to their wives; and when they are blessed with families, will even make up to themselves a principle, that it is better not to multiply those families to too great an extent, with which they attempt to satisfy themselves for their illicit intercourse with those who will bring them no additional heirs. Youth is, however, indispensable in every case; for a girl of eighteen is almost past the desirable age for a Russian, and must content herself with whatever offer come in her way. The neglect of the husbands begets a similar spirit in the wives, who, to supply the loss of connubial felicity, are often led into illicit practices, which, if no public proofs thereof make their appearance, are politely winked at by the gentleman. The most powerful charm which nature has formed for the restraint of female desires, namely, bashful modesty, is almost unknown among the fair sex of Russia; and even should something like it exist in a virgin state, the nuptial ceremony is pretty well fitted for its complete removal; it being customary for every marriage-rite to be consummated, previous to the departure of the company, who on being apprized of it by the display of certain signs, return their congratulations to the new-married pair. You may easily suppose that all this does not pass without the coarsest jests which are calculated to destroy every spark of virgin modesty in the female mind.

For the husband to live in one town and the wife in another, or at different country houses, nay even in different countries, is nothing extraordinary; but if both are in the same place, they seldom have distinct households, however remote their hearts may be from each other. If a woman then know how to obtain the esteem of her husband, she may frequently succeed not only in obtaining common politeness from him, but even be treated with the greatest delicacy.

The Count R. for example, keeps an opera dancer openly for his mistress, with whom he lives entirely on the footing of a husband, in the circle of their common children, while his domestics, as well as his acquaintance, conduct themselves towards her as if she were his wife; and he himself has taken care to make her children independant of his legitimate heirs. When his wife happens to pay him a visit, as she does a few times in the year, his domestic arrangements assume another aspect. The mistress and children disappear, and the lady resumes her original rights. But the countess also uses the precaution of announcing her intended visit some time previous to her arrival. What riches must be required in order to maintain a double, nay even treble household, to each of which is annexed some dozens of servants, with all the et-ceteras; besides the different whims, which cost more than all the rest: then the education and maintenance of the children? What short of the wealth of Peru could support this complicated system of extravagance? Hence it is that the greater part of the nobility in financial respects are verging fast to ruin.

The nobility have likewise found a convenient conductor for disburthening themselves of their superfluities, in the means that have been offered them for securing their property from sinking. Catharine erected a bank and a fund of some millions, from whence landholders could receive sums according to the number of males on their estates, on apparently very advantageous terms. They were to pay off every year, a very moderate interest, with a part of the capital, which, if I mistake not, would amount to about 8 per cent. so that in 25 years the interest and capital being liquidated, the estate was redeemed. But whoever did not keep up his payments, forfeited his mortgage to the public stock. The emperor Paul in like manner advanced several millions for this purpose. The great eagerly took up sums on these conditions, but having many other uses for their money than applying it to the improvement of their estates, forgot the terms and lost their pledges. The estates being put up to public auction, were mostly purchased by the crown. A decrease of wealth naturally tends to diminish credit, and such was particularly the case with noblemen and those holding offices under government; who, according to a late regulation, are not permitted to issue bills, only simple bonds, which, except in particular cases, do not endanger the security of the person, and the debtor has therefore always some artifice to delay or even entirely elude payment.

That the legal interest bears no proportion to the value of money in Russia, is a well known fact. The citizen is strictly prohibited from taking more than five per cent. under pain of not only losing the capital, but of undergoing some severe correction.

The bank for lending on pledges, which is connected with the imperial school in Moscow and St. Petersburgh, has alone the privilege of taking eight per cent. an advance which unfortunately falls most heavily on the poorer class, who, to relieve the pressing exigency of the moment, see themselves compelled to pawn all their valuables for a mere trifle. All the laws for the prevention of usury have hitherto been found ineffectual, nay almost subversive of the end proposed, as they may seem to imply in some degree the equity of the demand. Money lenders are pretty cautious to whom they entrust their money, and carry their distrust to an inconvenient excess. When a man of fashion, or any other, wishes to be accommodated with a loan, he must not only pay an enormous interest, but give a pledge which is both secure and treble the value of the sum advanced; for the creditor naturally calculates on being kept long out of his money, and perhaps having finally many expences for bribery and lawsuits. In consequence of this rigour on the part of usurers, there is frequently a total stagnation of credit.

A pecuniary settlement with a great man in Russia, is one of the most arduous and painful tasks which a person can have to perform. Where neither law nor honour are attended to, what tie is there that can bind a man to keep his promises or contracts? The Russian nobleman feels himself set above the reach of law, and regards his word as of no other value than as it answers his own purpose: whoever therefore has a demand on him, may think himself happy, if, after incessant dunning and entreaties, he obtains only one half of his claim, for it would be vain to contend against a man who has the weapon of power to oppose to justice.

It sometimes happens, however, that the defects of Russian jurisprudence are counteracted by individual efforts of authority and rectitude, an instance of which took place not long ago in Moscow.

A rich man of distinction was in the habit of not keeping to his payments, and that with the view of obtaining by other people's money a usurer's profit for himself, which practice, as he was secretly protected by legal authorities, he had it in his power to follow many years unmolested. It happened, that one tradesman with whom he had contracted a debt, after trying every means in his power to obtain his demand, applied to the governor-general, who bid him consider what danger he would incur, if he brought a false accusation against a person of so much influence. But, as the tradesman persisted in asserting the justice of his claim, he desired him to repair to the outer court of his debtor's residence, and when he himself should open a window on the ground floor, to step up and make his claim in the presence of

the nobleman. He then sent word to the latter, that he would do himself the pleasure of visiting his splendid residence, and surveying the grandeur of its interior arrangements, which invitation was joyfully accepted as a flattering mark of distinction; and on the arrival of the governor, the nobleman himself undertook to conduct him about. After examining and admiring the various beauties of the place, the governor requested to be shewn the lower apartments, which the former observed were only fitted up for the domestics; but the latter, heedless of this remark, farther urged his request, and was taken down into the kitchen, where seeing the poor man in the court yard, he opened a window and admitted him, to the utter astonishment of the nobleman, into his presence, to prefer his complaint. The governor in his turn expressed his astonishment, that the proprietor of such an edifice should have such debts so long unpaid: in reply to which, the gentleman could only plead the insignificance of the concern, by way of apology for his own negligence. As this, however, could no longer be deemed a sufficient excuse, his steward was called and the debt discharged. Not satisfied with this, the governor desired to know of the man, what profit he could have made of his money had he received it at the proper time; and on being informed, the nobleman saw himself compelled to restore him his due.

It has hitherto been the practice for those of the nobility, who have lavished away their inheritance, to recruit their broken fortunes by the favour of the monarch. Catharine and Paul made enormous presents to their adherents; but the system of the present government is altogether reversed, no peasants being transferred as property for ever, only granted out for a term of years or a life time. This, in fact, is the commencement of that reformation, which the beneficent Alexander is working for the cause of humanity. Future ages will bless him more cordially and generally even than the present, in which exist many persons, who find themselves impeded in their shameful practices, and a restraint imposed on their lawless indulgences.

The gentry in Russia lead as careless and profligate a life as the nobility; being surrounded by a proportionable number of idlers, and having a proportionate degree of parade and extravagance. The principal offices of the executive government being vested in their hands, they have learnt the art of turning them to the best account. Their table and their pleasures are more national than those of the nobility, but cleanliness and order are not prominent features in their domestic arrangements. This class is so numerous and various, that it would be impossible to draw any general line of distinction.

LETTER XXV.

THE Russian merchants form a class altogether different from the preceding. They can be characterized neither by their swarm of domestics, nor the prodigality in their household, nor even by the tinge of culture which pervades the higher ranks. If enjoyment appear to be the only consideration of the great, gain is that of the Russian merchant. For gain, be it ever so inconsiderable, he grudges no labour or toil, and denies himself commonly every indulgence in good living, which his wealth would afford. On particular festivals only his board is liberally supplied with good things, which he deals out to his guests with national hospitality. But those, to whom excessive eating and drinking are disagreeable, will not be his willing guests, for he esteems it a point of honour not to send any one from his table in a state of sobriety. He retains the costume of his forefathers, namely, the long coat and the beard, although the former is not disposed in quite so many plaits, and the latter is shorter and more regular. He wears his hair closely cut and smoothly combed. In winter a fur-cap supplies the place of the round hat which he uses in summer. All that he has, however, is of the finest sort. His fingers are likewise adorned with several rings of great value. The wives of merchants advanced in years, go still in their old Russian brocaded jackets, and caps decorated with lace and pearls; long diamond ear-rings; genuine pearls round their necks and arms, and shoes of white or coloured atlas. The younger women wear a white lawn, or a worked petticoat, and a jacket trimmed with lace; a black cloak, with broad black lace; white silk stockings, pearl necklace and bracelets, diamond rings for the ears and fingers, and a cap of fine lace. In winter the richest velvet cloaks, lined with sable and cut in the German and Russian taste, adorn both sexes.

The females in this class are kept under the most perfect restraint and subjection, at least in appearance, and are totally devoid of all mental refinement. Their lives pass away in a state of perfect idleness; for idler women than the Russians are certainly no where to be found. The contrast to these old Russians are the creatures of modern fashion, who in their external appearance, vie with the higher classes, and amalgamate the French with the English dress and manners, according to the humour of the day. Of this description there are many more

in Petersburgh than in Moscow; and in both places they are an eyesore to the sticklers for antiquity. But what these good people acquire in outward show, they lose in solidity. An addition of many thousand rubles to the yearly expences of an old Russian, brings many an adventurous merchant into a bankruptcy of some millions, in which he seldom calculated so judiciously, as to raise a finer and more beautiful edifice out of the ruins; but in reality let every thing sink into an unfathomable abyss. Fortunately, the loss generally falls on the wealthy and great, who unacquainted with the old proverb, "that all is not gold which glitters," suffer themselves to be dazzled by the external appearance, in which their own grandeur is reflected. They press sums of money upon an individual who feasts them at his house, without suspecting that they are paying for their own entertainment. The Russians, in general, have different views on this subject from the Germans. The latter place most confidence in the man of business, who makes the least display of wealth, while the former would not trust him with a farthing, conceiving him to be a beggar, who is lurking after his money. His confidence, on the other hand, is instantly acquired by a splendid outside, that indicates no want of his aid.

However, the old-fashioned bearded Russians are not always to be trusted; for their love of gain will sometimes predominate over their honesty, and when the favourable moment occurs, they will make no scruple of securing a handsome sum by a convenient failure. In this case it is always advisable to consent to an immediate composition, and secure all that is to be had by agreement, rather than suffer the whole to be swallowed up in the common vortex of law. This is particularly applicable to foreigners, who, of course, are less acquainted with the "*savoir faire*" than the Russians.

The mercantile class is, moreover, distinguished from the nobility by their propensity to fanaticism, which is directly opposite to the prevailing indifference of the latter. This class contains a great number of old believers, (Roskolniki) who are known to be rather obnoxious to the government, as they hold many free tenets, particularly that of not acknowledging the monarchs to be patriarchs. The emperor Paul commenced the harsh task of conversion among them, which was soon terminated by the mediation of love. How far fanaticism can act on a Russian, is fully illustrated by a particular incident that happened some years ago in Petersburgh.

The police got intelligence that a certain fanatic, calling himself Christ, was forming a peculiar sect, and had drawn a vast number of persons to become his adherents. His prin-

cipal tenet was the killing the fleshly lusts, for which end he chose the most effectual means, by requiring his disciples to submit to an operation the most fitted for liberating the earth of a corrupt generation. Several hundreds voluntarily submitted to this singular initiation, and gained admittance to the secret assemblies of the saint, which were held in different houses at different times. Here the old saint, of venerable aspect, lay on a sofa half naked, and covered to his middle with a sable-skin coverlid. Babes were carried to him to receive baptism and a blessing; and the overjoyed mothers considered themselves happy if they could only kiss the hem of his garment, or his hand. Nor was there a beautiful Virgin Mary wanting to complete the farce. Notwithstanding this sect possessed a peculiar secret for preventing the health being injured by the consequences of the initiation rite, yet it was impossible for the state to view its spreading with indifference. However, in a delicate affair of this nature, it was thought prudent to avoid every measure which might excite attention; accordingly, some few of the principal partisans (among whom were rich merchants, and even fathers of families) were taken up, and bound over under heavy penalties to abstain from such meetings. The leader of the sect disappeared, and was heard of no more. The fair Virgin Mary experienced the unworthy lot of being conducted to the house of correction: and thus terminated this singular sect, which had excited apprehensions, even in a political point of view, from the numbers who had been initiated into the mysteries of their faith.

Upon the whole, the Russian merchant is concerned but very little for the education of his children, except in the article of languages, from which he expects to derive a source of emolument. But it is not in his power to allow them much time for education; for if his son be past the age of boyhood, he cannot be got into a counting-house, because his maintenance is supposed by the principal to exceed his services. Most of the sons, however, are now departing from their fathers, both in their dress, manners, habits, and sentiments.

Although some Russian houses carry on the foreign trade, that is, with Europe, yet the major part resign this into the hands of foreigners, and prefer the inland speculations, where, by a brisk exchange of articles with the remote corners of Russia, they make a plentiful harvest of wealth. But they watch all foreigners with a jealous eye, lest they intermeddle with this line of business. The retail trade is, likewise, almost entirely in the hands of the natives, except fancy-articles, which they leave to the French. They are but little acquainted with bill transactions; but are so much the more expert at smuggling,

which is winked at in natives, but severely punished in foreigners. The former, in fact, regard this as one of their privileges, which they take care shall not be infringed upon by intruders; and, generally speaking, the preference to foreigners is not so prevalent now in Russia as formerly.

The lower order of Russians, (Mushik, tschornig Narod, that is the filthy rabble) live in Moscow as in St. Petersburgh, upon bread, quas, cucumbers, cabbage, garlic, fish, and a little meat; and are stoved up by dozens of men, women, and children, in stinking close black rooms, not unlike coal-pits.

But what a difference in the manner and living of the German merchant and artisan in St. Petersburgh, and in Moscow. The German merchants in the former live like princes, in superb edifices, while those in Moscow mostly reside in dwellings of wood like private people. Their house wears the marks of opulence; but very little of grandeur and luxury. Hospitality, or what is usually so called, an open house, is less frequent than in St, Petersburgh; and the expences of the table are much more limited. Punch is a much less frequent drink, and the wines are inferior in goodness and variety: their place is in most houses supplied by beer. The carriages are handsome, but do not keep pace with every change of fashion. Their parties are less distinguished by an affectation of the manners and the follies of people of the first fashion and quality. There is more economy, and indeed German economy, among them, with less inclination to a diversity of pleasures, in whose train necessity and distress commonly attend. In the domestic circle they live in a limited but decent style; only here and there rather poorly. However, the stranger who recommends himself by a pleasing deportment, will meet with an agreeable and welcome reception at all times, and will be rendered truly comfortable in most houses; for what Moscow wants in the profusion and magnificence of St. Petersburgh, is amply supplied by cordiality and friendliness.—Intellectual cultivation is not altogether unknown among the German merchants of Moscow; but it has by no means reached the same point of perfection as at St. Petersburgh. The opportunities are of course less, owing to the local circumstances of the two places. St. Petersburgh, which is the seat of the imperial court, and all the different departments of the state, is at the same time the mart for an extensive maritime commerce; while the trade of Moscow, important and extensive as it may be, is more simple, and the share of it in the hands of foreigners is less considerable. It consists very much in money transactions, which are apt to degenerate into usurious practices. At the same time, Moscow is altogether deficient in good public schools; for I am told, with what degree of justice I cannot decide, that since the new arrangements in the university, the

institutions, such as the gymnasium and the grammar-school, which had been gradually formed, began to lose their value. But bad as they may be, they are infinitely superior to the private boarding-schools, which are merely speculations for quickly filling the pocket; which purpose, however, they do not answer so well as a French milliner's or trinket shop. I was informed of one private school only, that was not altogether disreputable. This was conducted by Messrs. Roland and Duerès, and calculated principally for the wealthy nobility. Consequently all good instruction must be had by private teachers, who demand more for their lessons than in Petersburgh; so that the most moderate education would require a fortune of itself. Whatever parent then, in despite of all obstacles, has his sons instructed out of the ordinary course, may have the satisfaction of often hearing them cried up for wonders, and perhaps still oftener, the dissatisfaction of hearing himself charged with folly and extravagance. In this manner, the door is shut against improvements in this class.

The contrast of living betwixt a German artisan in St. Petersburgh and Moscow, is even still more striking. The latter, generally speaking, never dreams of mixing in the societies, or aspiring to the pleasures and mode of living of the higher orders. He is still altogether the unpolished pot-companion from Hamburgh, Lubeck, and Breslau, who, like his townsmen and fellow artisans, is rude and ignorant; and, with a full purse, just as insolent. He is imposing in the extreme; and woe to the traveller who falls into his hands. His pleasure principally consists in visiting the little village ale-houses, and drinking away his evenings. Without any taste for the comforts of life, his habits are even more licentious than in Petersburgh. Some tailors, perhaps, may form an exception to these observations.

The Frenchman, who performs here two principal parts, those of milliner and private tutor (Utschitel), and often both combined in one person, comes into more points of contact with the Russians than the Germans; particularly with the great, whom he imposes upon to the utmost of his power, and by whom he is, if possible, in his turn, imposed upon. This is in a great measure owing to his language, and likewise to the task he generally undertakes—that of adorning body and mind. Besides, he is on the whole known to be a person who may be rendered useful in a variety of ways, and who will do and put up with almost any thing. With such a creature it is easy to come to an agreement, and to be always on good terms. A French Utschitel, that is to say of the lower order, from the class of *cabaretiers, commis, valets de chambre*, or even of the *chevalier*, and a French *marchande de mode*, has as positive a character as the fox and the magpie in the fable. Exclusively occupied with

the "*de faire fortune*," or "*corrigider la fortune*," they live as wretchedly as possible in private, *en ménageant les dehors*. Their right eye is directed to the purse of the Russians, and the left to the Eden of France; and after a few years successful eyeing, they hasten, enriched by "*la folie Russie*," to the only spot of ground which has charms for them.

The greatest foreign merchants in Moscow, at present, is the hospitable house of Messrs. Knaux and Co. According to report, their business is estimated at twelve millions yearly, to which their ironworks contributed the greatest part. Their style of living was unusually liberal, and particularly agreeable to the foreigner, who was not merely a merchant, as they frequently assembled, particularly on post-days, a number of intelligent men round their table.

LETTER XXVI.

YOU of course are anxious to know something of the literary part of Moscow, who, I can tell you in a few words, are in a very good situation. Their number is very limited, if we do not include the immense body of French and German Utschitel (tutors), who, with a few exceptions, more properly form part of the 80,000 domestics reckoned in Moscow. To the class of literati, belong properly the professors of the university, the teachers of the other public schools, the faculty, and ministers of the foreign congregations; for of the Russian clergy we must speak as of a distinct body.

The elder foreign professors are now perfectly naturalized here, and seem no longer to have an idea that any country but Russia is connected with them. Here the words *ibi patria ubi bene*, apply with their full force. They are completely devoted to that land which has placed them in a degree of opulence, superior perhaps to what their native country would have afforded them; and the new regulations, by which their situation is considerably improved, will certainly not diminish this attachment. There are among them individuals entitled to esteem, and several who by their social talents have acquired the attachment of the natives in a strong degree. They are, however, not always perfectly satisfied with their junior colleagues, and sometimes assume rather too much upon the rights of seniority. But although upon the whole no close connexion subsists between them, yet they preserve the outward forms of politeness towards each other. As public characters, the names of Hoym, Schlözer, and Bause, are mentioned with particular honour. The two former are known by their writings, and the

latter with still greater justice by the extent of his knowledge and genius. Bause is an elegant Latinist, a critical antiquarian, a profound lawyer, and would be an ornament to any university. He it was whom the monarch, at the expence of the crown, called to Petersburgh, to consult him on the organization of the universities, and to whose application the university of Moscow is indebted for many privileges. In his advanced age he still retains the same ardent desire of being useful. A thousand pities that this noble ambition was so long confined within a narrow sphere of action, and has scarcely reached a higher point before his powers must be naturally on the decay.

The junior professors are not equally devoted to Russia, but time, and the still more powerful ties of marriage, will probably make them soon forget their native soil. The unmarried meet with a good reception in the German houses at Moscow, and have always an opportunity of forming good connections. Those, however, who have already entered into this state, will not so easily reconcile themselves to the transition from a German to a Russian university.

It is well known that Moscow can boast of a more choice selection among its foreign professors, than any other public institution in Russia. Buhle, Fischer, Goldbach, Grellmann, Hofmann, and Matthai, are names which Germans are accustomed to mention with respect. Grellmann unfortunately was snatched away very early from this learned circle, who still deplore his loss. Reinhard, though less universally known, is a man of an uncommon cast, whose zeal and firm and solid character altogether fits him for the task of contributing to the culture of a nation.

LETTER XXVII.

THE university of Moscow is supported partly by the crown and partly by a fund raised by the liberality of its benefactors. It possesses many estates, and in the centre of the town, which is called Beloigorod, a remarkably spacious and superb edifice consisting of the main building, and the two projecting wings which form a square court, inclosed in front by a palisade. This contains the church, the auditories, the museums, the schools for the several classes of gymnasium, the habitations for some of the professors and for the pupils of the university and the gymnasium. Several other adjacent buildings have besides been purchased for considerable sums, as dwellings for the additional professors. In the remote part of the town,

called Meschtschanskaja, it likewise possesses a very extensive botanical garden, in which an observatory is to be built.

About 130,000 rubles are required yearly for the support of the university. The ordinary professors have 2000 rubles, and the supernumerary professors 1500, together with house, candles, and wood, free. The ordinary professors have the rank of nobility according to their stations; a ceremony altogether requisite in a country where every one in civil society is estimated according to the title he is invested with. Every professor gives a certain number of lectures in the week, after which his time is at his own disposal; but owing to the number of meetings and committees for different objects, the internal arrangements of the university and gymnasium, and the inspection of the schools in their district, which includes several provinces, and frequently requires extensive journeyings, this disposable portion of their time is very much curtailed. The labours of the committees are often directed to very good purposes; for instance, one was lately formed for the advancement of the Russian literature. The present curator is senator Murawyeff, who exerts himself to the utmost of his power with laudable zeal for the interest of the university, and is esteemed by all the members a valuable acquisition. The rector has the management of the revenues and domestic economy. Professor Heym has the direction of the extensive library, professor Fischer that of the rich museums, professor Hofmann that of the botanical garden which is only forming, and professor Goldbach is to superintend the observatory whenever it may be erected.

The professors can scarcely live by their salaries; for although in Moscow provisions are cheaper by a third than in Petersburgh, yet the living in Russian capitals is attended with many more expences than in any other countries. A carriage with an adequate appearance, is necessary for every one who wishes not to be peculiar. Were these gentlemen, therefore, confined to their salaries, it would be no more than sufficient for the support of the unmarried. But little advantage, however, can be expected from the lectures, for out of the small number of sixty students, very few are enabled to pay, and the rest are entirely on the foundation. The nobility, on whom the most dependance might be placed, still think it a kind of disgrace to have their sons entered on the matriculation list. As yet, therefore, the university may be regarded as little more than a gymnasium; for the youths are far from being sufficiently advanced for a systematic academical course of lectures. And in this respect the language forms a considerable obstacle, for the Latin in which the lectures are com-

monly delivered, is altogether defective for the purposes of many parts of modern science, and still more so for rendering the subject of the discourse intelligible to learners: and yet neither the German nor French is sufficiently cultivated to supply its place. No great advances, therefore, can be expected in literature, until the instructions be conveyed in the Russians language, which will give due effect to all the paternal regulations of Alexander. It is reported, but with what justice I know not, that all the students without distinction and without reference to their particular destination, are to attend the lectures of all the professors: a regulation which, though different from that of all other countries, may perhaps be attended with its advantages in Russia.

It was the intention of the curator that lectures should have been delivered for the public at large; but owing in part to the extravagant subscription of an hundred rubles, and in part to the jealousies and divisions among the lecturers, this beneficial object was defeated.

Some of the professors have endeavoured to recruit their finances by the admission of children into their houses as boarders; but the smallness of the number, the want of time, and the fatigue of the concern, are in the estimation of many, insuperable objections to this method. Others, on the contrary, have had recourse to the more lucrative occupation of giving private lessons to the sons of the rich, for four of which in the week they receive from seven hundred to a thousand rubles yearly. With this addition, a professor may easily maintain his family in credit: but the danger is, lest the greatness of his gains should induce him to sacrifice more of his time in these secondary concerns, than is consistent with the duties of his office.

How far Russia may attain the object proposed by the government in the establishment of its universities, is at present problematical. It is the opinion of many, and not of the most inexperienced class, that the system is formed on much too extensive a sale to be reducible to practice. The salaries of the professors, although liberal, are inadequate for their support, and oblige them to devote their time to the acquirement of a maintenance which should be employed in their own improvement and the advancement of the university. The foreign professors, who having been invited from Germany with the express purpose of organizing these institutions, feel themselves reduced to this alternative, and of course lose all interest for the public good in private considerations. With many, the chief concern is to eat, drink, and enjoy life, and leave the university to take its own course. And even the more conscientious look barely to the fulfilment of their duties for a term

of years, and then to pass the remainder of their days in retirement.

Nor is this all, but the government itself, by a strange inconsistency, opposes obstacles to the advancement of learning, by extending its censorship with its ordinary rigour over the books introduced into the university, in consequence of which the literary Germans who have left their country, are very much limited, not only in their time, but in their opportunities for improvement. The severity of the censurship in Moscow is infinitely greater than that in Petersburgh, and the professors on whom this duty is imposed, are often brought into serious embarrassments. It is nothing uncommon for a book to be in general circulation at Petersburgh, and forbidden and confiscated at Moscow. The journals are entirely in the hands of the post-offices, who retain a third of them for themselves, and make an extravagant charge for the remaining defective parts. Nor would it on any condition be allowed for a foreigner to open a society for circulating the public journals. The university, indeed, has most of the periodical publications, particularly reviews, but their circulation is so irregular, that the professors commonly receive them some months after the time.

In addition to these inconveniences, it must not be forgotten to mention the jealousy with which the native professors regard foreigners. It is a prevalent opinion in Russia, that the measure of government, in procuring German literati for the university, was superfluous, considering the number of natives who were equally qualified for the situation. If such were the idea of Russians in general, it is not surprising to find the same sentiment more forcibly impressed on the minds of those whose passions and interests came in direct collision. Nor is it in the power of the Russian professors always to restrain themselves from shewing their sentiments in one form or another. One of the most respectable professors, in one of the universities, once put the question to a German, who had lately been invited over, "Are there, then (said he), actually so many clever men in your country, for you to be superfluous, and obliged to come over and seek your bread in ours." "There are, doubtless," replied the latter, "many clever men remaining in my country; I am, however, not come here of my own accord, but in consequence of an invitation, and not to seek my bread, which my country would have plentifully afforded me, but because such persons as I am wanted."—Another professor, in compliance with the necessary forms, made an application to the university senate for permission to spend the summer months in his native country, at the same time taking the precaution to address the curator to the same purport. The senate granted his request, with the proviso

of the curator's assent, which the rector at that time promised to procure; but in lieu of which he sent a different report, to signify that the senate were dubious on the subject of yielding to his petition. However, the letter of the professor, which had previously come to hand, procured him the wished-for object.

Let the event to Russia be what it may, the government is certainly entitled to great commendation for its liberalitty in setting aside all petty prejudices for the attainment of a superior end. It is likewise somewhat remarkable that, notwithstanding the German language is so little known in Russia, particularly by those concerned in the organization of the university, while the French, on the other hand, has been universally cultivated, and Frenchmen have been their chief instructors, yet a decided preference has been given to the literati of the former nation—a preference which seems to reflect no less honour on the good sense of the Russians, than on the superior culture of the German nation.

LETTER XXVIII.

I OF course did not neglect the opportunity of witnessing the fifty years' jubilee of the Moscow university, which was one of the most interesting spectacles for me. It commenced with divine service in the church of the university, where all the professors, all the teachers of the gymnasium and of the other Russian schools and the students of the university were assembled in their robes. The singing in the Greek churches, which is performed by distinct choirs, among which there are some with very fine voices, is truly affecting and solemn; but the rest of the service was not remarkable for solemnity. At six in the evening the ceremony began in the great auditory of the university, where, before a numerous assembly, orations were delivered, promotions announced, and prizes distributed.

Conceive to yourself a rotunda of a considerable height, opposite to the entrance of which stands the double rostrum in a niche, and over this the picture of the handsome Russian monarch, as large as life, which involuntarily attracts the looks of the beholder to the contemplation of his benign features. The ladies were particularly gratified by looking at so revered an object, who, when contrasted with the ranks of professors underneath, did not place them in the most advantageous light. On both sides of the rostrum, is an elevation round the window where the professors were seated, who cut a stately figure in their blue uniforms, with purple-coloured, gold-laced, velvet collars and cuffs, the military sword, and hair powdered. At the extremities of this elevation, two doors opposite each other lead into

the halls of the museum, and on each side of these doors a double gallery is supported by pillars. The upper gallery is occupied by the choir, which is properly concealed from the view, and the lower gallery by the scholars of the gymnasium, the students being seated nearest to the professors. Before the rostrum stands a table, round which the heads of the university sat, and in the semi-circle formed by the rostrum, the governor-general, as representative of the monarch, and other officers of state, were seated, behind which were the auditors, or rather spectators, ranged in chairs, or standing. Among the spectators were many of the clergy, and ladies, mostly the wives or relatives of the professors.

At the conclusion of the music the professors mounted the rostrum, but did not, in my opinion, display any great oratorical powers. Reinhard, professor of philosophy, spoke "De fructibus qui ab universitatibus literarum in imperio Russico tam conditis, quam condendis, expectandi sunt," a prolific subject, which he treated ably in a tolerably long speech, which, however, he read so rapidly, as to render it scarcely intelligible.—Goldbach, professor of astronomy, had chosen for his theme, "Historia disciplinarum mathematicarum in Russia," an interesting subject for such as previously know the advances of Russia in this single science, to which it has directed the greatest attention, and for which the Imperial Academy of St. Petersburgh was originally instituted. A hoarseness prevented him from delivering his speech. Fischer, professor of natural history, director of the cabinet of curiosities, and the Demidow museum, and member of almost all the academies and learned societies in Europe, who was called here from Mentz, spoke "Sur l'utilité des collections publiques pour l'instruction en general, et sur l'influence de l'etude de la nature sur la culture de l'esprit en particulier." At the same time he announced the opening of the cabinet of natural curiosities to the public; and, after passing some eulogiums on the privy counsellor, Paul Demidow and prince Elrussow, for their liberal presents of collections to the university, he proceeded to enumerate its disposition and contents, from which I here present you with an abstract. The institution itself bears the title of the Imperial Museum of Natural History, belonging to the University at Moscow.

The whole is divided into six halls of considerable magnitude, the three last of which form the Demidow museum, and are connected with the three first by a gallery.

All the productions of nature are under the direction of Professor Fischer; but the medals and other works of art under that of the Professor Hoym.

The first hall contains the treasures of nature, which were partly in the possession of the university before, and partly the gifts of individuals. On one side stand, in neat glass cases, quadrupeds (of but small import), and a rich collection of birds; on the other side, testaceous animals, shells, and insects. In the middle lie on tables, under glass, beautiful crystallizations, and rich gold, silver, copper, and iron fossils.

The second hall contains similar fossils; on the walls a collection of amphibious animals, for which the university is indebted to the liberality of count Strogonoff, and a collection of worms and fishes preserved in spirits.

In the third hall we find the mosaics and wax images, the gift of prince Elrussow (upon the whole of no moment); and in future the collection of medals by the princess Jablanowska, and the privy counsellor Paul Demidow, will be arranged here. The rich collection of precious stones, presented to the university by prince Elrussow, on the celebration of its jubilee, is also here.

The gallery leading to the Demidow Museum is filled with colossal petrifactions, great mammoth bones (a complete skeleton of this monstrous animal of former ages, will, as is said, in a short time be completed), elephants' bones and other curiosities.

The first hall of the Demidow Museum contains an invaluable collection of testaceous animals and shells, a very complete one of minerals, which form four distinct divisions; of precious stones, fossils, ores and earths of different sorts. In twelve glass frames is also a collection of insects, which serve as a happy memorial of Linnæus, under whose direction it was formed by the donor. A large round frame holds the American insects.

In the second hall follows, besides a continuation of testaceous animals and shells, the beautiful and precious collection of zoophites, which are excelled by none, not even those in Paris. In this hall the library also commences, and is terminated in the third hall. The natural curiosities are, however, blended with much heterogeneous matter.

The university is indebted to his excellency M. von Muraivreff, for the remarkable and valuable collection of crystallizations, and the mineralogical apparatus of the famous Lowitz, who died in the preceding year.

This museum is open to the public on particular days.

After a pause which succeeded the speech, the distribution of the promotions and prizes took place, which was certainly conducted in a more childish and indecorous manner than any thing I ever witnessed. The rector sat in his chair and called

but the names of those who were to be proclaimed doctors and masters of arts, in a similar style to the calling the roll on the parade. The newly created doctor now stepped forward with a sheepish air, received his parchment, made his nod, and stole away again. He scarcely ventured to cast a look on the precious gift, but shewed it to others in as sly a manner as a little boy shews the plumb cake he has received, to his schoolfellows. Scarcely one of them appeared to have the smallest idea of what he should do with the parchment. The promotions were rather numerous, but the business being dispatched with all possible expedition, some Russians again came forward to display their powers of elocution. The speaking of a Russian ode concluded the whole, after which the governor-general retired, and the company dispersed. In the mean time, an illumination, consisting of large transparent allegorical paintings, was prepared at the entrance into the principal building, a cursory view of which satisfied me that it was nothing extraordinary. The rector gave to the professors and their families a splendid supper, which was followed by a ball: that was probably the most interesting part of the whole ceremony; so I should conceive at least, for the majority who were present, understood little or nothing of what had passed. From beginning to end, this spectacle was totally wanting in interest and dignity. The music was a patched and lame performance: of the Latin orations, most of the company did not understand a single word: the speech of professor Fischer was certainly the best adapted for the occasion, and most interesting to the public. At the door, which was opened only to such as had tickets, the greatest disorder imaginable prevailed, in so much, that I could not without the greatest difficulty, and submitting to several rude blows, get sufficiently near to be within hearing.

LETTER XXIX.

THE confusion of a mixed multitude is so uncongenial to scientific observations, that I willingly suffered the holiday (when the museum was open to public inspection) to pass over, and accepted the kind offer of Mr. Fischer, the director, of accompanying him to take a survey of the curiosities; which I own afforded more satisfaction than any thing else in Moscow; but having spoken to you before on this subject, I need add nothing more at present.

Paul Demidow, the most liberal benefactor of the university, is what may be termed an oddity; as he is not of the rich house of Demidow, his relations are, as you can easily imagine, far from

being pleased with amunificence which has deprived them of half a million of rubles. He has, however, gained for it a red ribbond, and the satisfaction of knowing that his name will be perpetuated with an institution which will probably owe to him an existence for many centuries. Whatever may have been his motives, the action is no less beneficial to the arts, which are great gainers by the preservation of his natural and artificial curiosities.

During the summer he secludes himself at an estate, delightfully situated near the beautiful Swirlowa. His garden, however, in the obsolete French style, disfigured by dwarfish and uncouth iron statues, certainly indicates no great refinement of taste. Here he sees but few persons, except some professors, and his intimate friend, the estimable collegiate Druschinin, director of the school for the education of the lower classes in Moscow. This is an enlightened and active man, who possesses the peculiar merit of having induced his patron to make this valuable present. The old man is very reluctant to part with some particular things, in which he seems to take great delight; and his friends fall in with this innocent weakness by persuading him to retain them as long as they afford him any enjoyment; on which account his cabinet of medals was in his possession in July last. Out of gratitude for his services, the university have appointed M. Druchinin one of the members of the Demidow museum. The manager is likewise indebted to his recommendation for the donation of a valuable collection of precious stones, which were lately given by Prince Wrussow. The mosaics and works of art are inconsiderable; but the department of natural history is very valuable, and rendered still more so by a rare collection of zoophites. Many valuable articles belonging to the old museum of the university will be lost for want of earlier care. Some of the animals preserved in spirits, Dr. Fischer has thought it best not to disturb, and has disposed them in the upper niches which wanted filling up. The philosophical keeper of the Demidow museum, has discovered two species of apes hitherto unknown; one of which is very beautiful, with a very long tail and very long toes. You will no doubt smile as others have done, when I tell you he has called this ape after the collector, whom it has subjected to many a sarcasm: but Dr. Fischer alleges in his own defence, the many examples of plants, stars, &c. which have received their names either from their first discoverer, or some other great personage. The Demidow library, consisting chiefly of works on natural history, and the herbarium (said to be Boerhaave's), is of no great importance; some Chinese MSS. embellished with lewd paintings, are the most remarkable. The order every where prevalent

is truly admirable, and the museum will doubtless attain the highest state of perfection from the skill, activity, and generosity of Dr. Fischer. He is passionately devoted to the advancement of the museum, and has presented it with some of his choicest articles belonging to his private collection. His unwearied diligence is evident not only from the new arrangements, but from the anatomical preparations of various animals; making skeletons of the bones and stuffing the skins, to which he chearfully devotes a great portion of his time. Finding it difficult to procure engravers capable of copying the curious productions of nature, he is now engraving some copper-plates, which will no doubt prove truly estimable. If I do not err, he is also writing a description of the Demidow Museum: should this information be true, the sciences will have to boast new and valuable acquisition. His researches among the antiquities of art are no less accurate and successful. He has been kind enough to shew me a copy of Ulfilas, which is a singular rarity, and although incompleat, is certainly less so than any extant. He has acquired a most singular facility in discovering by the slightest difference in the print, both the masters and the age of their works, with his thoughts on which subject he will shortly arrest the attention of the literary world. With all this he unites what is, alas! but seldom found among the literati, an admirable suavity and modesty of deportment, with a high taste for social pleasures, which are frequently heightened by his musical talents and those of his lady; but owing to his great exertions, his health is rather in a precarious state.

The botanical garden, now under the direction of Professor Hoffmann, who was invited here from Göttingen, is finely situated, but in a perfectly uncultivated state: many medicinal plants are growing wild, and it will be necessary to lay out the whole garden afresh. The ground it occupies is extensive, and part of it might conveniently be appropriated to an observatory, if the situation were found suitable. Although great things are to be done with this garden, scarcely a commencement has as yet been made: the few beds of medicinal plants laid by Mr. Hoffmann being a pure matter of necessity. It is true, he is commissioned to improve it with all possible expedition, nor is zeal on his part wanting: but he has hitherto been unable to obtain the pecuniary supplies that are indispensable. A residence is to be erected for him; hot-houses are to be built, &c.; but he has not been able to procure labourers for the removal of the rubbish with which the ground is encumbered. It is to contain those things best fitted for the instruction of his pupils, who appear to have a taste for this interesting study: and Mr. Hoffmann is almost every afternoon encircled by students who

ear desirous of instruction. One of his observations appears to me remarkably interesting; he has discovered that the blossoms of the lime trees in that part of the country contain no honey. Perhaps this may be the case with many other flowers and blossoms, and may account for the scarcity of bees.

It was some time ago in the contemplation of government to remove the whole medical department to St. Petersburgh, where every thing necessary is in perfection and readiness; an idea which probably gave rise to the procrastinating spirit of the Moscovites; but more recent accounts assert that this plan, so highly disadvantageous to the university at Moscow, is totally abandoned.

It should seem that astronomy has been as little regarded as botany. At the earnest entreaty of M. Goldbach, a place was erected on the top of the university, which they called an observatory. Being composed of wood, it had more the appearance of a lanthorn than any thing else, and notwithstanding cost some thousand rubles. It was besides so miserably constructed as not to admit of the instruments being conveyed into it; which, if they had, would have soon been destroyed by the weather, being exposed in common with the observer to every change of the seasons.

LETTER XXX.

THE natural and artificial curiosities of Moscow are chiefly those contained in the university; at least they are the only ones open to the inspection of the public. Among these is a private collection of Indian, Chinese, and Russian products, made by M. Bause. He devotes himself to collecting curiosities of various kinds, and has been so successful as seldom to fail of procuring something extraordinary when he goes in quest of such rarities. The Chinese curiosities were viewed with additional interest and attention by those composing the embassy to China, who, no doubt, made many an observation, which might afterwards prove serviceable to them in their researches in that country. The most important among these are two pictures which convey a high idea of Chinese painting, not alone in drawing, but in the design which discovers much genius and taste. One represents a haughty mandarin, filled with the contemplation of his own dignity; his mien is chilling and austere; in the back-ground, which discovers part of an open room, with a window looking into a dark wood, his little son is seen timidly peeping out. On his arm a pretty little woman is leaning, and with an arch smile and roguish air, holding a delicate little finger, with which she evidently rules him at pleasure,

The other represents a mandarin of a different cast; he is dressed in a costly nightgown, and reclines in an easy chair by the side of an open window, which looks on a lively and fertile country; his aspect is mild and chearful, and he is employed in reading. Opposite to him is his wife, who sits with a delighted countenance and extended arms, ready to receive her little child, who is just learning to go alone; near her sits a dog, the emblem of fidelity. The whole is finely conceived and impressively executed. They were presented by the emperor of China to the empress Elizabeth. There is also a large piece of fine white parchment tapestry, on which is drawn a wreath of roses and a parrot in the most fresh and brilliant colours. A number of pagodas, of utensils devoted to heathen worship, and drinking-vessels of elastic wood finely gilt; Indian idols of metal, and writing implements to suspend from the girdle; an Indian cup, with infinite variety of lesser ones, exactly fitting into each other; and composed of an unknown wood, which, notwithstanding its great age, continually emits a sweet-smelling rosin; several curious pieces of workmanship belonging to Peter the Great; a set of Russian coins; a rare collection of gold and silver medals, and a number of choice manuscripts with copper-plates. Happy should I be if this imperfect sketch, drawn wholly from memory, should induce the proprietor to publish a complete catalogue of the Russian curiosities, private and public; and were such a catalogue accompanied with scientific and historical observations, it would certainly be an acquisition to the learned world. Nothing, however, interested me so much as the author of "A Walk to Syracuse," who, to my unspeakable vexation, left Moscow a few days after my arrival, on his way to Sweden. During his stay, which was but short, his company was monopolized by the university, and his departure was universally lamented. At Petersburgh I had only time to speak a few words to him as he entered a company which I was just on the point of leaving. Shortly after he set ou for Moscow, and it was reported that having become weary of the post waggon, he had betaken himself to his usual way of travelling on foot, which inspired me with the hope of overtaking him—but my hope was vain. I thought I saw him in every traveller, pleased myself with the idea, that I might be of service to him, and made the strictest enquiry, but all in vain! He must have submitted to travel in the usual way, as he arrived in Moscow several days before me.

You may naturally suppose, that in a city where the people are so fond of sensual gratifications, and so well provided with the means of obtaining them, the physicians find themselves in no bad condition; but in this point the mistrust which the Russians have for their own people, is as particularly striking as in their choice of tutors for their children; all the physicians in

great houses being foreigners. There are Russians who study physic, but their knowledge is far from being profound, and they soon degenerate to the level of empirics. They likewise seem more inclined to the chirurgical part of the profession, and find their best support in the army, in the hospitals, or distant provinces. Among the foreigners who overrun the houses of the great, the French are more esteemed than the Germans. Moscow at this time boasts a Frenchman who is denominated the wonder-worker; not from his possessing miraculous powers, but only from his attempting that which others have given up, and because he is frequently successful. Although he has practised there only a few years, he has realized a considerable property. The medical men practising here as physicians are very few. From the extensiveness of the city, and the great portion of time they must devote to the gay circles of fashion into which they are brought by their patrons, but little however, supplied by that which is in my opinion far more estimable, namely, practical knowledge. The others are mostly surgeons or barber-surgeons: and they all arrive at a great degree of opulence. The German, in this class, renounces, and as it were forgets his native land, to become in every respect a Russian. Not so the Frenchman; he deigns in this as in other stations to remain for a time in exile, that he may acquire the means of enjoying life in the paradise which gave him birth, to which he hastens the moment he has gained his point. Should accident, however, again strip him of his superfluous wealth, he has no objection to return to the "*Isles du Nord*" for the purpose of getting more.

The Russians are very fond of medicine, for to them life is every thing. Can a Russian only save his life he has saved all, for this he thinks no expence too great, and frequently, in critical cases, chearfully rewards his deliverer with 10,000 rubles—or even more.

Among the citizens, the usual fee given to a physician is one ruble; many pay him by the year, when he receives one hundred rubles, besides being distinctly paid for important cures. In the houses of the great, where two are generally employed, they usually receive from 500 to 1000 rubles a year for the ordinary attendance; besides separate pay for extraordinary cases, and abundance of rich presents: and should he be a man who will serve the turn of his employers in affairs of a secret nature, his fortune is made. You perceive that for the sons of Esculapius, Moscow is a perfect Potosi.

Notwithstanding what I have said of these medical men as a body, you will doubtless believe me when I assure you that there are many honourable exceptions among those of the higher orders; but among the apothecaries or preparers of medicine,

there is scarcely a man of integrity to be found. The complaints against them are loud and universal; they prepare the prescriptions with old, stale, adulterated and wrong materials, from whence arise the most dreadful calamities: but the new regulation of the celebrated M. Frank, will, it is to be hoped, remedy this dreadful evil. One good regulation is already in use here, that no medicine of any kind can be sent away unsealed. The apothecaries are foreigners, almost without exception, and chiefly Germans. That they generally die poor, may perhaps partly arise from the contributions levied on them by the physicians.

So great is the want of physicians in Russia, that besides those who go there to seek their fortunes, numbers are every year invited from German universities and other places, for the nobility to take with them to their country seats as physicians in ordinary.

The German clergy in Moscow are by no means so well situated as their brethren in Petersburgh; arising partly from a prevailing want of piety among the foreigners in Moscow, and partly from the poverty of the congregations. Among them too are some geniuses, as they would wish to be thought, who I should be led to fear had not maturely weighed the doctrines they profess to preach. It doubtless denotes strength of mind to rise above low and vulgar prejudices, but to throw off the salutary restraints which true religion affords, is in my estimation a mark of weakness. The protestant churches here are but thinly attended, and the most respectable minister cannot ensure to himself more than a quarter of what is usually paid in Petersburgh, where several of them have an income of from 7 to 10,000 rubles a year.

LETTER XXXI.

CONCERNING the curiosities of Moscow, as there are but very few besides those already mentioned, I have of course but little to add. Some few must not, however, be passed over in silence. Of the famous steeple, Iwan Weliki (Iwan the Great) there is a good representation in the Provost Heideken's Russian Miscellany, which, as is not usually the case, appears better than the original. The latter is composed of a very lofty wall and a spire, that places it on a respectable footing among the steeples of Europe; for I believe this quarter of the world only has had the admirable conceit of erecting such ruin-threatening edifices. The adjoining cupola pleased me much more, and the whole building would wear a very respectable aspect, if a little covered way by the side did not destroy its uniformity.

My guide informed me that it is called the Giant, from whence he of course conceived the dimensions of a giant, both in height and thickness, to be the same, for it is above and below equally thick and round, which is certainly no addition to its beauty. The prospect from its summit must be truly grand, as it stands on the Kreml, the most elevated part of Moscow, and commands a view of the city, extending along a vale, which is intersected by the river from whence it derives its name. It is abundantly supplied with bells, which are visible at every opening. The great bell which was destined for it, but which falling down, during a fire, has been ever since sinking deeper into the earth, is now scarcely visible, because, on account of the decayed state of the stairs leading down to it, it is not permitted for any one to descend.

The old palace of the Czars, on the Moscow, lies quite away from the public street, concealed betwixt the churches, and is provided with a great number of turrets, surmounted with crosses. Thus the old patriarchs covered the throne with their robes, and this afforded, at the same time, the best opportunity for depriving the monarch of his senses, by the perpetual din of bells, which sounding all at once, must have stunned every rising thought. A part of this palace is levelled; the remaining part is said to contain some Russian antiquities, or a valuable collection of jewels, which I was not tempted to visit.

Among the most remarkable objects to be seen in the Kreml, I consider the senate-house to hold the first rank, which reminds us of its foundress, Catherine II. It is built in the most superb style of architecture, adorned with a colonnade and portal, both simple and elegant. The Kreml is encompassed by an old wall with Tartarian loopholes, which have been carefully repaired; for what reason it is not in my power to decide, for according to the present system of war, it would be of little service in keeping off an enemy; and it is not more serviceable in my opinion, as a piece of antiquity, being rather a deformity than otherwise. On one side, the esplanades are converted into walks, so as to afford an agreeable prospect.

The monarchs do not now inhabit the old palace during their stay in Moscow; but Peter the Great had a particular imperial palace erected for himself by Lefort; and Paul I. combined with it the former senate house, which the late archchancellor, prince Besborodko, had fitted up with great magnificence; a charming edifice in a pleasant spot, to which is attached a beautiful garden, infinitely superior to the Summer-garden at Petersburgh. Its disposition is much more varied, its extent more considerable, and its proximity to the Yause, gave an opportunity to form a charming water scene. It is under the management of the present minister at war, and kept in very good condition, con-

tinually receiving additional embellishments, or at least, such as are intended for embellishments; but I acknowledge that the numberless statues and vases are altogether inelegant, and wanting in taste. So far from adorning, they have a contrary effect, by too striking a contrast to the beauty of the whole scene. Were some of the marble statues with which the Petersburgh garden is crowded, transplanted to this spot, they certainly would (though not remarkable for taste and execution) be less offensive to the eye, than these shapeless masses of crumbling sand-stone.

The Yause, which flows close by this garden, presents to the wanderer a no very pleasing prospect of numberless bathing parties, among whom are many Herculean forms from the adjacent habitations of the sons of Mars. I did not actually see women taking part in this diversion, but females, from the youngest to the oldest, lined the banks of the river, beating their clothes in the water after the Russian manner of washing; a circumstance, which either evinces their innocence, or their familiarity with the scene. This bathing-place is close by the bridge, over which people are continually passing and repassing, and lies directly opposite to the habitations of many respectable families, the daughters of which I have often seen sitting at their work in the balcony, during the bathing.

The hospital, which was finished a year ago in a noble style, is situated on the other side of the garden, and forms one of the principal ornaments of Moscow. An hospital is, to be sure, an honourable testimony, for a long series of years, to the taste and beneficence of the builder and founder; but one would often wish, that the sums expended on the exterior decorations, were rather applied to the higher and ultimate destination of relieving misery. If another hospital could be erected and supported out of the savings from expensive embellishments, one would imagine that humanity would be a great gainer by such an arrangement. Simplicity and solidity seem to be the only essentials in a structure of this kind. With respect to the treatment of the patients, and other regulations, the hospitals in the Russian capitals are well managed.

To the ornaments of the city, belong likewise the public fountains, which have been in part but lately erected. There are forcing pumps, which draw the water up from interior sources, and convey it by pipes into basons of granite; so that the fountains are continually running. The Moscow also, which flows through a part of the town, is embanked with granite, but the foot-paths are not kept clean, being commonly wet and dirty, even in the middle of summer. The Moscow itself is often so shallow, as to send forth the most noxious smell from its muddy bottom. Indeed, the Kreml, and finest parts of the city, are rendered by various

stenches, almost insupportable to a stranger. It is said, that Moscow is to be still more interesected with canals It has some beautiful bridges, among which, the new one near the Yause is the most distinguished. In many places, triumphal gates are to be seen, through which, the emperors pass on their coronation. [illegible] only is of stone, cased with coloured marble, and adorned with pillars, which leads to the German Sloboda. The remainder are of wood, partly covered with canvas, which flutters about in rags, and hardly conceals the ruined state of the mouldering fabric.

From the daily improvements and embellishments which take place in Moscow, we may conclude, that in another century, this city will vie with any in Europe for beauty. But it is truly remarkable, that the exterior appearance of the public buildings bears a striking contrast with the slovenliness of the interior. The University, for example, has wooden stairs with naked unplastered walls; and these stairs, which are very badly contrived and built, lead to treasures, the loss of which, in case of fire, would be irreparable.

LETTER XXXII.

IN forming a proper idea of Moscow, and Russia in general, it will be necessary to take a peep into the courts of justice, which I had an opportunity of doing when I applied for my pass. On being conducted into a great hall, I was assailed by a suffocating vapour, and a smell which was alone sufficient to overpower weak nerves. The whole hall is occupied by long rows of deal tables, with forms and chairs crowded with writers. A small passage only is left between for the passers by, who walk up and down in throngs. Through this hall, we pass into a second still larger, and occupied in like manner, and then into a smaller room, three corners of which, contained tables covered with green and red cloth, where some men with a somewhat more judicial aspect are transacting official business. A glass folding-door leads from this room into the large audience chamber.

In the halls I observed but little business transacting, except when an individual from time to time fetched papers from the small room, and distributed them among some of the writers: otherwise these shabby-looking gentlemen were employed in eying every new comer with anxious and inquisitive looks. They have acquired a wonderful facility of estimating people, whether they be foreigners or natives, men of connexions or liberal or parsimonious, acquainted with the place or otherwise. Having determined all this with a glance, they now surround

and press upon him, learn the nature of his business by repeated enquiries, and then offer their services with the most alluring condescension. But no sooner have you entrusted them with your concern, than your patience is put to the utmost trial by their various artifices, for delaying the business, and extorting your money. The most frivolous matter is converted into an affair in which the welfare of the state is concerned. Every thing is so overloaded with forms, that nothing less than Ariadne's clue would help us out of the labyrinth of Russian formalities. At the outset, the whole is to be settled in a quarter of an hour, but unexpected difficulties soon intervene. It is too late to-day, to-morrow will be a holiday, the next day the lawyers must go to the bath, and nothing can be done until the week following. But if you present them with some powerful motives for diligence, from your purse, all these difficulties vanish in a moment, and weeks dwindle into moments. At the same time, they do not hesitate at undertaking a job, which they are sure they cannot execute. When you have effected your purpose, and have rid yourself of the vultures, you are certain of being surrounded by the ravens and crows, it being a principle here, not to let any one go while he has any thing in his pockets. A pass should by law cost nothing, and the utmost amount of the fees ought not to be more than five rubles; but if you will not wait for it week after week, and run after it every day, you must submit to pay the expeditor 25 rubles, besides some additional rubles for drinking money to the inferior officers. After which, as I was descending the stairs, the porter, who had unluckily not seen my pass expedited, ran after me to solicit his share of the bounty. But with all our liberality, we must not expect polite treatment, where nothing but the most contemptuous and offensive behaviour is the order of the day; especially towards persons who have no title.

What passes in the courts of judicature, is a counterpart to this scene, the place being equally crowded with hungry idlers, who extort at pleasure from the unwary or the defenceless immense sums of money, for the distribution of that justice, which the Russian law requires to be distributed gratis.

According to the present system, which allows of every man acting as advocate in the courts of judicature, all take to this profession, who, unable to have recourse to any other, feel within themselves a talent for intrigue, and an assurance that sets them above every principle of honour or integrity. Provided with these qualities, and well instructed in all the formalities of the court, as well as in the large folios of often contradictory ukases, a broken merchant, a valet de chambre, a friseur, or a mechanic, will be sure to make his fortune in the practice of the

law. He knows the only sure and certain method of gaining his cause, and calculates to a nicety how much he must give, and where to apply his liberality. He is in connection with all the officers of the court, from the judge to the door-porter; and in undertaking a cause, he has no occasion to enquire into the merits of the case, but only to ascertain how much can and will be expended upon the business. This point being arranged to the satisfaction of the gentlemen at the bar, it is easy to pervert the ends of justice in the most infamous manner, the judges themselves pointing out to the advocates the ukases and arguments on which a favourable decision may be founded. Under such exigencies, there is no alternative for the opposite party, but to practise the same system, and, if it be worth while, to overpower his adversary, by the liberality of his offers; for by any other means, it would be vain to expect redress from men, who regard nothing as too base, that serves for the attainment of their object. It is true that both parties have the right of appeal, but oftentimes this only exposes a man to fresh costs and anxiety, without answering any other end, than obliging the parties to commence a new law-suit. Nay, so far does this infamous system proceed, that a man, after having appealed from one court to another, up to the very throne itself, has been finally so outwitted by his adversary, as to have his cause involved in still greater obscurity, and its decision prolonged beyond the term of his own life, and that of many others. That in this case, justice should ultimately prevail, as at last it does in most such cases, is no matter of concern for men, who are no longer living to derive the benefit. The well known representation of the loser in a law-suit being naked, and the gainer preserving barely his shirt, is not applicable to Russia, where the contrary is as often the case, for the gainer to come off naked, and the loser to have more than his shirt left him. To entangle the clearest case, and protract the execution of justice, is the principal business of a Russian lawyer; and no one who is unacquainted with their formalities and the art of properly applying a bribe, could venture to plead his own cause, without being completely worsted.

These glaring abuses entered into Catharine's beneficent plan of reformation, who began by establishing a committee of enquiry, that promised much in the commencement, but did not complete their labours in the space of twenty-five years. Paul attempted to give fresh vigour to the undertaking, but died in the interval. Perhaps the nation may be indebted to Alexander for a more liberal and equitable administration of justice. His theoretical structure is beautiful in the extreme, but the question is, whether a corresponding practice can be established on it. It is but too probable, that a back door will soon be opened,

a covered way attached, or a wall torn down here and there, with a thousand other breaches, that will finally destroy all the interior beauties of the edifice. Accustomed to the dark labyrinths of intrigue, the practitioners of the Russian law will soon know how to curve and entangle the clear and regular paths, which reason has marked out, or, as is the case with other public edifices, it will be ever building and never completed, or at last completed like the church of St. Isaac in Petersburgh. Only conceive to yourself, that in Russia, the number of magistrates and judges amount to above 3000; where now can 3000 men be found in that country both able to comprehend and willing to act on the new system? It would be very interesting to learn the number of persons actually employed in the different departments of the law: I should imagine they would exceed every calculation, and out of this legion, not less than nine-tenths would set their faces against the new system, and aim at its destruction.

LETTER XXXIII.

WILL you transport yourself with me, into the charming environs of Moscow? We shall then first traverse the immense plain, which is encircled by elegant country seats, and leads to the convent of nuns, from whence it most probably derives the name of the Virgin's-field. We shall here see luxuriant meadows, blooming corn fields, magnificent woods, spacious parks, and on the border of the horizon well cloathed mountains of considerable height. These are called the Sparrow Mountains, which form one of the greatest beauties of the country round Moscow. They are separated from us by the charming river Yause, which here winds in broader curves than usual. The opposite shore rises by a rather steep ascent, and affords a heavenly prospect to the inhabitants of the neat public house, which crowns its summit. If we wish to pass over, we may either entrust ourselves in the boat of the bearded old man, who is waiting for passengers by the river side, or we may take a droschka, which will convey us safely enough, if we only seat ourselves so as to preserve our balance As we approach the shore, boards are thrown across, to prevent our sinking into the deep sand; but methinks while consulting the convenience of the passengers, they might have contributed more to the comfort of the fair sex, if a fixed bridge or stair led from the boat to the shore; and with all the respect of the Russians for the tender part of the creation, it is somewhat surprising that nothing of the kind has been thought of. However, as it has never yet

been made, the ladies who pass this way, must submit to the danger of slipping from the tottering planks into the sand. As we come on shore, we may be accommodated with a comfortable bathe, in a little bathing house, unless we prefer mixing with the crowd of males and females, who are enjoying the salubrity of the limpid waves. We will turn from this scene to ascend the rising ground.

It begins to grow fatiguing, let us take our repose on the ledge of the mountain, and enjoy the lovely prospect. There the colossal city extends itself before our eyes: a thousand pities, that the ugly cloud of dust partially intercepts our view. We must visit this eminence early at sun rising, if we wish to enjoy it in all its grandeur. Let us mount to the summit of the hill: at every step what a magical change of scenery. At this height the broad river appears like a small line, and the boat on it like a moving point: the city with its towers and large open places, seems to be only masses of stone in uninterrupted rows. As we pass towards the left on the ridge of the mountain, what wild picturesque scenery opens to our view! It makes one dizzy to look down the woody precipices. We may touch the tops of the highest pines growing in the abyss. And this charming level spot encircled with trees. Here stood formerly an ancient castle, belonging to the Czars; which must have been as striking an object from below, as the prospect from it was delightful. It has not been long pulled down, and some of the ruins and rubbish are still remaining. Were I sovereign, I should here build a new palace in the noblest style: it would be a throne commanding the whole of the surrounding country. The walks already cut through the wood would facilitate the laying out of a park. If we proceed farther, we may return in this direction to the city; and it is only on this side that the Sparrow Mountains may be ascended in a carriage: but the road is very steep and inconvenient. The prospect from the summit of this mountain, although very beautiful, does not equal the view which it affords the beholder, on the opposite bank of the river; when the flocks and herds are observed at a distance, traversing the verdant acclivities, and the echo of the cowhorn resounds through the woods and cavities, or when the mountain is veiled in the darkness of the night, and rockets descend in showers from its acclivities.

The Russians are excessively fond of fire works; and on every side we see flaming stars flying about, and hear the report of the exploded gunpowder. But as several fatal accidents have happened on this mountain through the indiscretion of young people, it is now forbidden to let off rockets here. On holidays and festivals, these acclivities are thronged with the Moscovites, particularly of the lower orders, who enjoy the beauties of na-

ture, and the open air, in all their perfection. When viewed from the bottom of this immense height, they have the appearance of little moving spots, which, as they descend to reach the bank of the river, seem every moment in danger of falling down the huge precipice. On other occasions, the higher classes form themselves into parties, and taking their own provision, convert the verdant carpet of nature into their table. Not far from hence, lies Neskuschne, a park belonging to a nobleman of the name of Subow, in which, besides some charming lawns and paths, there is a bridge that connects two hills, and leads over a deep abyss: they have given it the significant name of the Devil's bridge. A view into this abyss, though not watered by any stream, is altogether terrible and sickening; but as the bridge is supported by props, and not by its own arch, it has nothing remarkable in itself, nor will its erection be considered as any thing supernatural. It was this place, that Alexander the aeronaut fixed upon for his ascent and descent.

LETTER XXXIV.

WITHOUT requesting your company, in imagination, I will now describe to you the remaining curiosities in the neighbourhood of Moscow.

On one side opposite to the Sparrow Mountains, lies the estate of Count Scheremetjew already mentioned. It is called Astankina, and has a palace, the interior splendour of which exceeds any thing I ever saw of the kind. The road thither leads through fields and bushes without any thing remarkable to distinguish them; but at its proper entrance, commences a wide avenue which leads to a bridge, on which two centry boxes, painted white and black, according to the emperor Paul's taste, are standing. Here the elegant building, with its flesh coloured walls, and large green cupola, begins to peep forth from behind the river Liborcha, which is here of considerable breadth: an archway leads into the lawn before the dwelling. The main building, with its colonnades, stands in the back grounds, and is enclosed on both sides by the wings. One of these wings contains the theatre, with a room for rehearsals, and a dressing-room, having presses all round full of the most beautiful porcelain. The floors are inlaid, and the curtains all silk, partly with genuine gold fringes and tassels. In the dressing room, stand two triumphal cars, richly gilded and lined with gold and silver stuffs. The theatre is of a tolerable extent, and fitted up with extraordinary beauty. The decorations are not inferior to the rest in splendour and taste. The theatre formed, when I saw it, a ball-room, after the last

entertainment given by the count to the emperor. But its transformation into a theatre again, is the business of a few moments only. The seats for the spectators, run amphitheatrically in a semicircle, and above are private boxes, which altogether will hold twelve hundred people. The count was formerly extravagantly attached to dramatic representations, particularly operas, and formed a company for himself from his own people, of whom he chose the handsomest and cleverest, and had them trained for the purpose in his own theatrical school. It was unquestionably the most distinguished company in Russia, and had the lately deceased countess for a member, before her marriage. She had been the particular object of her count's choice, and retained his ardent affections till her death, when she left a child a few days old, who was acknowledged by the emperor, as the rightful heir to his immense property, which would otherwise have fallen to his nephews, the counts Rasumowsky.

Lofty mahogany folding doors, inlaid with coloured woods, and adorned with long bolts of bronze, lead from the theatre into the apartments, where a superfluity of glittering furniture serves to dazzle the eyes of the beholder, and to display riches rather than taste. The most costly paintings, tables of jasper, of lapis lazuli, and of mosaic, sconces of the purest crystal, the most elegant carpets, the most gaudy tapestry, among which, one of *Hautelice* was distinguished, curious clocks and time-pieces in rich bronze and marble cases, statues, vases, groups of ore, and the most beautiful china were all so thronged together in one immense mass, that the individual parts are entirely lost. The prodigious sums which must have been expended on the whole, may be easily conceived, from only knowing the amount of some articles which are by no means the most costly. In one hall, a large rotunda is formed by pillars of porphyry, jasper, and coloured marble, in the middle of which is an alabaster statue of Catharine the Great, which is a striking likeness, and is said to have cost 6000 rubles: and in the background stands a marble statue of the Goddess of Health, leaning on Hermes, which was found at Athens in 1787, and is in good condition. Notwithstanding the workmanship is nothing extraordinary, it cost 12,000 rubles. The building of this hall, must have cost at the most moderate computation 30,000 rubles. The galleries are crowded with the most superb paintings, among which, are many by Angelica Kaufmann, and also several master-pieces from the Dutch school. In all the rooms, antique and modern statues are variously disposed, and in a side closet of the above-mentioned is a bason of Carara marble, supported by the three Graces. Few articles in this fairy palace, except the chairs and sophas, can have been procured under

several thousand rubles. When the proprietor gave an entertainment to the emperor Paul on his coronation, (whose picture, as large as life, hangs in the most magnificent apartment) both he and his empress acknowledged that they neither possessed or could possess any thing equal to it; and in fact, when all the sconces and lustres in the interior of the palace were lighted up, and the exterior to the very ball of the cupola was one brilliant flame, when the most delicious perfumes arose from the costly censers, when the gorgeously attired servants were flying about with the glittering plate, when to all this is added, the splendid dresses of the company, and the charms of the most delightful music, the whole must have produced a powerful effect.

The adjacent garden contains nothing remarkable except some Siberian cedars, one of which is of peculiar magnitude, and forms a spacious thick arbour. It is said to be some hundred years old. The cedar of Lebanon would not attain the same height and size in less than a thousand years. The park is continually receiving some additions in its extent.

The house is erected in a very noble style, and adorned with colonnades, bas-reliefs, and statues of excellent workmanship; but, by a strange inconsistency, it is only of wood, and cannot be of long duration, as it already discovers on the outside symptoms of decay.

After the death of his countess, the count lost all attachment to his Moscow possessions, and repaired to St. Petersburgh. His dramatic performances are consequently terminated, but his chapel and band of music have not lost any of their excellence. His father-in law, who has the management of Astankina, resides in a dwelling by the road side, and receives a yearly salary of some hundred rubles, by which he is enabled to live in perpetual intoxication, which seems to be his happiest condition.

The count's father had built a palace of equal splendour, in Kuskowa, delightfully situated on the other side of Moscow, by a large lake or pond, at the distance of a couple of miles from the city. The lake is beautified with all the charms which art and nature can bestow, being encircled by gardens of various descriptions. The garden nearest the castle has an orangery, which is perhaps superior to any but that of the count Rasumowsky, on his estate at Petrowsky, and likewise hot-houses, with the produce of which, more than one imperial table might be amply supplied. The count had a part of this orangery conveyed to St. Petersburgh, on the occasion of a festival given to the imperial family, which is said to have cost 80,000 rubles. In the English garden, which is more remotely situated, there is, besides many beautiful walks and beds, a very pretty dwelling house, and a gallery with original paintings of Russian empe-

rors and of the family of the proprietor. The main building is said to be magnificently furnished in the old French taste, and although many of the most valuable articles have been removed to Astankina, yet a prodigious quantity is still remaining. A number of out-buildings for guests and domestics surround the castle on all sides. The whole is kept in good repair, but as [illegible] used as the newly-erected seat of the son.

LETTER XXXV.

BEYOND Astankina, lies Swirlowa, one of the most delightful landscapes round Moscow. It is a mountainous country, intersected by streams of various magnitudes, and diversified by the habitations of the rich. One of these villas lies by the road, on an eminence, and leads into an agreeable vale, which is watered by the river Yause. It is bounded by woods and hills, and enlivened by the murmuring of the waters, which the opposite mill on the Liborcha keep in constant motion. Before the house, the present proprietor, who has hired it for several years, has laid out a pretty lawn, with a variety of flower-beds, and had several walks cut out in a neighbouring grove of birches. Beyond the grove, we come to extensive meadows and fields, all watered by charming rivulets, and provided with a variety of walks that tempt the wanderer in all directions. The verdant meadows and declivities are every where covered with herds and flocks, who revel in the luxuriant grass. Nor is there a deficiency of charming songsters in the thickets, though the Greeks, who have chosen this for their favourite abode, and spend the most beautiful nights here under tents, often frighten them away with the noise of their fire-works. The beauteous females of this nation, whose luxuriant forms are often embraced by the crystal waves of the Yause, sometimes disclose to the ambushed swain such charms as met the gaze of Actæon, without any danger of his melancholy fate.

In this Elysium, I spent a great part of my stay in Moscow, under the friendly roof of one of the most enlightened and intelligent German families in that city. The mornings were commonly spent in visiting the surrounding country, where the villas of the richest inhabitants join each other in uninterrupted succession. Besides Astankina and the Demidow estate, mentioned in a former letter, I also visited Petrowsky, the delightful seat of count Rasumowsky. It has an artificial lake of extraordinary extent, a beautiful garden, and the richest orangery I ever saw. It stands in the summer in the large

lawn before the castle, and exhales the most exquisite perfume. The trees are altogether of unusual thickness and height, and the fruit of various hues, according to the different stages of growth, conceals itself under the thin, but deliciously scenting veil of the blossoms.

But the count's great source of entertainment consists in his collection of foreign birds, on which he has expended immense sums. A distinct large building has been erected for the aviary, the border of the lake, close to where the Turkish geese and other waterfowl are seen disporting, while the ostrich majestically struts about on its banks, which are connected together by a beautiful bridge. In the winter, the birds live in large heated rooms, divided off by wire-work into tolerable sized partitions, but in the summer, in distinct courts, covered over with nets. The number of birds is very considerable, among which, are the gold pheasants, the still more rare silver pheasants, different sorts of wild hens, white peacocks, &c. &c. The pheasants had laid eggs to the no small joy of the proprietor. The management of the aviary is entrusted to a Russian, who has been a great traveller for the purpose of collecting rare birds, and made a long stay in England. He has a salary of five hundred rubles a-year, with a free house, candles, and firing.

The situation of Petrowsky is very picturesque, and greatly beautified by the tasty disposition of the park, which is daily receiving additions to its extent, and the variety of its curious trees, from all quarters of the globe.

The count is also an enthusiastic admirer of music, which is cultivated in the most perfect manner in his beautiful chapel. When I was there, every thing was prepared for a great festival, the first that had been given since the death of the old count, to which a numerous company was expected; admittance being not only free for every one, but particularly desired. On promenade-days and holidays, the garden is therefore mostly crowded with all descriptions of people. At all the estates there are hot-houses, which produce large quantities of the fruits of warmer climates. It being the cherry season when I was there, I ate Spanish marelles from the tree, such as Germany rarely yields. Apricots, peaches, pine-apples, and every superior sort of fruit, are likewise in abundance. The same is the case with most of the gardens of the rich, which, as the family are seldom there, are open to the public The only exception which we experienced to this liberality, was in the garden of three old maiden sisters, who had farmed their ripe fruit to a griping bearded old man, who guarded his property with the utmost vigilance, nor would he allow us to taste his fruit without a remuneration.

When cherries are not very plentiful, a hundred of the finest cost a ruble, but a few days after the season had commenced I bought five large yellow plums, ten oranges, ten peaches, and a hundred cherries, for three rubles copper coin, which is 25 or 30 per cent. worse than the silver coin; a ruble in silver amounting to somewhat more than a dollar. In a village not far from Moscow, a whole plantation of cherry trees is said to be laid out in the open ground.

LETTER XXXVI.

ON many estates round Moscow, it is common to find considerable manufactories, particularly of cotton, with which apparatus for calico-printing are connected. But the major part of these undertakings, which belong to private individuals, have an ephemeral existence, and seldom reach the third heir. The son frequently dislikes what the father has planned, and lets it fall into decay, in order to set about something new, which will share the same fate from the next generation. These projects are very often formed by the great, either as a plaything, or with the hope of very great gain; but they seldom or ever repay the expences, for the projector not understanding any thing of it himself, is obliged to entrust the management of the concern to a foreigner, who instead of giving him any insight into the business, looks alone to amassing a comfortable provision for himself. The proprietor, after finding all his golden hopes vanished, and new demands continually made upon his purse, at length grows weary of his speculation, and disposes of it to the first bidders on any terms. If it falls into the hands of merchants, or others belonging to the industrious class, it may more probably yield some advantage. But it is not uncommon for the founder to lose his taste for the undertaking before it is finished, or at least before he has had an opportunity of reaping any advantage from it. In this manner, immense sums of money are lavished away every year, without answering any other purpose than to enrich some unprincipled men. In concerns of this nature, foreigners are mostly employed, and vassals placed under them with the view of their learning the business, and supplying their places, for which the Russians very soon fancy themselves qualified, and mostly succeed in obtaining from their masters; while the foreigners on the other hand, grown wiser by experience, take care to communicate imperfect and often false information to their Russian assistants, all which naturally tends to the injury of the enterprize.

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Such manufactories seldom fail of answering when conducted by private individuals, either Russians or foreigners. Count Scheremetjeff has several manufacturers among his peasantry, who are worth several hundred thousand rubles. The city of Moscow abounds in manufactories of all descriptions, sugar-baking not excepted, for which the materials are procured at an immense expense; cabinet-making is carried to great perfection, and the silk manufactories are very numerous The Moscow taffeties are, it is true, very thin, but yet very serviceable and cheap. There is not a cheaper stuff in Russia, for the summer dress of the ladies.* The cotton and linen manufactures as well as those of leather and paper, are in a flourishing condition. Coach-making has already been spoken of in a former letter. The porcelain manufactory is going rapidly to decay. The founder of it has left a wife and two children, the former of whom is extravagant, and the latter are under worthless guardians, who suffer every thing to sink to ruin.

Wardship is indeed in the most dreadful state in Russia; for no rich son who has the misfortune to be left fatherless, ever obtains his property. This is commonly considered by the guardian as his own, or at least, as a source from which he can recruit his own exhausted purse. There is indeed in every district, a particular court for the affairs of orphans, but they are either so corrupt as to share the plunder, or to be over-ruled by undue influence. If the youth, after he is of age, get acquainted with the particulars of their villainy, he is as little in a capacity to bring them to justice, as any other individual; for he is either too much stripped of his property, or, what is still worse, his character has been designedly so corrupted, as to unqualify him for managing his own concerns; it being a favourite practice with these gentlemen, to cause the poor youths to be plunged into every vice, that they may the more effectually retain their power. A gentleman, whose name is well known, gave his ward, the son of a rich merchant, the most notorious and profligate debauchee for his tutor, who had an express commission not merely to initiate him into every extravagance, but actually to instruct him methodically in all the refinements of vice, which detestable charge be executed so punctually and completely as to render this youth at the age of twenty, unequalled in every species of the most brutal debauchery. If a happier star lead the youth into better hands for instruction, if the guardian be not altogether so depraved as to leave him without any cultivation, or be compelled by other circumstances to do so, the instructor seldom gains favour by this mode of conduct, which gives his pupil an independent spirit. It is

no extraordinary case for such upright people to be secretly dispatched. The condition of female orphans is, as you may easily conceive, no better, and with whom atrocities are sometimes committed, that surpass all credibility.

One of the most singular customs in Russia, which is at present very prevalent, is that of men at the age of thirty, forty, or above, putting themselves under guardianship, with the view of defrauding their creditors. A legal prosecution on the part of the latter is the consequence, and the antiquated ward thus becomes deprived of a great part of his fortune, in order that he may not be in want of any thing which money can furnish. With any surplus that remains, the debts are gradually paid off, after being reduced as much as possible by arbitrators. Although the creditors are not over and above pleased with such a kind of guardianship, yet when the award is once made, they must ask for no more afterwards. Hence the payment is seldom made upon any certain principles, or is never considered as a favour, because it has been procured by a sacrifice or a bribe. Perhaps while the poor creditor is on the eve of bankruptcy, in consequence of the artifices which are used to keep him out of his money, the ward revels in every kind of debauchery, and contracts new incumbrances. This conduct, which the great attempt to excuse, is the reason why they are obliged to give such an enormous per centage for the money they borrow, besides taking goods for a considerable portion of the sum they want; while for the property thus acquired, bonds and other securities are exacted with the most unjustifiable rigour. Such conduct, however, is not practised or allowed towards any but the rich. This frenzy amongst them is to be lamented, though, on the whole, it proves only hurtful to themselves.

LETTER XXXVII.

ON the highway, which has often been moistened with tears of blood from the unfortunate people who have been forced to wander along it to Siberia; on this high road lies the celebrated Gorinka, belonging to Count Alexey Rasumowsky, who, you must have already heard, is famed for his extensive botanical garden; it is, indeed, the best of the kind in Russia. It contains some great rarities, which, I must confess, excited in me a high degree of interest. The expences attending its establishment, are said to have amounted to 120,000 rubles,

and according to the catalogue published in 1803, which is now before me, it produced above 4500 different species, without any common plant amongst them. The collection of palms is unique, and in that of the gerania are many which are extremely rare. Even the plants peculiar to New Holland are by no means scarce. The coffee and tea-trees, and the camellia sesanqua, with the blossoms of which the Chinese impart such a fine flavour to their superior teas, and which are extremely dear, are to be seen here in numbers, and some of them actually in blossom; a quantity of the cactus, the poison tree with which the Indians poison their arrows, the pepper and ginger plants, &c. The pillars and cornices of the hot-houses, are enlivened with an abundance of the beautiful Chinese roses; while in the open air are exposed many Siberian plants, which here naturally come to greater perfection.

The fine and extensive library, is contained in a pavilion built on purpose. It was formerly inaccessible to any person except the proprietor, who possesses a considerable knowledge of botany; but now it is placed under the care of two very learned and polite gentlemen, Doctors Fischer and Londes, who study the works, and accommodate the visitors with them for perusal. Dr. Londes, who is the author of the Göttingen Flora, came lately from that town, and Dr. Fischer is a Prussian: they are both very genteel and agreeable persons, and praise the count highly, though the only motive for their arrival and stay here, seems to have been their thirst of knowledge. Dr. Fischer has the expectation of being sent to travel, at the count's expence, through the Crimea and Siberia, and perhaps even to Paris and London, with whose botanical institutions and societies the count maintains a correspondence.

The extensive and picturesque park, through which meanders a considerable stream, is also a great addition to the beauty of this demesne. Numerous swans appear on the water, and there is one species which has a peculiar kind of song or cry, by no means disagreeable. Contiguous to the river, is a ball-room, which is now in decay, but the appearance of which sufficiently testifies its former magnificence. This estate, I was given to understand, belonged to the old field-marshal and Hetman of the Cossacks, Count Razumowsky. At one end of the botanical garden are two Chinese bridges, thrown across the river, and on the parapets of which, sit four Chinese figures, smoaking their pipes; and at a short distance they look like animated beings.

It is a melancholy reflection, that in the short space of a few years, these costly and remarkable establishments, will pro-

bably decay and hasten to destruction. When the great in Russia devise any plan, they spare no expence in its execution, and actually display grandeur, which too often, however, borders on monstruosity. But their ardour evaporates as quickly, and their subsequent indifference keeps pace with their former enthusiasm. At least new owners will frequently let the most magnificent fabrics go to decay, precisely because they were particularly valued by their predecessors. Thus there was formerly at Moscow, a celebrated botanical garden belonging to a M. Demidow, of which there is not a single vestige now remaining.

When we returned to town on the evening of a pleasant day, we met an uncommon number of kibitkas, speeding to the fair of Makary, the greatest and most renowned in Russia. Even foreign merchants, but chiefly traders from the Uralian Mountains, and the farthest limits of Siberia, resort to this fair, whose splendour and bustle are beyond all description.

The distance of the convent of Troitzky, so frequently visited by pious pilgrims, was too great. My business at Moscow would not permit me to see it. But there is another Troitzky nearer town, where I passed some very agreeable days under the hospitable roof of M. Knauff, the merchant to whom this fine villa belongs. The beauty of its situation in the pleasant country of Njiskusche is peculiarly enhanced by an enchanting view of Moscow, at no great distance.

LETTER XXXVIII.

SUFFER me to concentrate in a few letters, whatever I have yet to communicate respecting Moscow, and my residence in that place.

The police here is pretty active, though not so much so as at Petersburgh; under Catharine it was sunk too low; under Paul it was too terrible; but under Alexander, it seems confined to its proper limits. That a police-officer, even one of the highest, should be kicked down stairs; obliged to submit to the most humiliating treatment from high and low; concerned in the very plots which disturbed public tranquillity; or that there should be any meanness too great for him to consent to, was nothing uncommon in the reign of Catharine: under Paul, even the grandees trembled before the omnipotent lords of the police; its whole system was a system of arbitrary power and

oppression. Every one of its officers was a spy whom nothing could free from being suspected, or whose promotion nothing could insure, but the frequency of his reports about what was passing in the interior of families. Many were tempted to have recourse to invention when reality failed. Thus fell numberless victims, over whom the fatal sword was suspended, whilst in the bosom of their family they could not harbour the most distant suspicion of their impending fate. A gentleman who had been one of the staff of the police at that critical period told me with a noble indignation, that he had been ordered to introduce himself at family banquets in livery clothes, and to take his station near the door of the dining-room, in order to catch the word which might unguardedly escape from the lip of him whose tongue should be let loose by wine and conviviality. "I was obliged," said he, "to obey, but I listened not, and whatever I chanced to hear I endeavoured quickly to forget. If of course I had only very unimportant things to report, the cruel and inhuman *Acharow*, (at that time the universally detested military governor of Moscow,) overwhelmed me with his anger, called me a traitor towards the emperor, a fellow unacquainted with his duty, &c. How happy was I when I found an opportunity to leave that odious service, and to engage in another department. Yet," added he with emotion, "it cost me many an inward struggle when I reflected that I might be succeeded by a less conscientious person, who might cause the misery of thousands, to whom I had been a guardian angel unknown to themselves: for often the long suppressed discontent would break out, so that I had enough to do to keep at a distance those who were less inclined to forget what they heard." He who thus feelingly spoke to me was a German; but you may easily suppose that there were not many police-officers so noble-minded. Alas! my friend, those were times of terror indeed.

Beware, however, of sinning against the manes of the deluded monarch by fancying that such despotical measures were the dictates of his heart. They mostly proceeded from the ambitious exertions of the principal officers to manifest their zeal for the emperor's service, and from the fear of incurring his disgrace by openly representing matters in their true light, particularly when they themselves were conscious of being in fault. One frightful occurrence of that period may serve as an instance.

To stop a practice which had grown very common, the monarch issued the humane command that no carriage should drive full speed through the streets, under the penalty that, without any regard to persons, horses and carriages should be forfeited, an extra fine paid by the master according to the circumstances of the case, the coachman forced to serve as a

common soldier without the plea of having merely obeyed orders being of any avail, and, if any person should be hurt, to undergo the punishment of the knout. A coach and four having trespassed against this law, coachman, postillion, footman, carriage and horses were immediately seized. The emperor heard of this seizure before he could have received the report from the police. When the officer, whose business it was to make this report, came to Gatschina, the monarch asked whether the attendants of the carriage had undergone the punishment of the knout, and the officer in the hurry of the moment answered in the affirmative. Hardly had he returned to Petersburgh when he took the necessary steps to have the punishment inflicted. Notwithstanding it happened to be holiday-time, the court was obliged to hold an extraordinary sitting. Its sentence was, that the coachman should be lashed with the knout, the postillion, a boy of ten, whipped with rods, and the footman discharged; as the latter, having stood behind the carriage, could not possibly have had any share in the guilt. But this did not agree with what the officer had reported to the emperor, he therefore insisted upon the knout being dealt out to all three. In vain did the court remonstrate; in vain did it represent the injustice of punishing the innocent; nothing could move the man with the steeled breast; the court was forced to pronounce an unjust decree. When it was announced to the unfortunate footman, he fell senseless on the floor, and awoke to ineffable misery. He was flogged with the knout, his nostrils were torn open, and in that state he was sent to the mines of Siberia. All the court could obtain was that the boy should be whipped only with rods, as by law no minor can be castigated with the knout.

You may easily judge how much it was the interest of the police to watch over the execution of the imperial prohibition of driving full-speed through the streets, since both carriage and horses were forfeited to the officers.

An interesting anecdote of the English ambassador at Petersburgh, at that period, affords a pleasing contrast. He was walking on the banks of the Neva, his carriage slowly following at a distance. When he wanted to reascend, his coachman briskly drove up, but a police-officer stepped forward, stopped the carriage, and declared that he was under the necessity of taking coach and horses to the police office, that he would however allow the minister to be first drove home. This the British nobleman declined. He quietly saw his elegant English chariot and six beautiful blood-horses led away, and returned to his house on foot. The emperor no sooner heard of the circumstance than he ordered the carriage and horses to be immediately restored, with a proper apology. The

ambassador, however, refused taking his equipage back. "I cannot," said he, "ride in an equipage which has been at the police. I beg it may be sold, and the money given to the Foundling-hospital."

At Moscow the police was, if possible, still more severe than at Petersburgh, but not so arbitrary. The inhabitants of Moscow, however, felt the pressure of despotism less because of their distance from court. They were unacquainted with the obligation of stepping out of their carriage or of standing still whenever any person of the imperial family was passing by; they therefore escaped the danger to which thousands in the metropolis were exposed, of being ill treated and reduced to ruin for the least want of attention or any mistake that could be construed into disrespect. It is true the English frock, waistcoat, round hat and thick cravat, heads *à la Titus* without powder, and strings in the shoes, were forced to disappear, but even in this regard there was much more indulgence shown here. —That the gentlemen of the police were rather overbearing in the use of their power may easily be imagined. Under the present Emperor Alexander, it is their province to watch over the public security, the tranquillity and cleanliness of the streets, to superintend fire-engines, prisons, &c. They cannot so frequently indulge in stretches of power, but on the other hand they are safe against bad treatment. Yet most of the individuals of the police are rude, ignorant and ill-bred, consequently incapable of conciliating esteem.

The present regulations in cases of fire at Petersburgh are excellent; even at Moscow less conflagrations take place than in former times, which may partly arise from the number of wooden houses being considerably diminished. Convicts are employed in cleaning streets, repairing highways, canals, dikes, &c. Thus their involuntary leisure is turned to public good. Servants are subject to a more severe superintendance than at Petersburgh. Masters find no difficulty in having them condemned to hard labour for rudeness of behaviour, drunkenness, or any neglect of service.

The prerogatives, which even the inferior nobility arrogate to themselves, are incredible. At Moscow I found the high road near a dike encumbered with posts before a wooden-house, against which coaches and foot-passengers might easily run in the dark. On expressing my surprise about this circumstance, I was told that the noble owner of the wooden mansion wanted to be relieved from the frequent paving before his door, and that the police-officer of that quarter of the town was his son in law. Even the legitimate power of the police does not reach the great, neither do the superior officers of the

police attempt to conceal this difficulty. Hence the inferior classes are left without protection against persons of high rank. The military governor is the only one to whom they can apply for redress, and his authority too is often insufficient.

The quantity of silver coin circulating at Moscow is so much the more surprising as a ruble here is worth five copecks more than at Petersburgh. The copper coin, on the contrary, is more rare.

There is no want of provisions. Vegetables, bread and meat are in plenty, but fish is scarce. Necessaries of life are one third, and house-rents more than one half cheaper than at Petersburgh; but fire-wood is two rubles the load dearer, owing to the want of water communications, which are however at present in contemplation. The canals hitherto made in the town are not navigable.—Articles of luxury are at a much higher price, being mostly brought from the sea-port towns by land-carriage; this remark applies to broad cloth and fashionable articles of every kind. Wine is dear, and not very good. Beer is tolerable. Coach-hire is cheaper than at Petersburgh. A pair of horses, without a coach, cost here 40 rubles a month; at Petersburgh from 60 to 70; a good carriage and four from 150 to 170 rubles a month.—Considering the extent of the place, much convenience is derived in summer from the droschkas, and in winter from the sledges with one and two horses plying at the corners of the streets, but not in such numbers as at Petersburgh. For the common people there is a sort of carriage consisting of a plank placed on four wheels. This is extremely cheap, but I do not think the other conveyances very reasonable. I wonder that the droschkas, which for their convenience are so universally liked by strangers, are not become more general in Germany.—Most of the artists at Moscow, as painters, architects, statuaries, and musicians, are foreigners; which is not so frequently the case at Petersburgh.

Apparently there is more regard paid to public worship at Moscow. The churches, notwithstanding their great number, are continually crowded; particularly those whose patron happens to be the saint of the day. On the preceding evening multitudes flock to that church, and the street on the outside is filled with numbers who cannot get admittance. The eve of a saint's day is generally devoted to its religious celebration, the festival itself to profane rejoicing. In the suburbs you hit at almost every tenth pace upon some image adorning the entrance of a small wooden chapel in which wax-tapers are burning, and where oblations are received in boxes placed near the tapers for that purpose.

LETTER XXXIX.

IT is not in my power, dear friend, to inform you whether the number of poor at Moscow be great or small. A signification is attached here to the term poverty very different from that of other countries. The lowest and most numerous class have, it is true, little money, but they are, properly speaking, not in indigence. Their wants are much more limited, and they have many opportunities to acquire the necessaries of life. It is impossible to judge from their outward appearance whether they gain more or less; neither their dress nor their manners betray the least symptom of a larger or smaller income. A miserable often a ragged smock frock, frequently even a mere coarse dirty shirt over linen pantaloons in summer, a filthy stinking sheep's skin in winter, unblacked leather boots, or rags about the feet, with basten shoes over them, are worn by all—even the poorest. There are, indeed, many infirm, mostly blind people, (in consequence perhaps of the fine penetrating chalk dust) and beggars; but with respect to the latter it is always uncertain whether begging be a trade or a matter of necessity.—Accustomed to the sight of apparent distress, the higher orders in Russia seldom feel for real misery, of which they form no conception; thus the sentiment of benevolence generally remains unexerted. No doubt they give alms, but I am not alluding to that kind of charity, which very improperly, I think, usurps its name. Yet, without pretending to strip the better sort of Russians of all and every disposition to a more exalted, true, and rational benevolence, how can this virtue be displayed if objects seemingly deserving of actual pity are nearly absolutely wanting? The wretch who here carries his wretchedness about for a show is commonly sunk so low that he hardly excites any other sensation but that of disgust. To liberate debtors from confinement, or to support those who are shut up between the terrific walls of a dungeon, is nearly the only way in which the great and opulent manifest their charitable disposition in Russia. On certain solemnities considerable sums are bestowed in this manner; but the donors care not to whom their bounty goes, nor do they derive any inward satisfaction from their gifts. It is but very seldom indeed that a Russian enjoys the delightful sight of distress relieved through

his kindness. Indeed he rarely liberates a truly unfortunate sufferer, but commonly a thoughtless or even unprincipled spendthrift; for it is too often the case that mean profligates, when such beneficent deeds as imperial acts of grace, &c. are expected, contrive by bribery to get arrested for wantonly contracted, or fictitious debts, and then divide the booty with their pretended creditors. Many a debauched unprincipled German has turned such occurrences to advantage.

Pride is generally the first promoter of charitable foundations, they seldom are the offspring of nobler motives. No doubt it may be a virtuous impulse which actuates some charitable persons; but generally speaking, it is hardly ever the case. Even the support of prisoners is a kind of article of creed which is observed in hopes of a large reward in Heaven. Such donations are collected in a sealed box placed at the entrance of every prison and properly watched. They are said to be often very considerable, and to be faithfully distributed in equal shares to the prisoners. They are an expiatory offering, like the wax-taper which is burnt before their saints. Perhaps true beneficence has fled to the hut of the poor. There it manifests itself without pretensions, in mutual assistance and charitable gifts, which no newspaper blazons forth and no ribbon and star rewards.

The stillness which reigns after ten o'clock, in this huge and populous city, is astonishing. Even on the finest evenings there are but a few solitary walkers, in the streets, and scarcely any person sitting at his door. But then commence the nightly adventures, chiefly near the Smithsbridge, the most noted place for French milliners shops. In these warehouses the owner only, and at most the principal assistant, are natives of France; all the other women are partly Russian slaves whom the French milliners purchase in the name of some nobleman, (for none but nobles dare buy slaves in their own name,) partly servant-girls confided to their tuition to learn the millinery business. But all of them without exception, and sometimes the mistress too, are priestesses of *Venus vulgivaga*. Moscow has few professed *Filles de joie*; they cannot thrive, the servant-girls spoil their trade. This is actually the case in the strictest sense of the word. The dissolute conduct of both male and female servants in great houses can hardly be credited.

The Russians are very much addicted to sensual love. A kiss is the salute common to both sexes, among the vulgar, even in the street. Their eyes glisten and their lips quiver lusciously, though it be an old woman they embrace. It is the sex which a Russian chiefly values in a female: still he has a thousand delicate attentions for every woman, independent of any nearer connection. He puts up with a great deal from a female. A man

in high life is seldom induced to use any severity against his wife, though she should break through all decorum. "She is a woman!" is the only exclamation that will escape him. If any one be unable to accomplish any thing by himself in Russia, he need only commission his wife or his daughter; and though she should be neither handsome nor young, she will yet infallibly obtain more, and dares to speak less reservedly than himself. There reigns a sort of spirit of chivalry in avour of the ladies.

A Russian mother's affection for her children exceeds all belief, particularly for her eldest son, who soon learns to bend father and mother under his yoke. He enjoys great privileges, and is heir at law; his brothers and sisters are mere legataries. Hence it happens, that he generally turns out good for nought; rarely at least does he prove a good son. From infancy he is regarded not only by the mother, but by every one in the house, as the future master, and all submit to his will. Hardly has he reached the threshold of manhood, when he knows how to make good the pretensions which he has been so liberally allowed, by lording it over all around him. Should his father die, the poor deluded mother is really to be pitied. Regard for his mother is generally a sentiment absolutely foreign to a young Russian's breast. Has she any private fortune, he at most considers her as proper to fill up the chasm which his extravagance may cause in his purse. The history of the times offers shocking examples of attempts against mothers. In this respect, education has yet much to perform; it ought to invest the husband's partner with more consequence, to confirm the sanctity of a mother's rights. But this would shake their ancient constitutions and customs, which are stronger than laws. Yet till this salutary reform takes place, every attempt to civilize and to enlighten Russia, in the genuine sense of the word, must prove abortive.

Superstition pervades all ranks, high as well as low. The Russians believe in their *Domowoys* (house-demons,) prognostics, prophecies, fortune-telling by means of coffee, cards, or the melting of tin on the eve of a saint's day. The last-mentioned practices are particularly in high favour with lords and ladies; and such as have acquired reputation for skill in them, may depend upon a rich harvest. The chief adepts and professors are females, and frequently Cupid confederates here with Apollo. Many superstitious observances obtain at weddings, christenings, and funerals. Dropping salt, spilling wine or water, every thing is portentous. He who is the involuntary cause of any bad prognostic, often makes the person whom it regards, pass suddenly from the most chearful, to the worst of humours.

LETTER XL.

YOU were struck with an observation in a former letter, that there is little originality to be found in Russia, though there be many eccentric characters, and you ask for instances of eccentricity, or anecdotes of what are vulgarly called originals and odd fellows. It is true, my dear friend, that the picture of a nation will be rendered more complete by such traits, in which the character is more prominent, and the difference betwixt the inhabitants of various countries more forcibly marked; and I can assure you, that the harvest which Russia affords of such traits, is neither inconsiderable, nor uninteresting. Yet I must confess, I do not possess the happy talent of collecting anecdotes, and having them always ready at hand;—a talent so precious indeed, that in modern societies it gains for its possessor the name of an entertaining, nay, even of a witty man. There is, besides, the difficulty of selecting only such as you are probably unacquainted with, since those anecdotes which most readily present themselves to our memory are generally mosr known. Moreover decency requires, that they should be related only of the dead. You must therefore be contented with the few anecdotes, with which my memory furnishes me at present. I select them from the most celebrated originals, among whom the famous Suwaroff undoubtedly held in several respects the first rank; for he was at the same time the most consistent, although it has been asserted of him that he acted a studied part. Indeed it would require no uncommon strength of mind, to act a part in the manner he performed his.

That his mode of life was strikingly different from that of his cotemporaries of the same rank and profession, is well known. With him, the soldier was every thing, for to the soldier he owed what was most sacred to him—his fame. The character of a warrior has perhaps seldom appeared so perfect, so free from every thing extraneous, as in Suwaroff; in this respect alone, he would be entitled to the regard which his cotemporaries paid, and which posterity will not deny him. A small, meagre, but naturally strong body, hardened and rendered pliant by gymnastic exercises; a steady piercing look, a constantly boiling blood which never suffered him to rest; an unshaken presence of mind, intrepidity and valour; penetration and wit; the most profound knowledge of mankind; subtilty, obstinacy; moderation with respect to physical wants, and the most intem-

perate love of fame; little feeling; and all this under the guise of an original, (not to use a harsher, and still not perfectly applying term) such was Suwaroff. It is supposed by some, that to this appearance of singularity he owed many important advantages, as well as to his assumed bigotry with respect to the soldiers. The true secret history of this remarkable man would certainly be as entertaining as instructive; but he who through a long study of his character, and by observing him minutely in the different relations in which he stood with him, combined the means and the will for such a history, after having undergone many sufferings on his account. has already followed him to the grave.

St. Nicholas was Suwaroff's tutelary saint. With him he held long conversations, and through him expected to exalt his physical powers above humanity. Every morning and evening he made the sign of the cross, and repeated long prayers before his image. Gladly would he have instilled into his soldiers the belief that he himself was a saint. He always appeared before them as one inspired, as the "sword of God." He inflamed their fanaticism, and triumphed.

When against the enemy, his principle was never to wait for his attack, but to be beforehand with him, even though the number of his troops and his position should be superior; a sort of manœuvre, which against the Turks is absolutely necessary, and in the present state of tactics, may be not less successful against other troops. When he took the command over the Russians in the Turkish war, he immediately on reaching the army, sent word to the Austrian commander, that he was arrived, and that other Turks must be attacked in a few hours, to let them know that he was come. The Austrian general, who for several months past had only acted upon the defensive, was not at all prepared for such a proposal, and asked for a delay of some days: but Suwaroff replied, he might do as he pleased, he for his part would instantly commence the attack, and beat the Turks with his Russians alone. This really happened; the Austrians did not reach the field of battle till after the victory was decided. The Austrian chief thinking it his duty immediately to thank the victorious general, repaired to his tent. Suwaroff was just getting a slight wound dressed, in a part which decency forbids to show, when he was informed of the approach of the Austrian commander. The surgeon was in the act of applying the plaister, but Suwaroff stopped him, and enquired how far his visitor might yet be off. To such a question, a precise answer was expected. The reply was, "About a hundred "paces."—"How many now?"—"Fifty."—"And now?"— "Three."—"You may now apply your plaister," said he to the surgeon, turning the wounded part towards the entrance of

the tent, and addressed his guest with these words: "I must "apologize to you, general, for finding me in this situation; but "I have received a slight wound which I must get dressed. "You will readily excuse an old soldier."

The Austrian chief thanked Suwaroff for the seasonable succour he had given him, complimented him about his victory, and begged that he might be allowed to renew his thanks the next day in a solemn visit. Suwaroff consented, and invited him to breakfast. At the appointed time, the Austrian general made his appearance with a great train of attendants, and was introduced. Suwaroff was lying on the ground in a tent, without either table or chair; before him were several pots with grits

He hardly rose, and said, "You find me already at breakfast, "sir; come, sit down near me. It is not so very bad; taste "it, sir." The Austrian could not help sitting himself on the ground, and tasting of the grits.

His barber was once going to shave him: Suwaroff called out, "Fie! you stink: take off your coat."—The barber obeyed.— "You still smell," said Suwaroff, "pull off your waistcoat."— The barber obeyed, and Suwaroff went on in the same manner. until the barber had nothing left on his body but his shirt. The prince now sat down to be shaved, but the barber turned the tables upon him, and said: "Fie, your highness stinks. You ought to take off your coat."—Suwaroff looked at him and did as he was bid.—"You smell still," resumed the barber, "pray quit your waistcoat."—And thus in his turn he made Suwaroff quit all his clothes except his shirt. He then shaved him, but hardly had he done, when the prince started up and exclaimed: "I'll play the devil with you now!" This was what the barber had expected. He ran off full speed; Suwaroff after him. There were of course several officers of the staff assembled about the field-marshal's tent. You may judge of their astonishment, when they beheld the barber running from the commander's tent in his shirt, and the prince pursuing him in the same condition. At last he overtook the barber, seized him, and threw him so ungently on the ground, that the blood gushed from his nose. "I told you, I should thresh you," said Suwaroff, and returned to his tent.

The first time he was sent for from the army to the Imperial court, meeting one of the stove-heaters in a corridor of the palace, he took him by the hand, embraced him with much ceremony, and solicited his friendship. "I am at court," said he to the by-standers, whose countenance expressed the utmost surprise; "at court, I have been told, the lowest indi- "vidual may prejudice you, it is therefore prudent to make "friends of every one."

Potemkin held the mask Suwaroff wore for his true character, and often hinted as much to the empress. Yet Catharine insisted upon Suwaroff's being present at the conference, in which the operations of the following campaign were to be settled. But Suwaroff's behaviour was so odd and so childish, that no person knew what to think of him. Potemkin even left the room saying, "I have always declared that nothing "could be done with the fool!" Scarcely, however, had he turned his back, when Suwaroff opened his plan to the empress, with the most unexpected precision and clearness. It was followed and crowned with the most distinguished success. The empress testifying her surprise, why he had not spoken thus before Potemkin, Suwaroff rejoined, "I am wont to "treat every one in his own way."

When he fell into disgrace with the emperor Paul, and was dismissed the service for having refused to introduce among his troops the new uniform ordered by the monarch, to whom many of his sarcasms against the innovation had been reported, Suwaroff resolved to quit the world. He retired to the neighbourhood of a convent, where he led a monastical life. To those of his friends and attendants who chose to follow him into his retreat, he promised a certain number of boors. Several who gave up their commissions in the army, were confined in a fortress for so doing, and continued long in the most painful uncertainty about their fate. Having had no time allowed to arrange their affairs, they lost part of their property. In their confinement, they found themselves deprived of every convenience, and destitute of all means to correspond with their families. Yet when Suwaroff was called from his retreat, to act his last splendid part, very few of them received the promised boors, or any other indemnity. By what means he exonerated himself of his obligations, I shall not relate. But the scene of his quitting his worldly grandeurs, was truly characteristic. He got all his chains and ribbons, (and the orders with which he was decorated were not few) placed over different chairs in his room, walked up to each separately, bowed profoundly before each, kissed some, and took formal leave of them all. The portrait of Catharine set in brilliants was the only one of these insignia he kept.

The circumstances of the time demanded a Suwaroff, and Paul recalled him to the theatre of glory. The messenger, who brought him the letter of his recall, which was in the emperor's own hand-writing, arrived when Suwaroff was gone out a-walking. Being ordered to make great haste, the messenger immediately joined the prince in his walk, and respectfully presented him the imperial letter. Suwaroff looked at the superscription, which enumerated all his titles.—"This letter is not for me,"

said he. "A general field-marshal I am not—A knight of "such and such an order I am not!"—And thus he went on accompanying every title with the observation, "That I am not!" In vain did the messenger entreat him to open the letter.— "Forbid it Heaven!" answered he. "How can I open a "letter of the emperor which is not addressed to me?" Whatever the poor fellow could do or say, availed nothing; he was obliged to take the letter back unopened; and report says, it was only when he received another letter with a plain short superscription, that he fell on his knees, kissed the letter with respect, and set off.

On his arrival at St. Petersburgh, he was complimented by Count K——, the emperor's favourite. When he was announced, Suwaroff repeatedly said, "K—— K—— I know of no "Russian family of that name; desire him to walk in." He made the count himself tell him his name over and over again, and enquired whence his family came. The count, embarrassed, answered, "from Turkey:" adding, that he owed his dignity to the emperor's favour.—"Indeed!" replied the prince. "You "must have great merit, sir. Where have you served? in "what battles have you fought?"—"In none," rejoined the count, "I never served in the army."—"Then you are a "civilian, I suppose; pray in what department?"—"In no "one, I have always been about the monarch's person."— "Bless me, sir! in what capacity?"—The count hesitated, stammered, and reluctantly acknowledged, that he had been the emperor's valet-de-chambre,—"A valet! valet!" repeatedly ex-"claimed Suwaroff, "well! that is charming, I declare. "Iwan! Iwan!" added he, calling his own valet, "come this "way, Iwan! behold that gentleman; he has been what you "are, to be sure, about our gracious monarch's person, but look "what he has got to! Only think, he is now a count! you see he "is even decorated with an order. Take care you behave well. "Who knows, Iwan, what you may rise to in the world?"—And then only would he listen to the disconcerted count's message from the emperor.

Suwaroff was not on the best terms with his wife. He latterly lived quite separate from her: but in the first years of their separation he never neglected giving her marks of his regard. Once he was more than a hundred wersts off, when he recollected that the next day was his wife's saint's day. He immediately set out, and arrived very early in the morning at her house, where he was told that his lady was asleep. Her women offered to awaken her, but he expressly forbade it, and only requested them to tell his wife, that he had been there to compliment her. He then drove off again. The surprise of his lady when she

heard of this singular visit may readily be conceived.—His daughter he loved tenderly. She was indeed deserving of the love of her father. For hours together would he sit with her, kissing her hands, and appealing to every one present what an excellent child she was. In his joy, he would often leap about the room like a boy.

Apartments were prepared for him in the Imperial palace, the last time he returned from his campaigns to St. Petersburgh; but before his arrival, the atmosphere of the court was changed. Instead of a brilliant entry; Suwaroff met with a rather cool reception. He took lodgings in a private house, and was hardly noticed. This neglect broke his heart. He sickened and died. His body, it is true, was laid out in state under a canopy ornamented with the symbols of his dignities, but the room was so small, that few persons could croud through it at the same time. He was interred with all the military honours of a general field marshal. The emperor saw the procession on horseback. Suwaroff too had the fate of many celebrated men; he did not die soon enough for his fame. The emperor Paul erected him a statue on the military parade, near the Summer-garden already ornamented with an obelisk in honour of Rumanzoff. Suwaroff's statue was only finished in Alexander's reign, and inaugurated in presence of Suwaroff's son. The emperor and the whole court assisted at the ceremony. The statue stands quite in the back ground, and can be seen only by those who walk to the Park. As a work of art, it is unimportant, absolutely deficient in proportions. The Italian crowns, which he covers with a shield ornamented with the double eagle of Russia, have both been lost.

In Alexander Newsky's church, the pantheon of Russia, but not the sanctuary of equal merit, a plain tablet of bronze inscribed with the name of Suwaroff, over which there is a lamp burning, indicates the place where the hero is interred.

A rich proprietor of several iron and copper forges, at Moscow, named D———, was an original of a different cast. If there ever was a cynic, he was one. It is said, that in his house he commonly walked about with no other covering than a shirt, and was served by none but beautiful female slaves. The power of women over him was very great. The most liberal assistance was never denied, when he who wanted it solicited it through a handsome wife, or daughter. She must, however, submit—not to his gallantry, but to his whims, and help him to play some trick, which to a feeling heart must have been more painful, than the embarrassment from which she wished to extricate a husband or a father. Whoever resisted

his fancies had nothing to expect from him, and to those who complied, he threw his bounty with contempt.

His caprice did not even spare his wife. Wishing one day to provide something very particular for the entertainment of some great man, a quarrel with his wife suggested him the following idea. With the view to punish her, he begged she would strip, anoint herself with glutinous substance, creep into a tub of feathers, and thus accoutred, mount a pedestal, and honour his guest by personating a very extraordinary statue. In vain did the poor woman cry, supplicate, and embrace his knees; she was forced to comply, though he did not proceed to the actual exposition of her person as a statue. To all her remonstrances and entreaties, his constant reply was, "I am sure, my love, "you would not refuse me such a favour."

His daughter married against his will. For a long time he was not to be reconciled, and would neither see her nor give her any portion. After the birth of their first child, the young couple took him to his grand-father. The old man received them tolerably well, but never hinted at his being inclined to do something for them. When they went away, they found a killed pig in their carriage. Exasperated at this supposed insult, the young man was going to throw the pig into the street, but his wife soothed his anger, and entreated him to forgive the old man's whim. They reached home, but when the pig was to be removed, it proved so heavy, that no one could lift it, and they soon discovered that it was crammed with gold.

A princess begged Mr. D's permission to walk in his park with her daughter. He could not refuse; but as they came too frequently, he one morning got all the statues removed from their pedestals, and made his footmen ascend them naked, and in different postures. The two princesses came, but blushingly withdrew, and never more visited his park.

Being invited to the funeral of a person with whom he had not lived on the best terms, his coach and six drove in deep mourning towards the door of the deceased, contrary to the expectation of his friends, who came out to receive Mr. D. His footmen leapt from behind, opened the door, and in the carriage was a large black dog, with a card of condolence in his mouth.

The well-known Major A. once paid Mr. D. a visit. As he would accept of nothing that was offered him, Mr. D. took a pistol, fired it off out of the window, and said to the major, "I did this in compliment to you. The firing of a pistol in "the street costs a fine of ten rubles."

An contagious disease broke out at Moscow, which suddenly

swept away great numbers. The police ordered that in case of sudden death, no corpse should be moved before it had been inspected. One morning, Mr. D found a dead cat in his park. He bade his servants not to touch it, and sent word to the police that there was a corpse in his garden, which he begged might be inspected and removed. When they came, he conversed a long time with them about the duty of every good citizen to submit to the wise regulations of the magistrates, and after he had raised their curiosity to the highest pitch, he attended the officers to the spot, and shewed them the cat. You may easily form an idea, how great must have been their vexation.

Volumes might be filled with the eccentricities of this man, if the anecdotes current about him at Moscow were collected. Similar characters are not uncommon in Russia. In the traits which I have related, you must no doubt recognize some wit; at least, there is always some meaning in them. That such oddities should find both happy and unfortunate imitators, is easily accounted for. The Russian army had two or three copies of Suwaroff, and there may be some left yet. One of them used to walk through the streets of Petersburgh, at noon day, with his hair twisted up in bits of paper.

Suicide is not common in Russia. The love of life is too general and too ardent. Melancholy is almost unknown. The more delicate moral feelings, as that of wounded honour, seldom preponderate over the attachment to life. Few are driven to suicide by the intemperance of passion. Yet many wantonly lose their lives by rashly or incautiously exposing themselves to danger. They walk and ride over the ice before it be sufficiently strong, or when it is near breaking. Often do heavy loaded coaches venture upon it, and whole families are buried under the ice.

LETTER XLI.

YOU ask, my dear friend, whether Moscow and Russia in general have remained free from the influence of secret societies? Do you think them all indiscriminitely dangerous? By secret societies, I suppose you mean the associations known in all civilized countries by the name of Masonic. Of what influence the society of the Jesuits may be, is quite out of the question.

On such a subject, we must rest satisfied with reports. I can only repeat what I have heard of creditable persons.

Russia certainly had masonic societies of every denomination, and perhaps has some still; at least there are some vestiges of

these orders yet discernible. And though there be no regular lodge, (I am only speaking of the old Russian provinces) you yet meet every where with brothers. Under Catharine, the progress of masonry was very rapid, although the empress was no ways favourably inclined to it; yet it is said, it was with her consent, and even at her request, that the heir of the crown was initiated into its mysteries, and Catharine herself is reported to have secretly assisted at his reception. But she afterwards assailed the society with libels of her own composition, and printed at her expence.

The nation however embraced free-masonry with enthusiasm, but the object of the society was perverted. Every body was admitted without scrutiny for the sake of the fees. Still this had one good effect, that of bringing the different ranks of life nearer to each other. At last the rage for masonry increased to such a degree, that the empress often saw her court deserted, even by the gentlemen in waiting, and when she asked where they had been, the constant answer was, "At the lodge." This induced her to shut the Russian lodges, and to tolerate only the foreign ones, among which, some were indeed calculated to raise the society very high in the public esteem, but others degenerated into gambling clubs. One lodge at St. Petersburgh is reported to have stretched its financial speculations so far, as to have delegates in the frontier towns, who recommend to that lodge every traveller not already a mason.

In the mean time, freemasonry reached a degree of splendour equal to what it ever enjoyed in England and Sweden. A house was built upon masonic principles; the existence of the lodges was generally known. A clergyman, who was a free mason, was buried with masonic honours, and the venerable ecclesiastic whose memory is yet revered at St. Petersburgh, performed the funeral service with the masonic rites. When the king of Sweden, Gustavus the Third, was at St. Petersburgh, the freemasons gave him several entertainments. How could Catharine distrust the society, when all this was passing under her eyes, and she never appeared to take any notice of it? Even the period of the Illuminati produced no alteration. At last the French revolution broke out, and it is well known, how much the enemies of masonry wished to have it believed, that the freemasons were in the secret of that event. How far this may have been true, with respect to the degenerated freemasons of France, who had long since deviated from the true spirit of masonry, it is impossible to ascertain; but that the accusations of their adversaries are mostly unjust, and that the little truth which is in them has been greatly exaggerated, is evident now that the active causes of the revolution are known. Yet Catharine

thought it prudent to testify more plainly her disapprobation to those of her servants, whom she knew to belong to the society, and these advised the brothers to close their lodges for a while, in order to obviate every misrepresentation. This advice was followed by all, at least, in the metropolis. That there was neither prohibition nor abolition was evident, at the death of the provincial grand master, General Gelagin. An invitation was sentround to every mason to assist at his funeral in his masonic dress, and the necessary preparations were ordered; but as the police had not received the regular notice, the ceremony was not allowed to take place.

Thus was the masonic society circumstanced, when Paul ascended the imperial throne, and animated it with new hopes. His partiality for the fraternity was well known. It is even reported, that it was his intention to give the masons a public existence. A committee was appointed for that purpose, when the Maltese Count Littar, who was then at St. Petersburgh, hearing of this design, recommended the order of Malta, a branch of the order of the Templars, as better calculated for the benevolent views of the emperor. His recommendation was listened to. In order to stop the progress of masonry, all secret meetings whatever were prohibited. The emperor obtained from several masters of Russian lodges, the promise not to open them any more without his express approbation. As a reward for their compliance he created them all knights of Malta. That this order now deviated so much from its original institution, as to be given to married men, and without distinction of birth and religion, can no longer surprise you.

Such is the information I collected on this subject. What might have been the consequeuce, if the first project of the emperor Paul, with regard to masonry, had not been set aside by Count Littar's interference, it is impossible to conjecture.

"Whatever may be your opinion of masonry," said a very respectable man to me, "I can assure you, that its inactivity "in Russia is a sensible loss to grown up young men. I mean "genuine masonry. Although fathers may initiate their sons in "a confidential circle, yet those forms are wanting, which are "so interesting to a true mason. I confess I ascribe the "want of principles in the midst of a progressive civilization "to the lack of masonic institutions. The different cultivated "classes have no point of contact. They continue strangers "to each other. Whenever useful and beneficent plans are pro-"posed, they generally fail, from the indifference, avarice, "and imprudence of those to whom their execution is "confided."

The attempts to restore masonry, have been few and secret

even under the present emperor Alexander. Should they ever be successful, the restorers ought to guard against the two extremes, that masonic fraternities do not degenerate again into gambling clubs on the one hand, or into mysticism on the other.

That Cagliostro performed likewise at Petersburgh, and was pretty intimate with the then favourites of Catharine, is sufficiently known. The empress however advised madame Cagliostro to quit Russia with her husband, and made them a handsome present, with which they set off.

The pain of death is abolished in Russia. The punishment of offenders consists in the application of more or less stripes, according to the enormity of the crime, with the cutting, frightful knout, the splitting of the nostrils, and banishing to the mines of Siberia. But this banishment may also take place without previous castigation or mutilation. In cases of small offences, it is a simple banishment. The punishment of the knout, though terrible to a feeling mind, is less so to the vulgar in Russia. The hope of escaping with life, divests it of much of its terror. To be exiled is no great punishment to a man who finds every where the little he wants for his maintenance, and even that which constitutes his happiness Hence, among the common people, that astonishing indifference to the knout, and to the journey to Siberia. -

The nobles are exempt from corporal punishments, whatever be their crime, but they are degraded, and it often happens that they commit the same, or a similar offence in their exile, and then they are chastised like plebeians. The assertion that even nobles who have been guilty of a great crime, though they never suffer at Moscow, or St. Petersburgh, undergo the punishment of the knout in any of the towns where there is a military governor on their way to Siberia, is not proved and not to be credited, since the end of the punishment would be defeated by its not being known.

The punishment of convicts in general happens but seldom, and imperfectly comes to the knowledge of the public. This I regard as a great evil. A punishment like that of the knout, cannot effect the reform of the individual, but is an example, and ought therefore to be as public as possible. But the offences themselves are rarely known, and never exactly, particularly if any of the Russian clergy be concerned. A most circumstantial report obtained general circulation at St. Petersburgh, of some travellers having been murdered by a village-curate with whom they lodged. The day when the assassin was to be punished was known beforehand, it was even reported, that he was to be led for several days about the town with a tablet on his breast.

Many creditable persons assured they had met him, others pretended they had seen him on the place where the knout is inflicted, and yet, in a few days time, the fact was so little ascertained, it was so much contradicted, that it was impossible to know what to think of it. Undoubtedly it must be admitted that in a town like Petersburgh, or Moscow, many things may happen which never come to the knowledge of two thirds of the public, and that circumstances may render it adviseable to keep an offence secret. Yet when a crime has attracted notice, its most minute particulars, and the sentence of the judge should be made public, to prevent false comments, and to serve as an example. The latter object would still be better obtained in Russia by capital punishments.

The philanthropic institutions of Petersburgh, have not yet been imitated at Moscow. If every new project worthy of success should prosper at Petersburgh, that city would soon be the pattern of all large towns. Unfortunately, the preparations to execute new plans are generally their only useful part, by giving employment to thousands.—Vaccination meets with the desired success, although it is reported, that there have been lately here instances of individuals catching the small-pox after the cow-pox.

The dress of the better classes is the same at Moscow as at St. Petersburgh, which from the proximity of the two towns, and the uninterrupted communication between them, is very natural. In the middling class, the fashions are perhaps a few months behind-hand. In spite of a northern climate, Grecian nudity is likewise general among the ladies of Moscow, who generously sacrifice themselves, in order to conceal none of their beautiful forms from our eyes.

My next letter will not be from Moscow, which I am going to leave with the most grateful acknowledgements for its hospitality.

LETTER XLII.

ON the 19th of July of the old, and 31st of the new style, I left Moscow's hospitable walls towards eight at night, in company with another carriage, containing a French emigrant with his wife, an enriched French milliner, who were returning to their far-praised country. It had been reported, that a clergyman of Moscow had been attacked, wounded, and robbed near Grodno, and owed his escaping with life to the assistance of his servant. This rendered my friends apprehensive; they

persuaded me not to neglect such a good opportunity of travelling in company, and to provide myself with a pair of pistols. Remembering my adventure at Wuischnye Wolotschok, I took their advice, although I foresaw that travelling with strangers would also have some inconveniences. Fortunately, the chevalier was of the old French school. He had served in the army, but was now the humble slave of his rich wife, whose pretensions were not very limited. Marriage is compared to a journey, but the comparison may also be reversed; for in both cases, the companions must abate a little of their own pretensions, and often submit to the whims of another against their better conviction. A certain share of good nature is of service in both connections. But I had to encounter both the difficulty which would take place in having two wives, each possessed of a particular humour, and the inconvenience of travelling less expeditiously; it was not always easy to procure the number of horses which was wanted.

We would have travelled the first stages with job horses, as we had done in leaving St. Petersburgh; but now the carriers'-villages were no longer to be met with. We were obliged to take post-horses, which did not better our situation; for postmasters in Russia are very different from postmasters in any other country. They are the lowest fellows, who make you feel that you are dependant upon them. But their principal object is your purse, which they know how to come at. The horses were miserable; and instead of postillions we commonly got boys of thirteen or fourteen years. Considering the length of the stages, from thirty to thirty-four versts, and the badness of the roads, we gladly took a few additional horses, but they still forced two more upon us, and yet we were often nine hours in going twenty English miles. At night we had commonly fresh horses sent to meet one of the carriages, if the other chanced to arrive first at a stage.

In the beginning of our journey we had fine clear weather, and were obliged to prevail with our drivers to keep at a greater distance from each other to avoid the dust. Richly provided with every comfort, particularly rum and wine, we chearfully hastened, to encounter the adventures which awaited us, one of which had been represented to us as the most formidable, namely, the absolute scarcity of provisions on the road. But on the second night we encountered an adventure of a different kind.

We had been refreshing ourselves at a very pleasantly situated post-house, and had loitered in a romantic little beech wood near it, whilst we were waiting for our horses. They were just coming when the sky was suddenly overcast. Not knowing what thunder-storms were in this country, the portentous appearance of the heavens did not prevent us from continuing

our journey. The carriage of my companions drove before, appearently with the worst horses; we followed with better cattle, but had a boy of thirteen on the box. We went on pretty well. The clouds seemed to disperse. The sun shone bright as we came to a gentle declivity leading to a bridge, over an extensive sheet of water. The storm appeared to have waited for us here; just as we were descending the hill a cloud suddenly discharged itself of torrents of hail upon us, lightning flew about, and the mountains shook with the cracking of the thunder, we stopped every avenue to the flood that was penetrating into the carriage, but we soon perceived that this was not the most formidable evil. The boy on the box became confused, the frightened horses were going to run down theprecipice, and we saw ourselves in imminent danger of being dashed into the water. In vain we called to the boy to turn to the right towards a house we saw, he could not govern the horses. At last however he succeeded. We drove to the house.

The little habitation at which we stopped was very pretty, and did not appear to be occupied by people of the lowest class, but hospitality had not taken up its abode there; for notwithstanding the dreadful weather, it never occurred to any one to invite us in: on the contrary, they looked out of the comfortable room with the most placid smile of composure on us poor dripping mortals, who were gathering together every rag in our possession to shelter us from the heavy torrents of rain. In twenty minutes, the cloud having disburthened itself of its load, the sun again smiled upon us, and all without resumed its wonted serenity, while our minds, on the contrary, were considerably perturbed. We proceeded on our journey, and trembled at the thought of the impending danger. In descending the declivity and passing the bridge we experienced no difficulty, but to mount the opposite steep bank with miserably jaded horses, and a stupid feeble driver, appeared an impossibility. I returned to the village, and succeeded in getting a man to come to our assistance, who seated himself upon the box, while we beat our poor animals unmercifully, with our sticks; an experiment which we have often been compelled, during our journey, to have recourse to; and even on setting out from our stage have had all the honourable gentry of the post house to run for some distance with clubs and whips by our chaise, in order to drive on their admirable beasts. In this manner we reached the top of the mountain, and some versts farther a little village, where we resolved to halt, and to procure fresh horses; the peasants being compelled, according to the post-regulations, to carry the extra post on farther when the horses, already provided, are unfit for use. The regulation is very excellent, but the practice of it is very wretched.

Soaked as we were through and through, and almost driven to desperation, we supplicated, entreated, offered money, and uttered threats, but all in vain; they only encompassed our chaise, laughing at our troubles, and scorning alike our threats and our offers. The boy on the box cried and entreated, but with no more effect. At length our guide turned out of the village towards the bailiff's house. He found the wife of the latter, a middle-aged woman, who, notwithstanding the deep mind, ran about very good-naturedly, and proved at least her good will to assist us. Under a humble garb, the good-natured creature proved herself true to the finer feelings of her sex: but she met only with abuse from the hard-hearted boors.

The bailiff himself at length made is appearance, but did not bring the desired aid—nay it was some time before he would own that he held that office. It is true he expressed his readiness to exert his authority in our behalf, but the village was divided into two districts, one of which only was under his influence. The night was already advanced, and the clouds threatened us with fresh showers of rain. We had lost our company, which had left us on the opposite bank, and we saw ourselves reduced to the necessity of turning into the yard where the carriages stood, and there waiting until the morning, We were obliged to use every precaution in order to prevent the lad from going away and leaving us in the lurch, as the fare had already been paid at the last stage; and were likewise compelled to give the horses corn, which they had probably not had for some time. At this moment vacant horses returned from another stage, and that with the very brother of our driver. The former offered to conduct us farther, if we would set off in the pitch dark, and would pay extra for his horses; and as we would not accede to this proposition, he rode off very coolly, heedless of his brother's distress.

The morning at length returned, and we proceeded on our journey; but had not got a mile from the village before we came to a second very steep acclivity, which, notwithstanding the rest of the last night, our horses could not mount, at least under the guidance of our poor little driver. We alighted in order to ease the creatures, and walked by the side, although we could scarcely keep our feet on the slippery clay; but it availed nothing in getting us forward. In the extreme of my vexation my stick sometimes fell on the boy, for whom the next moment I felt the sincerest compassion. Fortunately, the weather was very fair. We at length sent our servant back to the village for assistance, and he actually brought us a man and some women; but what was still better, at the very instant a boy came up with two fresh horses, one of which he granted

us for a considerable remuneration. The man then mounted the seat instead of the boy, by which we reached, with unspeakable trouble, the summit of this hill of a hundred paces. After this we arrived at the next post-station; but there was no hope of obtaining redress, and this stage cost us more than treble the usual expence.

The custom of entrusting the life and health of travellers to boys of thirteen or fourteen is universal in Russia, and deserves the serious attention of the government; for without calculating on the accidents which may be occasioned by this means, the terrors and anxiety to which female travellers in particular are thus exposed, would be sufficient grounds for the removal of the evil.

Without farther delays we hastened after our fellow-travellers; overtaking them towards evening on the third stage, we arrived in the night at Wjasma. The only inconvenience which I experienced from my fatigues and fasting was a sick head-ache.

Hitherto we had observed no symptoms of military movements, but from hence we found every village crowded with troops, and perpetually met the quartermasters riding about in every direction. All the soldiers were proceeding towards Gallicia, which they shortly afterwards entered. For some time they had been stationed along the banks of the Bug, a few days march from Warsaw. The security of the roads, so far from being endangered, was even improved by the army, and although we often met with straggling parties, yet we never discovered any ground for apprehension, except one evening, when some fellows approached our chaise, and showed a determination to get up behind, until they saw our pistols, upon which they went off without giving us any farther trouble. The want of horses, however, which this circumstance occasioned, gave rise to many delays; which were not a little increased likewise by the frequent repetition of the rain and storms, that often compelled us to stop in the road until it was passed. The torrents of water which sometimes poured down from the hills, deluged the whole country, and converted it into one lake.

After the storm had subsided, the postillion was frequently puzzled to find the track, and sometimes compelled to seek a fresh course over the fields, when the high road was impassable. Late at night we at length reached the little town of the Dorogobusch, compleatly soaked and exhausted. On our arrival we were pleased with hearing the name of the *Italian House*, as foreboding something appropriate to our condition; but we were soon satisfied that the name of this inn was its only recommendation. How it ever got this name is to me unintelligible, for the German landlady, whose bulk would certainly have spoken well for an inn, did not speak a word of Italian

This circumstance reminds me of an anecdote related of the emperor Alexander, who, when he put up at the *Lean Fox*, in Dresden, observed to the fat landlady, " Madam, you do not answer to your sign."

The accommodations at our petty public-house, for a higher title it does not deserve, were wretched in the extreme. Beds were altogether out of the question, and notwithstanding our great fatigue we saw ourselves compelled to spend the night in our chaises. As the landlady was on very good terms with the postmaster, he informed us that he could not procure any horses for us before two o'clock the next day, we resolved therefore to recruit our strength by some refreshment, but the three dishes which were served up for us, were scarcely palatable.

The serene weather enticed me out in the morning to visit the town. It has a tolerably pretty market-place, appears to be populous, and is very pleasantly situated on the river, which probably affords, or might afford, an opportunity for trade. Most of the houses are massive, but in other respects very unim-unimportant: the main street is miserably paved; and the other streets are scarcely to be waded through. The soil of the surrounding district appeared to be fruitful and cultivated; but our landlady complained of the hard times on account of the dearness and the little earnings. The province of Smolensk, to which this town belongs, had experienced an entire failure in its crops.

In the road we frequently met with waggons full of emigrants, who were repairing, with their wives and families, and sometimes even with their cattle, to the new settlement at Odessa. They were tolerably well dressed, and appeared to journey onwards with great chearfulness. I felt great pain on finding the most of them to be my countrymen, or from Switzerland. How must this poetic land be reduced, for the Swiss to leave their beloved Alps! If they do but retain this chearful mood, Alexander's generous and politic plans will indeed now be realized by the noble duke de Richelieu; but who can say what successor he may have, and what then will be your lot, ye wanderers?—Even under Alexander you may sometimes find your fairest prospects blighted.

A remarkable instance happened last year with regard to a flock of Spanish sheep, which evinces how little the real interest of the state is at present consulted. The contractor for the cattle had been desired to deliver them at Odessa, where, according to engagement, he was to find meadows, stalls, and food, for their reception; instead of which, when with infinite labour and expence he arrived with a considerable quantity of sheep, he found not a single thing necessary for their support or shelter, and after all they even made difficulties about admitting them, under the pretenxt of his having exceeded the specified time,

thinking probably by this means to perplex the contractor. But the latter, apprized of their intentions, declared, that if they did not adopt a fair mode of conduct, he would drive the whole flock into Turkey, where he was certain of getting his price; upon which they discovered a more accommodating spirit. Besides, the contractor was in a close connexion with a great personage who was supposed to have much influence.

LETTER XLIII.

THE districts through which I hastened to the Prussian borders were amongst the richest and most cultivated corn countries of Russia; but particularly Smolensk and Minsk, although there are frequent and deep sands to be met with here. The country in all the four districts is mountainous and woody, and particularly in Minsk it is very romantic. One might almost say that the whole of Smolensk and Minsk form but one great park. But for travellers Smolensk has particular advantages. Thanks to the man—I believe it was one Apraxin, former governor-general of this place, who made it an object of his pride to render the travelling through these parts as agreeable as possible. The high road is in a very good condition, and forms one uninterrupted avenue of lofty and shady trees. The post houses are provided with neatly furnished apartments for the guests; but, unfortunately, this is almost all it can boast of, for the sum of all refreshments to be had here is confined to milk and water. On the other hand, in the Moscow districts, the accommodations for travellers are still more wretched, and equally so in the newly acquired provinces of Minsk and Grodno, which retain altogether their Polish aspect.

This country may, in truth, be denominated the land of Jews, whose number is here incalculable. Every town, as it is called, every village, every public house and mill, is inhabited by Jews, who are, as it is said, daily repairing with their families to this part. They carry on a most abominable system of usury, and meet with a powerful protection from the officers of the crown, with whom they share the plunder. The country groans under the weight of this oppression. Every means of living are engrossed by people of this nation, whose only object is the bare accumulation of money, without extending its circulation. The Jews are here masters, the Russians and Poles their slaves. Sometimes not even the coin of the country can be had in change without these leeches have first the privilege of sucking

a little from the vitals of a person's property. In Minsk the change is on that account risen to such an enormous height; all payments must be made in silver, and this is here ten per cent. higher than in the other Russian provinces. Ducats, on the other hand, are at a very low ebb when used either in payment or change, and copper coin is not to be had. Minsk, indeed, has a bank, but whenever any one will make a use of it, it is never open, or the cashier is not at hand, with a thousand other such pretexts. The dearth is incredibly great, and on enquiring the cause, we received for answer, We have to thank the Jews for all that, against whom no ukases, be they ever so numerous, can ever be executed, as the officers of the crown derive too great an advantage from them. One is, in fact, but miserably off on a Friday evening after sun-set, or on a Saturday, when one enters a little town and is in want of any thing; for, as every thing must be had from the Jews, they are not to be moved to compassionate your distress otherwise than by a handsome gratuity, or per centage. In Smolensk, Minsk, and Grodno, the Radziwiles, Branitzkys, &c. have great possessions. Nay, in fact, the most of the towns, as they are called, belong to them. These little towns consist principally of a market-place, encompassed by brick houses, which give it a respectable appearance, and in other respects, of a few miserable streets, with wooden huts. The brick houses are inhabited by Jews, or are empty. The filth which prevails, both within and without, exceeds every thing witnessed in Russia, which is saying very much, for I should conceive that the Russian cleanliness had been estimated by a Polish measure.

The larger towns carry with them all the marks of desolation from the former war, and lie mostly in ruins, which will not be so quickly removed. But upon the whole, the Poles are very well satisfied with their new masters the Russians, and make no complaints. The nobility retain their privileges, except that of being permitted to kill their peasants at pleasure, which is certainly the best restriction that could have been imposed on them. Many of the former starosts and confiscated estates have been let out to Russian noblemen, under whom the vassals experience no greater hardships than under the former proprietors, but for the Russian-an estate in Poland is not half the value of a similar one in his own country. The common Poles are a knavish sort of slaves, far inferior to the Russians in the qualities of the heart. Just beyond Smolensk, I had a dispute with one of the postillions, a sheepish-looking fellow, who drove us very badly, and on finding that he was to have no gratuity, not only stole the reins from the harness, but testified his contempt for us by exposing himself to the ladies. Enraged at his insolence, I made him feel

the weight of my fist, and as he persisted in his abuse I threatened him with my stick, upon which he also placed himself in a posture of defence with his whip, and had not my companions interfered, your poor friend would have paid for his delicacy with a good threshing. A designing leader might effect very much with this people.

In the older provinces which were earlier dismembered from Poland, we meet with few traces of the Polish administration; but the contrary is the case with the newly acquired districts, where not even the Russian fares for the post-coaches are introduced, and the silver coin only of the former republic is in use. Throughout all Poland the saints stand by the road side, and have commonly a better dwelling, in their way, than the pilgrims, for they stand mostly in niches, which are kept in good repair, and look very comfortable. Most of the men have the aspect of portraits, not exactly of saints, but rather of their representatives the Jesuits. They are slender tall figures, with sunken anchorite faces, and eyes sparkling with the brilliancy and acumen of the understanding. Generally speaking, however, the Christian system does not supply the arts with fine portraits like those of the heathen Grecian mythology. Nor do legends of their heroes give any scope to the imagination like those of the Grecian divinities. A martyr's crown does not appear by any means so beautiful as a laurel, or a palm-branch.

The Poles are, as a rule, a handsome set of people, but the female sex in particular, combines a beautiful, with regular features, and a certain grace, which is not denied even the lowest female. In many a wretched hovel I have met with a form that would have graced a palace. That this elegance in the higher classes is cultivated to an excess, and that all from the highest to the lowest know well how to profit by their advantages of person, is well known. The female Pole maintains in every respect the superiority over the Russian, and distinguishes herself in particular, by the cultivation of her mind.

But among all the beauties of Poland, those among the Jews bear away the palm; some of whom might have animated the pencil of an Apelles, a Venus of Medicis, or a Guido for a Madonna. But it is no pleasant reflection to consider that all these blossoms are to be plucked by the unwashed hands of a Jew. Perhaps from a consciousness of their own unworthiness it may be that these people discover a considerable degree of jealousy, and watch the eyes of strangers towards their wives and daughters, with scrutinizing vigilance.

However, there is certainly a greater degree of cultivation among them than among the Poles of the middle classes, without

mentioning those of the lower order. In all these parts they speak, besides the Polish, Russian, and tolerably good German, many also the French, and some even the English, but of the latter they understand very little. Although the spirit of Israel dwells in them, yet they do not appear to be abandoned characters, nor is it extraordinary to find among them a disinterested civility towards strangers. Among the diversity of occupations which they follow, there are some who apply to agriculture, but generally speaking, they consign the laborious part of this employment to their slaves, the Poles, and reap the advantage of it themselves. There are likewise even some who, in their greediness for monopolizing every business, will become postillions; but certainly nothing can be more disagreeable than to be driven by them; for their slowness and helplessness unfit them altogether for the situation. The bare sight of a Jew on a coach-box, is enough to create disgust. I was, however, heartily entertained a few days ago by a Jew boy, who expressed an extravagant and childish joy at the idea of his horse, which I had hired as an extra horse, and which had not eaten any thing for twenty-four hours, yet went better than all the rest. It seemed as if he flattered himself with the hope that it would finally do his business for him without wanting any food.

The Polish nobility courted the favour of Russia, particularly that of Catharine, for some time before the late occupation, and for the attainment of this end they made many considerable sacrifices. Prince Branitzky was among the first to display his complaisance, and as if eager to become a vassal of Russia before the appointed time, complied with the wishes of Potemkin, who was anxious to have possessions in Poland, by exchanging his valuable estates for an inconsiderable domain in the territory of Smolensk. Potemkin consigned the domain to him, without apprizing him that he had borrowed a million of rubles from the nobleman's bank in Petersburgh. As long as Potemkin lived no mention was made of either the capital or the interest, but no sooner was he dead than the claims of the bank were brought forward, and in spite of every protestation that he had bought the estate of Potemkin, with the express proviso of its being free of all incumbrances, he saw himself compelled to pay the million—a just reward for his treachery to his country.

In the miserable town of Dubrowna, the capital of Branitzky's domain, lives the former groom of Louis XVI. a man of about 65; whose understanding has experienced a considerable and melancholy shock from the misfortunes of his master, and his own private afflictions. He was at last engaged in the service of the prince, and enjoys a pension from the son and heir, whose inheritance is, however, at present much curtailed by a

stepmother, Potemkin's niece. The Branitzkys have, therefore, to thank Potemkin for very much, as, in fact, all Poland has.—In this town several German artizans are settled. As my chaise had received some damage, I employed a smith, who was at the same time a regular coach-maker. There are likewise several other manufactories here.

In the Smolensk government, the villages assume another aspect, and approach nearer to the German, being shaded by trees, and having bits of gardens attached to every cottage. But the hovels of the country people are, notwithstanding, miserable beyond conception, being mostly composed of mud, and thatched badly with straw, resembling caverns for beasts more than dwellings for men. On the other hand the alehouses in the roads, which belong to Jews, are often tolerably well built; yet some of them present a shocking spectacle of wretchedness. We were surprized in the middle of the night by a dreadfully heavy rain on our way to Grodno, and to encrease our distress, were unable to proceed any farther with our exhausted horses. In this predicament we found ourselves compelled to drive up to an alehouse. It was on the Friday night. After long knocking, the door was at length opened. What a gloomy spectacle did it present! A smoaky hole was opened to us, and a dozen pale bearded faces rose up before us, from under a long dirty table, as if rising from their graves: in their ragged shirts one could scarcely recognize the linen. Some coals glowed on the hearth, by which a match was lighted, the flaring light of which diffused a dim glimmer over the den, and rendered the darkness more horrible. In no part was there a single spot for either lying down, or placing any thing; nor was there even a kettle or any thing else to boil water for tea. As we could not procure horses from any quarter, we had no other alternative than to wait till morning in our carriage at the door of this deplorable dungeon. We gave the inhabitants handsome drink-money; or rather it was an eleemosinary gift, extorted from our christian charity by Jewish wretchedness. When such are the dwellings of Jews, I should not wish to visit the Poles in this domain.

LETTER XLIV.

I CANNOT give you any circumstantial account of the towns which I passed in my tedious journey to Grodno. The most considerable were the capitals of Smolensk, Minsk, and Grodno, but the name of town is barely an assumed title for the rest. This name, however, carries with it something terrible

for the traveller, who, whenever he enters one of those places to change horses, is sure of meeting with many delays, much imposition, and still more impertinence.

The situation of Smolensk, on a tolerably steep declivity, is truly charming. It contains many pretty buildings, among which is that erected by the nobility for the Cadet's Corps. The parade, which is planted with trees, and surrounded by stone houses, affords a chearful aspect. Here the governor resides, and also the counsellor of state, Mr. van Brienen, a truly polite complaisant man. But elsewhere the town is dull and uninteresting. The inn, which is kept by an Italian, affords better accommodations than ordinary; but, unfortunately for us, the workmen were repairing it, so that we could have only two little miserable holes for our apartments. One great inconvenience in all the inns on this road is the want of good coach-houses, in consequence of which, the carriages must stand in the open yard, or in a simple shed. Behind the inn is a considerable garden, which was originally well laid out—a remnant of Polish grandeur. It descends in terraces down a steep, and contains many pretty walks. The present possessor has but just begun to put it in order, the greater part still lying in the wildest state.

Minsk is a pretty little town, of no mean aspect, with its stone houses and pleasant site. The place where the government-house stands is spacious and neat, the streets are wide and tolerably regular. Traces of former prosperity are every where visible, and with that also the vermin, namely the Jews, who have corroded that prosperity. The inn is kept by a Pole. In no part is more dirt and less convenience purchased at a dearer rate. The food was altogether unpalatable, and so scantily dealt out at the ordinary, as to be insufficient for every one. We were preceded by a Pole in the old national costume; and without the cloth, which might truly be called a map of the last week's provision, being changed, we were obliged to take our seat at the table. Neither the wine nor the beer was drinkable, but the coffee and tea were somewhat better.

At Minsk, the country begins to be covered with thick woods, but beyond Smolensk the slender and chearful birch, the ornament of the northern thickets, disappeared, and was succeeded by the gloomy pine and fir; we likewise met with several inhabitants of the Polish woods, the bears; a cub of which fearlessly rested with it fore-paws on the trunk of a tree, and viewed us very composedly, without suffering itself to be disturbed by any thing we did, until we were got within a few paces of it, when it retired into the woods. But our steeds were very much frightened; and had it been the mother instead of the young one, we might not have come off so safely. Wherever we went we saw

various kinds of birds sitting on the fences adjoining the road, and heard their song and cries in the fields and woods.

Many of these thickets are now broken up and tilled. The country abounds in water, in hills and in dales, and is covered with corn-fields, which yield excellent crops. In Smolensk, most of the fields are sown with oats, of which are made the famous Smolenskian grits.

It is affirmed, that sixty versts beyond Minsk, the road, which leads through a deep wood, is very unsafe. As we were therefore obliged to pass it in the night-time, we now loaded our fire-arms for the first time, but had not a single occasion to use them, although the carriages were separated from each other, and passed for hours together through the solitary forests. They shewed us, however, the place where, a few days before, a robbery had been committed. Of the dreadful attack made by a gang of robbers, with their Rinaldo at their head, on a Moscovite clergyman, which I mentioned in one of my former letters, I could not learn any particulars whatever, no person appearing to know any thing of the matter.

Grodno, as the last Russian stage, was an agreeable sight for us. In this district the aspect is every where very gloomy. It is more crowded with Jews than any other, and suffered the most from the late convulsions. Almost every town lies in ruins, which seem as fresh as if just occasioned by an invading enemy.

The town of Grodno itself presents a melancholy spectacle to the reflecting observer. Here it was that the destiny of Poland was finally accomplished: here it was that Stanislaus Poniatowsky returned to whence he had received it the crown, which had long tottered on his head, and at length fell from it for ever.

Grodno is a considerable place, with many large stone buildings and churches; but the palaces of the Branitzkys, Poniatowskys, and Radzivilles, are falling to decay, being abandoned to the bats and to the rooks, which are immensely numerous in the Russian provinces. The Niemen, or Memel, divides the town into two parts, which are connected together by a floating bridge, on one side of which stands the custom-house. The prospect along the river is far from being cheerful or interesting, as it flows between lofty, steep, and rather naked, sandy banks: and the hilly situation of the town renders it peculiarly inconvenient for carriages. The custom-house on the frontiers gives it its present importance, by which it is enabled to carry on a most extensive contraband trade. The Jews are here to be seen in as great swarms as any where, and are equally active in monopolizing every source of gain. The stranger is received by them immediately on his entrance into the town.

Our Provider (for that is the name they give here to the Jew laqueys who hire themselves to travellers) conducted us to a private house in the market-place. The apartments were not amiss; the beds tolerable; but the food was very indifferent, and the wine undrinkable.

We took some days' repose here, and exchanged our ducats for Prussian coin: they were tolerably high in value, as they went for above three rix-dollars and six groschens. The laws are little attended to here, and the officers candidly acknowledge their incapacity to inforce the execution of them. The town likewise affords but a scanty subsistence for any one, and strangers in particular would, as you may suppose, find it a very uncomfortable place to live in.

LETTER XLV.

UNFORTUNATELY my road did not carry me through Wilna, where, by the indefatigable activity of the patriotic curator of the academy, prince Czartorinsky, the university not only maintains, but actually increases its former credit. The brilliant acquisition which Wilna has made in Mr. Franks and his son, is too well known to need any particular mention. The former has indeed withdrawn himself from the university, but it possesses besides several distinguished characters. The *Rector Magnificus* is a native of Poland, and a divine, who appears to view his German colleagues with not the most favourable eye: at least the latter complain (whether with justice or not, I cannot decide) that all their propositions for the interest of the university, meet with little or no attention. As they have free access to the curator, they are, of course, for the present, free from all oppression. The difficulty concerning the language exists also here, in consequence of the regulation (in some respects judicious) for the lectures to be given in Latin or Polish, it having been found that the German is by no means cultivated sufficiently among any of the natives, to be made the vehicle of instruction.

One of the most singular restrictions for the professors was, that they had not the liberty of giving private instructions without a special licence. But in consequence of the remonstrance of the latter, who declared they could not live without this, or some other resource, it has since been granted in a general manner. Mr. Langsdorf, professor of technology, uses his utmost efforts to render himself useful to his adopted country, both in and out of the university. He has made many propositions for establishing a stocking-manufactory, and other things of a similar nature; as also for an enquiry relative to the soil in this province,

which may be considered as original ground, having never been examined. How far his proposals may meet with encouragement, and what may be the event of a trial, time will decide. For Poland, in its former state, the university at Wilna was indispensable, and stood in similar relations with that at Moscow; being already established, it only required an enlargement of its plan.

About a stage this side Grodno, we came to a charming domain, I believe Belitza. The country is pleasant, and the large buildings of the castle are surrounded with ponds, and many pretty embellishments. Not far from the castle is a convent of Piarists, the inhabitants of which are in great esteem in the neighbourhood, as they devote themselves to the education and instruction of youth, and as it appears with considerable success. As far as I could judge from a partial survey, they had indeed the air of anchorites, but were such handsome and elegant figures, and at the same time partly young men of polished manners, that I almost suspected them to be Jesuits. Their pupils, among whom was also the son of the postmaster, a protestant, had a free and graceful deportment, and spoke French with tolerable fluency. Latin is also very much cultivated. The Piarists themselves appear to be in a flourishing condition, although the convents have suffered considerably since the transfer of the country to Prussia. From the total deficiency of schools in the new provinces, such convents are a real benefit to them.

The Niemen, or Memel, runs through the provinces of Minsk and Grodno, and the road leads many times over its windings. The ferries over it are in the best state, and almost all in the hands of Jews. A passage over the river in a clear star-light night often afforded us much amusement. But fish was no where to be had, except at one single stage after crossing the river, where they offered us eels. As it was in the night however, and we wished to hasten our arrival at Grodno, where we expected to meet with abundance, we did not accept the offer; but on reaching that place, we were disappointed in our expectation.

With a mixture of emotion, I now approached the frontiers of Russia. I had been accustomed for a series of years to consider it as my second country, in which I had succeeded tolerably according to my wishes. A tender grateful reminiscence will always be attended with my best wishes towards it.

I cannot conclude this letter without communicating one characteristic trait of the Grodno postillions. The office of postmaster is in the hands of a Jew, and he imposed on us two horses in spite of all our remonstrances, as they were two strong beasts, and the roads were by no means bad. This was now particularly disagreeable to us, on account of the next Prussian post,

which would expect to do the same. To avoid this inconvenience, we promised our postillions a good recompence, if they would be silent respecting the payment for the two horses, to which end they received a similar injunction from their master. They accordingly gave us the most solemn promise of compliance. On arriving at the Russian frontiers, where a company of Cossacks were stationed, we were obliged to produce our passes. We were treated in the politest manner, and dispatched without any difficulty. The two borders are separated by a bridge, which we had no sooner passed, and the bar been let down which divided us from the Russian territory, than our postillions stepped up to our chaises, and declared, if we would not immediately give them a Prussian dollar, they would not conceal the circumstance of the two horses, to which they added with a triumphant mien, as if we were now compleatly in their power, "Here the affair is changed, we are now in the Prussian territory, and here our obligation ceases to keep our words." I was indeed vexed at the impudence of the fellows, and yet could not help laughing at their fine logic. I informed them however in a few words, that I should not only not give them the dollar, but not even the ordinary gratuity if they did not drive us in a proper manner; that as to their silence, they would be at liberty to do as they thought proper. They seemed determined to brave us, and drove as badly as possible. Just at the end of the stage they enquired again what was our resolution; and on finding us determined, they now endeavoured to come to a compromise, but it was now too late. On arriving at the stage, they made the affair known, upon which I declared I would on no account submit to any thing contrary to the king's regulations, as I conceived myself to be in a country where the laws were not only written on paper, but carried into force. I succeeded this time in carrying my point, and in dismissing my Grodno postillions, completely mortified at the total failure of their scheme.

LETTER XLVI.

BEYOND the bar which fixes the boundaries of the Prussian and Russian dominions, I found myself, with regard to the posts and roads, by no means bettered, nay I think they were even worse as far as Warsaw. I could almost fill a tolerable volume with charges against the post-masters. They are here mostly old Polish invalids, who are as uppish as they are insolent. But I every where found the demeanor and form of these men to be superior to that of the Russians. The first

view of the Prussian territory is far from being attractive. The almost impassable sands afford but a slender prospect of vegetation. There is a striking differeuce with regard to fertility between the newly acquired provinces of Prussia and Russia, except in the district of Grodno, which serves in some measure to prepare us for the transition. But the spirit of the government, although it has not at present, from reasons unknown to me, penetrated with its full force to the remoter provinces, is notwithstanding remarkable for superior firmness and definiteness.

The first thing which presents itself to our view after passing the custom-house, are very extensive white-washed buildings, which are in fact little more than mere walls without windows, doors, or roofs.—We met with more considerable towns in the road through Prussia, than what we found in Russia. But in the towns themselves, the difference is still more striking. The Russians all lie still in their ruins; and still bear more than the bare marks of the desolations of war; whereas in the Prussian territory there is scarcely a trace even of ruins remaining, from whence have arisen pretty cheerful dwellings, which denote a superior cultivation in the possessors. Building goes on rapidly every where, notwithstanding there are loud complaints about the failure of the last year's crop, and still greater apprehensions for the produce of the present year, owing to the continued rains, which threaten to destroy the harvest Even the soil itself appears to me to be better cultivated, although inferior to the Russian in fertility. Nevertheless the Poles, particularly the nobility and gentry, are better affected to the Russians than the Prussians, as was more particularly manifest at that particular crisis, when they made no scruple of openly declaring their inclinations to receive the Russians with open arms. Thus does man spurn at every constraint, however beneficent, which a lawful authority would impose upon him. Under the Russian sceptre, vassalage and lawlessness remain in full force, although some restrictions have been laid on the power of the nobility. Under the Prussian sceptre the people are more free, the power of the nobility almost annihilated, but neither are subject to any arbitrary jurisdiction. It is however asserted, that the Prussian government has rendered the nobility averse to their measures, by a want of policy; how far this may be just, it is not in my power to decide. But thus much is certain, that the attachment to Russia is considerably increased by this circumstance, that the Poles always look to that quarter for the restoration of their independence, which they flatter themselves will one day take place, when a Russian prince (Constantine, says public opinion) will mount their ancient throne, for

nothing hurts their national pride more than the idea of being erased out of the list of nations. And in fact, when we survey the fruitfulness of this corn-country, watered by navigable streams, and then cast a look on the present state of the nation, it is impossible not to feel a painful emotion. But almost all our compassion dies away, when we see that with all their national vanity, the want of energy, of public spirit, and of true national sentiments, was the cause of their misfortunes. Who then can forbear saying that they merit the punishment, if punishment it may be termed to have their condition improved, as was the case with the millions who inhabit these fertile provinces, and now share under the Prussian dominions, a part of that property on which before a few individuals only rioted. Among the latter class it must not be forgotten to mention the convents, which in the Prussia provinces are gradually dying away, and their property is to be applied towards the support of other useful public institutions. While the buildings remain in good condition, the inhabitants are allowed a small portion to maintain themselves, but as soon as they fall to decay and want repairs, the government takes possession of them, and such of the monks as are not otherwise provided become pensioners to the state. Notwithstanding all these manifest improvements of the condition of the great mass of the people, the remembrance of the past seems still to be attended with a sort of pleasure and predilection, of which I had a striking instance at one of the stages. Soon after our arrival, a crowd of people gathered round the post office, but kept at a respectable distance from our carriage. Whenever any of our company made their appearance, they pulled off their caps, and directed their looks steadfastly towards us males. As this was a thing altogether unusual in Poland, we enquired of the postmaster the cause, who informed us, that one of our company was supposed to be Kosciusko, who, as the report went, was to pass through Poland to St. Petersburgh on some important concern. At length, after clearly perceiving that it was not Kosciusko, the crowd dispersed in the course of an hour. Is it possible for habit to have made slavery so acceptable to these people, that they would willingly revert to their former condition? Or, dreadful reflection! can their former condition possibly be desirable when compared with the present?

I have often described to you my adventures with the Russian drivers and post-officers, and in justice cannot withhold from you, what occurred to me in the Prussian country. Beyond Byalistock, we came to a little place, in which the burgomaster and the postmaster were one and the same person, who had a few invalids to serve under him in the execution of his double

office. We arrived at nine in the morning, and begged to be forwarded with all possible dispatch, which was solemnly promised. We ordered breakfast, and invited the burgomaster and his lady to partake of our meal, who not only condescended to accept it for their mightinesses themselves, but also their son and the secretary; nor must it be denied that they all did honour to our breakfast, particularly the liquid part of it. We hoped by this means to be the sooner dispatched, and put on *bonne mine au mauvais jeu*. But his highness the burgomaster was a great politician, and although deeply initiated into the mysteries of the cabinets, yet this time he appeared to be rather puzzled relative to the Russians and Prussians. It was, however, clear to him, that all things were not right between the two parties, and that certainly in a few days, perhaps in a few hours, the Russians would march into the province, and Russify them. But at this thought his Prussian patriotism was on fire. A Russian nobleman of great importance—I believe in truth it was a chamberlain—had passed through that place, and had had the condescension to say to his highness the burgomaster, "My dear friend, do see that we have good quarters "and plenty of food for man and beast."

This of course was a bad sign for the Polish Russians in that quarter, and on our arrival, we but too strongly confirmed these surmises. With such discourse three full hours passed away, but no horses were either to be seen or heard. On reminding them of their promise, we were informed that an invalid had been sent into the meadows after the horses, as the gentlemen of the town could do nothing without military execution. But that this proceeding produced no dispatch may be easily conceived, as the poor invalid was lame in his left foot. We had therefore no alternative but patience. Our magisterial landlord and his family went to dinner, but we did not accompany them. In this manner, hours passed away, and the horses did not make their appearance. To our loud complaints, which now grew vehement, we received for answer no less vehement lamentations on the general scarcity of horses, owing to the prevalence of disease; however, his highness the burgomaster resolved to repair in his own magisterial person with a second invalid to the field to find the horses. Those which we found in the stables, we were told, were reserved for couriers and the regular post. The burgomaster went, and very composedly took his afternoon's nap, as we afterwards learnt, but did not make his appearance any more. At length when evening was fast approaching horses were produced, but a double charge was made, from which we released ourselves by dints of threats, and a good douceur to the burgomaster's son, who complained bitterly of the obstinacy of the

groom, who disobeyed his orders, and would listen to no terms but a double pay. When properly dispatched as we imagined, and got about a hundred paces from the door, we had this fellow upon our backs, who not only insulted us with the coarsest language, but took away one of our horses, which had already been harnessed. We were accordingly obliged to hire other horses by the way, for which we had to pay treble.

The most important town in the road to Warsaw is Byalistock, the seat of a provincial government, a revenue chamber, and garrisoned by a considerable body of troops. But what contributes most to the loveliness of the place, is the residence of the late king of Poland's sister, the princess von Cracow, whose castle and park display the former splendour of the Polish nobility. The first is built in a noble style, with elegant appurtenances, and a beautiful garden of considerable extent. The edifice itself is at present in very good condition, but the park is going fast to ruin. I spent some very pleasant hours in traversing the neglected paths, and among the waterless cascades. The space behind the castle which is occupied with an orangery, commands a view of two hills and the open country which is prettily diversified. The venerable inhabitant of this place was engaged at the front of her castle, in distributing alms among the sons and daughters of distress. It was Sunday when we arrived; just as the people were flocking out of the church, and the organ was still resounding through the lofty dome.

In the post-house, we got a tolerable dinner at an immoderate price, for which however we had civil treatment, and a quick dispatch into the bargain.

Upon the whole, all the towns in the Prussian provinces have a far more chearful and respectable aspect than those in the Russian, where the number of Jews likewise appears to be disproportionably greater than in the former. In the Russian scarcely a single native is of any other nation, but in the Prussian there is a tolerable fair proportion of Jews and Christians.

LETTER XLVII.

We arrived at Warsaw in the night, which being unfortunately very dark I was unable to see the places that have become famous by the late dreadful events. After paying a handsome toll, we passed over the long bridge over the Vistula into the town, where the violent rains had so washed away the inconceivably bad pavement, that we were every moment in danger of plunging into one of the large and deep ponds that are formed

in the middle of the streets. We were fortunate enough to get beds at the Hotel de Prusse, the best inn I had hitherto met with. Having now very convenient and decent apartments, we resolved to spend some days of rest here, and enjoy the city of Warsaw, as much as the shortness of our intended stay would admit. We reckoned with some confidence of having fine weather; for it had been uniformly our lot to enjoy fine weather during our stay in the towns, and to endure nothing but excessive wet during the time of our travelling. This time we were not disappointed.

Warsaw and its environs retain as few traces of its former devastations as most parts of Prussian Poland. New edifices are every where rising out of the ruins. But a short time ago, the palace in which Igelstrom lived, which was pierced by the Polish balls, was still lying in rubbish. The opposite church bears every mark of the penetrating balls. What an awaking must it have been for the ambitious man, who set himself above kings, to be rudely roused from his slumbers! A moment's caution would have defeated every thing, if Igelstrom had only attended to the hints that had been given him to occupy the arsenal. By this means the national vengeance found arms —and here thousands fell—this edifice also fell—and with it the throne. The splendid Warsaw! What a lesson for luxurious nations and rulers. Formerly it held the throne at which the dukes of Prussia did homage for their domains, and now . . . . . A picture representing this event is still hanging in the castle. It was proposed to remove it; because it was supposed to reflect on the present ruler; but the governor of Warsaw, General Köhler, a venerable warrior of the school of the Great Frederick, with greater propriety, declared that this picture should remain as an honorary testimony of Prussia's greatness. The large palaces are now indeed empty, as well as the country residences in the neighbourhood; but the cottages, on the other hand, are in a more thriving condition. Nor is Warsaw wanting in inhabitants, only that the major part now follow useful occupations, who formerly pursued nothing but their pleasures.

The two nations are not at present disposed to amalgamate. The Pole views his conqueror with an eye of contempt, which nothing but the military rod has been able to prevent from displaying itself openly. Fear and dislike has, in consequence, succeeded, and the Poles shun the society of their invaders. Where many Prussians reside, there the Poles will not take up their abode; nor will they even use the same promenade, the latter having, on account of the foreign intruders, entirely deserted the public walks in the Saxon Garden, as it is called.

A few weeks before my arrival, some disturbances happened

which required the military to be called out for several nights. They originated in the fanaticism of the populace, which had been provoked by some evil-minded persons. It was formerly not permitted for any Jew to be in the streets during religious processions; which restriction was, of course, laid aside under the present administration. It happened therefore, once, as several Israelites were peaceably looking on while a procession passed, that a stone was cast by some malicious person, and hit the crucifix. The cry immediately was, that it had been thrown by the hand of a Jew, in consequence of which the populace was inflamed, fell upon the progeny of Israel, pulled down the back part of a building which was particularly inhabited by their unfortunate nation, broke open their shops, and plundered them. At first the riot was supposed to be insignificant, and few soldiers were ordered out, who being brought into difficulties, and exposed to the insults and scorn of the multitude, were reinforced by almost the whole garrison, and received orders to return every species of violence with violence. The streets were blocked up, and the cavalry paraded up and down. The people drew back, and in some places only an unexpected resistance was made. Since the rioters were mostly of the lower orders, particularly journeymen and apprentices, these were principally regarded, and at the sound of the drum, whoever did not retire home was apprehended, and received fifty lashes. One Pole, in particular, was rather roughly rewarded for his impertinence: having placed himself in front of a company, he cried out, "With your leave, gentlemen," and at the same time he relieved his necessities in the most indecent manner. The brave officer returned for answer, "You are very welcome," and at the same time prohibited the soldiers from resenting the insult as they wished. But no sooner was the gentleman going to retire in triumph, than he called him back, and with the words, "With your leave, Sir," ordered him fifty lashes— a recompence for his impudence, which he would, doubtless, not forget in his life-time. These measures had likewise a wonderful effect in bringing the people to their senses, who, in a short time, returned to their homes, and tranquillity was restored.

The esprit du corps which animated the Prussian soldier was truly striking on this occasion. The regiments in Poland consist almost entirely of natives, who, notwithstanding all that was apprehended of them, were true to their oath, and displayed the most resolute spirit to quell the rebellion. All who fell on this occasion fell by their hands.

LETTER XLVIII.

WARSAW has indeed some regular fine streets, public squares, and large and even splendid edifices, but, upon the whole, its exterior is far from handsome, many of the streets being narrow and dirty, and the houses high and dark. The governor inhabits one of the finest palaces, which formerly belonged to count Brühl, the all-powerful favourite of Augustus the third. It was new furnished and fitted up in the most splendid style, at the expence of the republic, for count Stackelberg, through whom Russia governed Poland under Stanislaus Poniatowsky. Stackelberg, as is well known, acted the king here, and with an arrogance that is scarcely equalled in history. It often happened that after the whole court had been assembled for hours in his audience-chamber, where a throne actually stood, he would send word that he could not give audience that day, and they have been obliged to depart without having seen him. But his arrogance was humbled in an exemplary manner, and he afterwards sunk to a nothingness that left no traces of his former existence.

On the last visit of their Prussian majesties at Warsaw, the present inhabitant of this palace gave a splendid ball. The ball soom is fitted up in a style of peculiar elegance, having niches adorned with pillars for the card tables and spectators. Whatever stranger wishes to enjoy himself in Warsaw, will be particularly fortunate in getting admittance into the governor's house, which, from the known liberal character of this noble warrior, will not be found very difficult.

The cordiality, and unconstrained hospitality which prevail here, serve to heighten the profound respect which every one must feel, on entering the company of the aged, venerable and cultivated hero. In Warsaw there is but one voice respecting him, which pronounces him to be a most estimable man, often likewise as a loving father of the people under his care.

Every traveller will be truly surprized, to notice the difference in the mode of examining his baggage now, and twenty years ago in the Prussian territories. Chicanery is entirely done away, and the simple assurance that it contains nothing contraband, is often sufficient to release a person from the necessity of unpacking his trunks; and yet I am fully persuaded, that the government are no greater losers than before by illicit practices.

The shops in Warsaw still display many articles of luxury, and

among the fair sex, the goddess of Fashion reigns with no less arbitrary sway than in other places. The inconsiderate and lavish prodigality of the Poles, is equally visible as before in numberless striking instances. While I was at the Hotel de Prusse, a count was just going to return to his estates, and the whole yard was filled with about twenty new and well-packed carriages of different constructions, all of which he took with him, and as it appeared, for his own parade. The Warsaw carriages are very commodious and tasty. How singular must Prussian economy appear in the eyes of the Poles, when contrasted with the extravagance of their countrymen. The Prussian princess Ferdinanda, with her spouse prince Radzivil, happened to be in the same hôtel at this very time. A guard of honour was her only distinction; for her own appearance, which was very simple, would by no means have designated her rank. Music is almost the only amusement she indulges in; and the prince keeps a band, or what is called a *chapel*, of his own. Behind the hotel there is a beautiful garden, which being appropriated, as was supposed, to the use of the princess, was not used by any other person, although it was always open.

LETTER XLIX.

ON account of my short stay in Warsaw, I can give you very little information repecting its environs. I have merely been able to visit the royal castle of Leschinka, built by Stanislaus Poniatowsky, which, in the style of building, has a great resemblance to the seat at Astankina mentioned in my former letters. But what a contrast in the interior! Leschinka contains little or no splendour, except what is to be found in the chapel and in the saloon, that receives its light from the ceiling. The castle being the private property of the king, and consequently belonging to his heirs, remains as it was when the possessor left it, in a scarcely finished state, never to enter it again. As a measure of precaution, a considerable guard is planted there to preserve the place. The avenues and arrangements of the whole are tastily but not grandly conceived, which was, perhaps, scarcely possible under such unfavourable circumstances. Among the many marble statues which decorate the garden, are said to be several masterpieces, but they are all inclosed in wooden cases, to preserve them from injury. One of them which was uncovered, represented Virginius looking with triumphant fury at the Decemviri, in the moment of snatching the dagger from the bosom of his dying daughter. To judge from this, we should form a fa-

vourable estimate of the rest. The most interesting sight of all, was an amphitheatre at the end of the garden, in imitation of the Grecian kind. The stage, which is not very considerable in extent, affords a happy representation of ruins. It is separated by a bason from the spectators, whose seats rise amphitheatrically. The whole is stone, but I am not certain whether in rainy weather it might not be covered with oil cloth. This stage must produce a charming effect, when lighted up on a fine summer's night.

In the palace, we found Stanislaus pourtrayed under all forms: in one of the pictures he was represented as king Solomon was among his concubines; the latter being all portraits: in another he is lying at the feet of his mistress. It is not easy to restrain a sentiment of rising contempt for the prince who could be pleased with such conceits. The pictures of his favourites are also very numerous, and several among them masterly productions. Stanislaus Poniatowsky was a true Sybarite king, yet a man of refinement and taste. His study in which he . . . . may perhaps have amused himself with writing the History of his Own Times, in which he did not act the most splendid part, remains yet untouched. Even his very pen is still lying on the desk. Some small glass cases round the room, contain such volumes as were in immediate use; but the greatest and most valuable part of his library was taken by a certain nobleman to his country residence, to be arranged: this part was said to contain many rare MSS.

The whole has now been bought for 45,000 rubles, for the gymnasium at Krzeminiez, which will now have the name of the Volhynian Gymnasium.

Not far from the castle, his principal minion built a country seat on speculation in a much more elegant style, and a much more beautiful site. The top of it may be seen from Leschinka. This speculation naturally failed, as his patron was a bankrupt before it was completed.

The rich Starosties, as is well known, were formerly in the gift of the king; and the bestowing of them constituted his principal privilege, and almost his only concern in the government. Now these Starosties, as the present occupiers gradually die away, are converted into royal domains, under the administration of proper officers, and the revenues applied to the use of the state.

The numberless humiliations and mortifications, which the Polish king endured at Petersburgh, are well known to you, from the History of the Times. He died suddenly, and was buried in a vault in the catholic church, with all the pomp suitable to his rank. A marble slab points out the spot where he lies. It was formerly decorated with trophies, but since the Jesuits have taken

possession of the church, they have substituted a confessional in their room, which covers the marble slab so entirely that nothing but the name of Catharine II. which stands at the top, is visible. The Poles were formerly formidable to Russia, nay, even sovereign over it for some time, and now their last throneless monarch lies buried in the proud imperial capital, and his grave is scarcely to be found. But in what has he offended the holy fathers of the society of Jesus, that they have concealed even the few traces that remained of him?

The theatre of Warsaw, which is a building of no note, is principally in the hands of Germans. On the night that I was there, I observed but two female performers who rose above mediocrity, either in acting or singing. The male characters were miserably performed, and the orchestra badly supplied. The Polish company is said to be far superior, which is under the management of Mr. Von Boguslawsky a very patriotic man, who has contributed much to the amusements of Warsaw.

A very commodious arrangement, worthy of imitation in many large towns of Germany, is that of having little single seated covered chaises, standing at the corners of streets, in which two might be very well accommodated. Our stay at the inn in Warsaw was by no means so expensive as at Grodno, although the inhabitants complained very much of the dearness of provisions.

LETTER L.

THE desire of visiting some dear relatives drew me from my straight road to Breslaw towards Kalish. As it was no regular post road, they prophesied to me difficulties of all descriptions, the greatest of which I experienced in the impudence of the postmasters, who, notwithstanding the legal advance of their fares, often obliged us to pay for a horse more than we had. But inns and refreshments are altogether out of the question in this road. I may say that this journey of six and thirty miles cost me more fatigue and pain than I had felt for my last hundred miles. The ways are beyond measure wretched, and the rain, which attended us as far as Kalish, contributed to render them worse and worse. The travelling by night was found to be so troublesome and tedious, that we preferred not making a second trial. But the joy of meeting friends again from whom we had been separated for a term of years, repaid us for all our troubles.

Kalish is a pretty little town, which is now coming into repute in consequence of the magistracy being transplanted from

Petrikau thither. Building is carried on with spirit and much taste: nor are there wanting among the more ancient buildings some of a handsome construction, which are inhabited by Poles of the higher order. The country is not remarkable for fertility, but its culture appears to be very much attended to; and had not the continued rains of the two last years combined with the march of the Russian troops through these parts to defeat the labours of the husbandman, his industry would have been more richly rewarded. A disease has likewise raged among the horses here of late, and the corn has almost rotted on the ground. Such was the grievous spectacle which I witnessed during my whole journey.

My stay in Kalish was too short for me to decide any thing respecting the tone of its social circles, but from all I saw I should conclude that luxury had risen to a great height.

The woods of Poland make at present but a desart appearance; however, much less so in the Prussian than the Russian provinces, where most of the trees are rotting as they stand. A painful sight for one who comes from a country poor in wood. How can we sufficiently appretiate the value of water communications? By this means, Prussia has already cleared several of its woods.

Just out of the town of Kalish, there is so deep a marsh, that it threatens to swallow up every thing that passes by it. A nobleman is said to have lost his carriage and horses here in the preceding year, which is a very credible report.

From Kalish, our road led us through several considerable and inconsiderable towns by Ostrowa, into the fertile and charmingly cultivated country of Silesia. What a delightful view do the neat and shady dwellings of the peasants afford! But here likewise the destructive rains threatened to involve the country in a general distress. Cultivated as this part of Silesia is, it is neither the finest nor the most fertile; but, notwithstanding, the whole face of the country and the air of the people indicate ease and opulence. How could Poland, which lies in the neighbourhood of Prussia's cultivated provinces, remain so far behind in culture, and why are its inhabitants so averse to the government that promotes this culture? I cannot, however, persuade myself, that should the administrators of the government act with discretion and generosity, no part of the Prussian kingdom will be more faithful to its sovereign than they. Silesia is at present perfectly devoted to Prussia, and contains scarcely an individual who is secretly attached to Austria.

The pretty little town of Oels is pleasantly situated, and appears to have a good traffic. The loss which it has experienced by the death of duke Frederic, who died lately at

Weimar, will be sincerely felt, as he was universally beloved and esteemed.

LETTER LI.

I STAID but a few days in the interesting town of Breslau, which are insufficient to give you extensive information. An evil destiny led me to a bad inn, which is certainly one of the greatest misfortunes in travelling. Nothing could equal the incivility of the waiters. However, I was so well pleased with the exterior appearance of Breslau, that I should not have been uneasy, if my destiny had fixed this place as my abode for life. At first sight, the country does not present us with any thing extraordinary, but it is not wanting in agreeable walks. The cultivation of the ground has been carried to great perfection, and lends an assisting hand to the industry of the manufacturer. As the seat of government, and a garrison of considerable importance, Breslau is generally very gay, but particularly so in winter, when the nobility from the adjacent country resort thither. It has not only every amusement which other great cities afford, but that of dramatic representations to as great perfection as any place in Germany. With Rhode as a manager, and Scholz as an assistant, such an assemblage of actors has been formed, and such a spirit of emulation excited, as must necessarily produce something interesting for the public. I was not present at any performance which I can particularly recommend, many of the best performers being absent in this season. The playhouse neither answers to the value of the company, nor to the wealth and state of the arts in Breslau.

Although a mercantile spirit prevails through this city, which cannot be reckoned among the most liberal or amiable spirits, yet there is much cultivation in this rank of life. Our friend Garve is still spoken of with sentiments of veneration, by many estimable families, and Fülleborn has also his share of regard in the social and cultivated circles:—and if any thing can bespeak the liberality of a city, it certainly is its treatment of strangers, which in Breslau equals any thing I have witnessed in any other, and extends to all ranks of people.

The female sex can boldly claim the title of beautiful, from the highest to the lowest. They are said to receive the homage of their charms with particular avidity, and among the lower classes to have a particular disposition for gallantry, which charge seems fully justified by their showy attire. The cross of Saint Louis, and the order of the Holy Ghost, are still frequently seen in this city, where the unfortunate exiles meet with an hospitable

reception. That the Jews here are true to their universally speculating character, is clear from the following instances. A Jewess came to one of our ladies with a necklace of the finest granites, and offered it for sale, under the pretext that the countess Lichtenau wished to dispose of it privately. She asked the moderate price of six ducats; the lady offered four, and the woman went off. We warned her against imposture, as the matter did not appear to us perfectly clear, the countess not having been at all at Breslau; but the desire of possessing such charming granites overpowered every consideration of prudence, and on the return of the woman to accept the offer, the lady paid her the money, and received her treasure, which on examination by a jeweller proved to be of glass, and not worth four shillings.

The next day the second lady was offered a similar one for three ducats, who however declared that she would not pay for the necklace until she had shown it to a jeweller. The Jew who offered it to sale, had actually the impudence to accede to the proposition; but finding the matter grow serious, he demanded his necklace back, and asked them what they supposed could be had for three ducats? But this time the gentleman was caught; for they would not return his necklace, unless he would inform them of the woman who had sold the other. He affirmed his total ignorance of the other person, and after some days supplication regained his false granites. Nothing could be more improper than this, for he certainly knew the Jewess, and belonged to a gang of swindlers. The affair ought to have been made known to the police; but what was to be done with the ladies, who no sooner saw tears, and heard of wife and children, and making a family wretched, than their hearts were softened. Another sharper, however, succeeded in cheating the second lady in the purchase of a telescope, so that she could not have the laugh against her companion. Such impostures are, it seems, very general in Breslau, and deserve the particular notice of every traveller.

The living in Breslau is very good, except the wine, which, at least in the inns, is very inferior.

LETTER LII.

WERE it not for the indescribably miserable roads in Saxony, the journey from Breslau would unquestionably have been the pleasantest part of my travels; but in truth, the name of high roads is a burlesque upon the hobbly tracks which the

carriage wheels have cut deeper and deeper in the miry slough. Surely no labour can have been bestowed on these roads from time immemorial, and one might fancy in some places to see the traces of the Swedish cannons, which passed this way in the Thirty Years War.

One can hardly regain one's good humour sufficiently to enjoy the pretty cleanly towns in Saxony, which lie in our way.

In the cheerful town of Gorlitz I could obtain nothing to eat but cakes, which, however, tasted musty, from the corn which the elector had had imported from Russia. The bitterest complaints are every where made about the scarcity of corn, which is said not to be wholly owing to the failure in the harvest. In Bauzen, which, from what we could see of it in the darkness of the night, appeared to be a pretty little place, it was scarcely possible to get accommodated at the inn. It happened to be a sitting day for the representatives of the country, who occupied every vacant place in the town. We managed to get a little room, four yards by three, for our night's lodging, but were obliged to content ourselves with some soup and ragout, to appease our extreme hunger. We set off the next morning very early, by no means exhilarated with the prospect of wading through the mud and sand.

Of Saxon postillions I need only say, that their insolence exceeds all I had before experienced. One very melancholy remark, however, I but too generally made in Saxony, that the towns are all involved in debt, and the inhabitants far from being opulent. The countryman has acquired a formidable preponderance in connexion with the lords of the manors, and as the latter are continually raising the rents, and consequently the value of the produce, the situation of the townsmen is always becoming worse. Poverty, with all its long train of attendant evils, licentiousness, idleness, fraud, and suicide, rage with dreadful predominance. The price of provisions is always rising, and the quantity of money is ever diminishing.

We now approached the pretty town of Dresden, with its enchanting environs. My arrival in my native country, excited the deepest emotions in my mind, which were mixed with the most poignant anguish on hearing the intelligence that annihilated all my sweetest prospects. You know my hopes, and my disappointment. I hastened once more to embrace the venerable old man for whom I had undertaken this tedious journey. But— he had already forsaken his transient abode below.

END OF REINBECK'S TRAVELS.

TRAVELS

IN THE

INTERIOR PARTS OF AMERICA;

COMMUNICATING

DISCOVERIES

MADE IN EXPLORING

THE MISSOURI, RED RIVER AND WASHITA,

BY

CAPTAINS LEWIS AND CLARK, DOCTOR SIBLEY,

AND

MR. DUNBAR;

WITH

A STATISTICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

COUNTRIES ADJACENT.

AS LAID BEFORE THE SENATE,

BY THE

PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES.

IN FEBRUARY, 1806,

AND NEVER BEFORE PUBLISHED IN GREAT BRITAIN.

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR RICHARD PHILLIPS, 6, BRIDGE STREET,

BLACKFRIARS,

By J. G. Barnard, 57, Snow-hill.

1807.

TRAVELS

IN THE

INTERIOR PARTS OF AMERICA.

MESSAGE

TO THE SENATE AND HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES OF THE UNITED STATES.

IN pursuance of a measure proposed to congress by a message of January 18th, one thousand eight hundred and three, and sanctioned by their appropriation for carrying it into execution, captain Meriwether Lewis, of the first regiment of infantry, was appointed, with a party of men, to explore the river Missouri, from its mouth to its source, and, crossing the highlands by the shortest portage, to seek the best water communication thence to the Pacific ocean; and lieutenant Clarke was appointed second in command. They were to enter into conference with the Indian nations on their route, with a view to the establishment of commerce with them. They entered the Missouri May fourteenth, one thousand eight hundred and four, and on the first of November took up their winter quarters near the Mandan towns, 1609 miles above the mouth of the river, in latitude 47° 21′ 47″ north, and longitude 99° 24′ 45″ west from Greenwich. On the eighth of April, one thousand eight hundred and five, they proceeded up the river in pursuance of the objects prescribed to them. A letter of the preceeding day, April seventh, from captain Lewis, is herewith communicated. During his stay among the Mandans, he had been able to lay down the Missouri, according to courses and distances taken on his passage up it, corrected by frequent observations of ongitude and latitude; and to add to the actual survey of this portion of the river, a general map of the country between the Mississippi and Pacific, from the thirty-fourth to the fifty-fourth degrees of latitude. These additions are from information collected from Indians with whom he had opportunities of communicating, during his journey and residence with them. Copies of this map are now presented to both houses of congress. With these I communicate also a statistical view, procured and forwarded by him, of the Indian nations inhabiting the territories of Louisiana, and the countries adjacent to its northern and western borders; of their commerce, and of other interesting circumstances respecting them.

In order to render the statement as complete as may be, of the Indians inhabiting the country west of the Mississippi, I add doctor Sibley's account of those residing in and adjacent to the territory of Orleans.

I communicate also, from the same person, an account of the Red river, according to the best information he had been able to collect.

Having been disappointed, after considerable preparation, in the purpose of sending an exploring party up that river, in the summer of one thousand eight hundred and four, it was thought best to employ the autumn of that year in procuring a knowledge of an interesting branch of the river called the Washita. This was undertaken under the direction of Mr. Dunbar, of Natchez, a citizen of distinguished science, who had aided, and continues to aid us, with his disinterested and valuable services in the prosecution of these enterprizes. He ascended the river to the remarkable hot springs near it, in latitude 34° 31′ 4″.86, longitude 92° 50′ 45″ west from Greenwich, taking its courses and distances, and correcting them by frequent celestial observations. Extracts from his observations, and copies of his map of the river, from its mouth to the hot springs, make part of the present communications. The examination of the Red river itself, is but now commencing.

TH. JEFFERSON.

February 19, 1806.

EXTRACT OF A LETTER FROM CAPTAIN MERIWETHER LEWIS, TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, DATED

Fort Mandan, April 17th, 1805.

DEAR SIR,

HEREWITH inclosed you will receive an invoice of certain articles, which I have forwarded to you from this place. Among other articles you will observe, by reference to the invoice, 67 specimens of earths, salts and minerals, and 60 specimens of plants: these are accompanied by their respective labels, expressing the days on which obtained, places where found, and also their virtues and properties, when known. By means of these labels, reference may be made to the chart of the Missouri, forwarded to the secretary of war, on which the encampment of each day has been carefully marked: thus the places at which these specimens have been obtained, may be easily pointed out, or again found should any of them prove valuable to the community on further investigation.

You will also receive herewith inclosed, a part of capt. Clarke's private journal; the other part you will find inclosed in a separate tin box. This journal will serve to give you the daily details of our progress and transactions

I shall dispatch a canoe with three, perhaps four persons from the extreme navigable point of the Missouri, or the portage between this river and the Columbia river, as either may first happen. By the return of this canoe, I shall send you my journal, and some one or two of the best of those kept by my men. I have sent a journal kept by one of the sergeants, to captain Stoddard, my agent at St. Louis, in order as much as possible to multiply the chances of saving something. We have encouraged our men to keep journals, and seven of them do, to whom in this respect we give every assistance in our power.

I have transmitted to the secretary at war, every information relative to the geography of the country which we possess, together with a view of the Indian nations, containing information relative to them, on those points with which I conceived it important that the government should be informed.

By reference to the muster rolls forwarded to the war department, you will see the state of the party; in addition to which we have two interpreters; one negro man, servant to capt. Clarke; one Indian woman, wife to one of the interpreters, and a Mandan man, whom we take with a view to restore peace between the Snake Indians, and those in this neighbourhood, amounting in total with ourselves to 33 persons. By means of the interpreters and Indians, we shall be enabled to converse with all the Indians that we shall probably meet with on the Missouri.

I have forwarded to the secretary at war my public accounts, rendered up to the present day. They have been much longer delayed than I had any idea they would have been, when we departed from the Illinois; but this delay, under the circumstances which I was compelled to act, has been unavoidable. The provision peroque and her crew, could not have been dismissed in time to have returned to St. Louis last fall, without evidently, in my opinion, hazarding the fate of the enterprize in which I am engaged; and I therefore did not hesitate to prefer the censure that I may have incurred by the detention of these papers, to that of risking in any degree the success of the expedition. To me the detention of these papers has formed a serious source of disquiet and anxiety; and the recollection of your particular charge to me on this subject, has made it still more poignant. I am fully aware of the inconvenience which must have arisen to the war department, from the want of these vouchers, previous to the last session of congress, but how to avert it was out of my power to devise

From this place we shall send the barge and crew early to-morrow morning, with orders to proceed as expeditiously as possible to St. Louis; by her we send our dispatches, which I trust will get safe to hand. Her crew consists of ten able bodied men, well armed and provided with a sufficient stock of provision to last them to St. Louis. I have but little doubt but they will be fired on by the Siouxs; but they have pledged themselves to us that they will not yield while there is a man of them living. Our baggage is all embarked on board six small canoes, and two peroques; we shall set out at the same moment that we dispatch the barge. One, or perhaps both of these peroques, we shall leave at the falls of the Missouri, from whence we intend continuing our voyage in the canoes, and a peroque of skins, the frame of which was prepared at Harper's ferry. This peroque is now in a situation which will enable us to prepare it in the course of a few hours. As our vessels are now small, and the current of the river much more moderate, we calculate upon travelling at the rate of 20 or 25 miles per day, as far as the falls of the Missouri. Beyond this point, on the first range of rocky mountains, situated about 100 miles further, any calculation with respect to our daily progress, can be little more than bare conjecture. The circumstances of the Snake Indians possessing large quantities of horses, is much in our favour, as by means of horses the transportation of our baggage will be rendered easy and expeditious over land, from the Missouri to the Columbia river. Should this river not prove navigable where we first meet with it, our present intention is, to continue our march by land down the river, until it becomes so, or to the Pacific ocean. The map, which has been forwarded to the secretary of war, will give you the idea we entertain of the connection of these rivers, which has been formed from the corresponding testimony of a number of Indians, who have visited that country, and who have been separately and carefully examined on that subject, and we therefore think it entitled to some degree of confidence. Since our arrival at this place, we have subsisted principally on meat, with which our guns have supplied us amply, and have thus been enabled to reserve the parched meal, portable soup, and a considerable proportion of pork and flour, which we had intended for the more difficult parts of our voyage. If Indian information can be credited, the vast quantity of game with which the country abounds through which we are to pass, leaves us but little to apprehend from the want of food.

We do not calculate on completing our voyage within the present year, but expect to reach the Pacific ocean, and return as far as the head of the Missouri, or perhaps to this place,

before winter. You may therefore expect me to meet you at Montachello in September, 1806. On our return we shall probably pass down the Yellow Stone river, which, from Indian information, waters one of the fairest portions of this continent.

I can see no material or probable obstruction to our progress, and entertain, therefore, the most sanguine hopes of complete success. As to myself, individually, I never enjoyed a more perfect state of good health than I have since we commenced our voyage. My inestimable friend and companion, captain Clarke, has also enjoyed good health generally. At this moment every individual of the party is in good health and excellent spirits, zealously attached to the enterprize, and anxious to proceed: not a whisper of discontent or murmur is to be heard among them; but all in unison act with the most perfect harmony. With such men I have every thing to hope, and but little to fear.

Be so good as to present my most affectionate regard to all my friends, and be assured of the sincere and unalterable attachment of

Your most obedient servant,
MERIWETHER LEWIS,
Captain of 1st U. S. regiment of infantry.

TH. JEFFERSON,
President of the United States.

A STATISTICAL VIEW

OF THE

INDIAN NATIONS

INHABITING

THE TERRITORY OF LOUISIANA

AND THE

COUNTRIES ADJACENT TO ITS NORTHERN AND WESTERN BOUNDARIES.

EXPLANATORY REFERENCES.

A. The names of the Indian nations as usually spelt and pronounced in the English language.

B. Primitive Indian names of nations and tribes, English orthography, the syllables producing the sounds by which

the Indians themselves express the name of their respective nations.

C. Nick-names, or those which have generally obtained among the Canadian traders

D. The language they speak, if primitive, marked with a * otherwise derived from, and approximating to the

E. Number of villages.

F. Number of tents or lodges of the roving lands.

G. Numbers of warriors.

H. The probable number of souls.

I. The rivers on which they rove, or on which their villages are situated.

J. The names of the nations or companies with whom they maintain their principal commerce or traffic.

K. The place on which their traffic is usually carried on.

L. The amount of merchandise necessary for their annual consumption, estimated in dollars at the St. Louis prices.

M. The estimated amount in dollars, of their annual returns at the St. Louis prices.

N. The species of peltries, furs and other articles which they annually supply or furnish.

O. The species of peltries, furs and other articles which the natural productions of their country would enable them to furnish, provided proper encouragement was given them.

P. The places at which it would be mutually advantageous to form the principal establishments, in order to supply the several Indian nations with merchandise.

Q. The names of the Indian nations with whom they are at war.

R. The names of the Indian nations with whom they maintain a friendly alliance, or with whom they are united by intercourse or marriage.

S. Miscellaneous remarks.

NOTATIONS.

- over *a*, denotes that *a* sounds as in caught, taught, &c.

^ over *a*, denotes that it sounds as in dart, part, &c.

a without notation has its primitive sound as in ray, hay, &c. except only when it is followed by *r* or *w*, in which case it sounds as *â*.

, set underneath denotes a small pause, the word being divided by it into two parts.

THE INDIAN TRADE. The sums stated under and opposite "L" are the amounts of merchandise annually furnished the several nations of Indians, including all incidental ex-

penses of transportation, &c. incurred by the merchants which generally averages about one third of the whole amount. The merchandise is estimated at an advance of 125 per cent. on the sterling cost. It appears to me that the amount of merchandise which the Indians have been in the habit of receiving annually, is the best standard by which to regulate the quantities necessary for them in the first instance; they will always consume as much merchandise as they can pay for, and those with whom a regular trade has been carried on have generally received that quantity.

The amount of their returns stated under and opposite "M" are estimated by the peltry standard of St. Louis, which is 40 cents per pound for deer skins; (i. e.) all furs and peltries are first reduced by their comparative value to lbs. of merchantable deer skins, which are then estimated at 40 cents per lb.

These establishments are not mentioned as being thought important at present in a governmental point of view.

A. Grand Osâge.
B. Bâr-har-châ.
C. Grand Zo.
D. *
E. Two.
F.
G. 1.200.
H. 5.000.
I. At the three forks of the Arkansas river, and eighty leagues up the Osage river, on the south side.
J. Merchants of St. Louis.
K. At their villages.
L. 15.000.
M. 20.000
N. Principally skins of the small deer, black bear, some beaver, and a few otters and rackoons.
O. Small deer skins, black bear, and a much larger proportion of beaver, otter, rackoon, and muskrats.
P. About the three forks of the Arkansas river, 600 miles from its junction with the Mississippi.
Q. With all their Indian neighbors, except the Little Osage, until the United States took possession of Louisiana.
R. With the Little Osage only.
S. Claim the country within the following limits, viz. commencing at the mouth of a south branch of the Osage river, called *Neangua*, and with the same to its source, thence south.

wardly to intersect the Arkansas about one hundred miles below the three forks of that river; thence up the principal branch of the same, to the confluence of a large northwardly branch of the same, lying a considerable distance west of the Great Saline, and with that stream nearly to its source: thence northwardly, towards the Kansas river, embracing the waters of the upper portion of the Osage river, and thence obliquely approaching the same to the beginning. The climate is delightful, and the soil fertile in the extreme. The face of the country is generally level, and well watered; the eastern part of the country is covered with a variety of excellent timber; the western and middle country high prairies. It embraces within its limits four salines, which are, in point of magnitude and excellence, unequalled by any known in North America; there are also many others of less note. The principal part of the Great Osage have always resided at their villages, on the Osage river, since they have been known to the inhabitants of Louisiana. About three years since, nearly one half of this nation, headed by their chief the *Big-track*, emigrated to the three forks of the Arkansas, near which, and on its north side, they established a village, where they now reside. The Little Osage formerly resided on the S. W. side of the Missouri, near the mouth of Grand river; but being reduced by continual warfare with their neighbors, were compelled to seek the protection of the Great Osage, near whom they now reside. There is no doubt but their trade will increase; they could furnish a much larger quantity of beaver than they do. I think two villages, on the Osage river, might be prevailed on to remove to the Arkansas, and the Kansas, higher up the Missouri, and thus leave a sufficient scope of country for the Shawnees, Dillewars, Miames, and Kickapoos. The Osages cultivate corn, beans, &c.

A. Little Osâge.
B. Ood'-zâ-tâu.
C. Petit Zo.
D. Osâge.
E. One.
F.
G. 300.
H. 1.300.
I. Near the great Osages.
J. Merchants of St. Louis.

K. At their village.
L. 5.000.
M. 8.000.
N. The same as the Great Osages.
O. The same as the Great Osages.
P. The same as the Great Osages.
Q. With all their Indian neighbors, except the Great Osage.
R. With the Great Osage only.
S. See page 11, S.

A. Kanzas.
B. Kar'-sa.
C. Kâh.
D. Osàge.
E. One.
F.
G. 300.
H. 1.300.
I. Eighty leagues up the Kanzas river, or the north side.
J. Merchants of St. Louis.
K. On the Missouri above the mouth of the Kanzas river, not stationary, and at their village.
L. 5.000.
M. 8000.
N. The same as the Osage, with buffaloe grease and robes.
O. The same as the Osage.
P. On the north side of the Kanzas river, at a bluff one and a half miles from its confluence with the Missouri.
Q. With all nations within their reach.
R. They are sometimes at peace with the Ottoes and Missouris, with whom they are partially intermarried.
S. The limits of the country they claim is not known. The country in which they reside, and from thence to the Missouri, is a delightful one, and generally well watered and covered with excellent timber: they hunt on the upper part of Kanzas and Arkanzas rivers; their trade may be expected to increase with proper management. At present they are a dissolute, lawless banditti; frequently plunder their traders, and commit depredations on persons ascending and desending the Missouri river: population rather increasing. These people, as well as the Great and Little Osages, are stationary, at their villages, from about the 15th of March to the 15th of May, and again from the 15th of August to the 15th of October: the balance of the year is appropriated to hunting. They cultivate corn, &c.

A. Ottoes.
B. Wâd-dokè-tâh-tâh.
C. La Zòto.
D. Missouri.
E. Ottoes and Missouris, one.
F.
G. 120.
H. 500.
I. South side of the river Platte, fifteen leagues from its mouth.
J. Merchants of St. Louis.
K. On the Missouri, below the river Platte; not stationary, and at their villages.
L. 4.000, including the Missouris.
M. 8.000, including the Missouris.
N. Principally deer skins, black bear, a greater proportion of beaver than the Osage, some otter and rackoons.
O. Skins of the deer, black bear, beaver, otter, rackoon, muskrats and wolves, buffaloe robes, tallow and grease, bear's oil, deer and elk tallow, elk skins dressed and in parchment, all in much larger quantites than they do at present.
P. The Council Bluff, on the S. W. side of the Missouri, fifty miles above the mouth of the river Platte.
Q. With the Mahas, Pon'cârs, Sioux, the Great and Little Osage, Kanzas and Loups.
R. With the Panis proper, Saukees and Renars.
S. They have no idea of an exclusive possession of any country, nor do they assign themselves any limits. I do not believe that they would object to the introduction of any well disposed Indians: they treat the traders with respect and hospitality, generally. In their occupations of hunting and cultivation, they are the same with the Kanzas and Osage. They hunt on the Saline, Nimmehaw rivers, and west of them in the plains. The country in which they hunt lies well; it is entremely fertile and well watered; that part of it which borders on the Nimmehaw and Missouri possesses a good portion of timber: population rather increasing. They have always resided near the place their village is situated, and are the descendants of the Missouris.

A. Missouris.
B. New'-dar-cha.
C. Missouri.

D. *
E. See page 14, E.
F.
G. 80.
H. 300.
I. With the Ottoes.
J. Merchants of St. Louis.
K. Same as Ottoes, see page 15, K.
L. See page 15, L.
M. See page 15, M.
N. Same as the Ottoes, page 15, N.
O. Same as the Ottoes, do. O.
P. The Council Bluff, on the S.W. side of the Missouri, fifty miles above the mouth of the river Platte.
Q. With the Mahas, Poncars, Sioux, the Great and Little Osage, Kanzas and Loups.
R. With the Panis proper, Saukees and Renars.
S. These are the remnant of the most numerous nation inhabiting the Missouri, when first known to the French. Their ancient and most principal village was situated in an extensive and fertile plain on the north bank of the Missouri, just below the entrance of the Grand river. Repeated attacks of the small pox, together with their war with the Saukees and Renars, has reduced them to their present state of dependence on the Ottoes, with whom they reside, as well in their village as on their hunting excursions. The Ottoes view them as their inferiors, and sometimes treat them amiss. These people are the real proprietors of an extensive and fertile country lying on the Missouri, above their ancient village for a considerable distance, and as low as the mouth of the Osage river, and thence the Mississippi.

A. Panias proper,
B. Pâ-nee.
C. Grand Par.
D. *
E, One.
F.
G 400.
H. 1600.
I. South side of the river Platte, thirty leagues from its mouth.
J . Merchants of St. Louis.
K. On the Missouri, below the river Platte, not stationary, and at their village.

L. 6.400, including the Panias Republican.
M. 10.000, including the Panias Republican.
N. Fine beaver principally, a considerable proportion of beaver, some robes and a few rackoons.
O. Skins of the beaver, otter, rackoon, muskrats and wolves, baffaloe robes, tallow and grease, elk skins and grease, also a number of horses.
P. The Council Bluff, on the S.W. side of the Missouri, fifty miles above the mouth of the river Platte.
Q. With the Pania-pique, Great and Little Osage, Kanzas, La Play, Sioux, Ricaras and Paducas.
R. With the Loups, Mahas, Poncars, Ottoes, Missouris and Avauwais.
S. With respect to their idea of the possession of soil, it is similar to that of the Ottoes; they hunt on the south side of the river Platte, higher up and on the head of the Kanzas. A great proportion of this country is open plains, interspersed, however, with groves of timber, which are most generally found in the vicinity of the water courses. It is generally fertile and well watered; lies level, and free of stone. They have resided in the country which they now inhabit, since they were known to the whites. Their trade is a valuable one, from the large proportion of beaver and otter which they furnish, and it may be expected yet to increase, as those animals are still abundant in their country. The periods of their residence at their village and hunting, are similar to the Kanzas and Osages. Their population is increasing. They are friendly and hospitable to all white persons; pay great respect and deference to their traders, with whom they are punctual in the payment of their debts. They are, in all respects, a friendly, well disposed people. They cultivate corn, beans, melons, &c.

A. Panis Republican.
B. Ar-râh-pâ-hoo',
C. Republic.
D. Pania.
E. Panias proper and Panias Republican live in the same village.
F.
G. 300.
H. 1.400.
I. With the Panias proper,
J. Merchants of St. Louis.
K. See page 17 K.
L. See page 17 K.

M. See page 17 M.
N. See page 17 N.
O. See page 17 O.
P. See page 17 P.
Q. See page 17 Q.
R. See page 17 R.
S. Are a branch of the Pania proper; or, as they are frequently termed, the *Big Pauch*. About ten years since they withdrew themselves from the mother nation, and established a village on a large northwardly branch of the Kanzas, to which they have given name; they afterwards subdivided and lived in different parts of the country on the waters of Kanzas river; but being harassed by their turbulent neighbors, the Kanzas, they rejoined the Panias proper last spring. What has been said with respect to the Panias proper is applicable to these people, except that they hunt principally on the Republican river, which is better stocked with timber than that hunted by the Panias.

A. Panias Loups (or Wolves.)
B. Skee'-e-ree.
C. La Loup.
D. Pania.
E. One.
F.
G. 280.
H. 1.000.
I. On the N.E. side of the Wolf river, branch of the river Platte, 36 leagues from its mouth.
J. Merchants of St. Louis.
K. At the village of the Panias.
L. 2.400.
M. 3.500.
N. See page 17 N.
O. See page 17 O.
P. See page 17 P.
Q. With Pania-picque, Great and Little Osage, Kanzas, Le Plays, Sioux, Ricaras, Mahas, Poncars, Ottoes and Missouris.
R. Panias proper, and Panias Republican.
S. These are also a branch of the Panias proper, who separated themselves from that nation many years since, and established themselves on a north branch of the river Platte, to which their name was also given: these people have likewise no idea of an exclusive right to any portion of the

country. They hunt on the Wolf river above their village, and on the river Platte above the mouth of that river. This country is very similar to that of the Panias proper; though there is an extensive body of fertile well timbered land between the Wolf river below their village and the river Corn de Cerf, or Elkhorn river. They cultivate corn, beans, &c. The particulars related of the other Panias is also applicable to them. They are seldom visited by any trader, and therefore usually bring their furs and peltry to the village of the Panias proper, where they traffic with the whites.

A. Mahâs.
B. O'-mâ'-hà.
C. La Mar.
D. Osage, with different accent; some words peculiar to themselves.
E.
F. 60.
G. 150.
H. 600.
I. The river Quicurre and the head of the Wolf river.
J. Merchants of St. Louis.
K. At their old village, though no trade latterly.
L. 4.000, including the Pon'cârs.
M. 7.000 including the Pon'çârs.
N. See page 17, N.
O. The same as the Ottoes' and Missouris', with the addition of skins of the Missouri antelope, (called cabri', by the inhabitants of the Illinois.)
P. See page 17, P.
Q. Great and Little Osage, Kanzas, Loups, Ottoes, Missouris, and all the Sioux, except the Yankton Ahnâ.
R. With the Panias proper, Panias Republicans, Yanktons Ahna, Saukees, Renars, and Ayouwais.
S. They have no idea of exclusive possession of soil. About ten years since, they boasted 700 warriors. They have lived in a village, on the west bank of the Missouri, 236 miles above the mouth of the river Platte, where they cultivated corn, beans, and melons: they were warlike, and the terror of their neighbours. In the summer and autumn of 1802, they were visited by the small-pox, which reduced their numbers to something less than 300; they

burnt their village, and have become a wandering nation, deserted by the traders, and the consequent deficiency of arms and ammunition has invited frequent aggressions from their neighbours, which have tended to reduce them still further. They rove principally on the waters of the river Quicurre, or Rapid river. The country is generally level, high, and open: it is fertile, and tolerably well watered. They might easily be induced to become stationary: they are well disposed towards the whites, and are good hunters: their country abounds in beaver and otter, and their trade will increase and become valuable, provided they become stationary, and are at peace. The Tetons Bois brûlè killed and took about 60 of them last summer.

A. Pon'cârs.
B. Poong-câr.
C. la Pong.
D. Mâhà.
E.
F. 20.
G. 50.
H. 200.
I. With the Mahas.
J. Merchants of St. Louis.
K. No place of trade latterly.
L. See page 20, L.
M. See page 20, M.
N. See page 17, N.
O. See page 20, O.
P. See page 17, P.
Q. See page 20, Q.
R. See page 21, R.
S. The remnant of a nation once respectable in point of numbers. They formerly resided on a branch of the Red river of lake Winnipie; being oppressed by the Sioux, they removed to the west side of the Missouri, on Poncar river, where they built and fortified a village, and remained some years; but being pursued by their ancient enemies the Sioux, and reduced by continual wars, they have joined, and now reside with the Mahas, whose language they speak.

A. Ricaras.
B. Stâr-râh-hé.
C. la Ree.
D. Pania, with a different accent, and a number of words peculiar to themselves.
E. Three.
F.
G. 500.
H. 2.000
I. On the S.W. side of the Missouri, 1.440 miles from its mouth.
J. Merchants of St. Louis.
K. At their villages.
L. 2.500.
M. 6.000.
N. Buffaloe robes principally, a small quantity of beaver, small foxes and grease.
O. Buffaloe robes, tallow and grease, skins of beaver, small and large foxes, wolves, antelopes and elk in great abundance: also, some otter, deer and grizzly bears.
P. About the mouth of the river Cheyenne, on the Missouri, or at the mouth of the Yellow Stone river.
Q. With the Crow Indians, Snake Indians, Panias Loups, Assiniboins, Nemousin, Alitan, la Plays, and Paunch Indians.
R. Cheyennes, Wetepahatoes, Kiawas, Kanenavich, Stactan, Cattako, Dotame, Castahanas, Mandans, Ah-wah-haway's, Minetares, and partially with the Sioux.
S. Are the remains of ten large tribes of Panias, who have been reduced, by the small-pox and the Sioux, to their present number. They live in fortified villages, and hunt immediately in their neighbourhood. The country around them, in every direction, for several hundred miles, is entirely bare of timber, except on the water-courses and steep declivities of hills, where it is sheltered from the ravages of fire. The land is tolerably well watered, and lies well for cultivation. The remains of the villages of these people are to be seen on many parts of the Missouri, from the mouth of the Tetone river to the Mandans. They claim no land except that on which their villages stand, and the fields which they cultivate. The Tetons claim the country around them. Though they are the oldest inhabitants, they may properly be considered the farmers or *tenants at will* of that lawless, savage and rapacious race the Sioux Teton, who rob them of their horses, plunder their gardens

and fields, and sometimes murder them, without opposition. If these people were freed from the oppression of the Tetons, their trade would increase rapidly, and might be extended to a considerable amount. They maintain a partial trade with their oppressors the Tetons, to whom they barter horses, mules, corn, beans, and a species of tobacco which they cultivate; and receive in return guns, ammunition, kettles, axes, and other articles which the Tetons obtain from the Yanktons of the N. and Sissatones, who trade with Mr. Cammeron, on the river St. Peters. These horses and mules the Ricaras obtain from their western neighbours, who visit them frequently for the purpose of trafficking.

A. Mandans.
B. Man dân { Ma-too-ton-ka, 1st village. Roop-tar-har, 2d village.
C. Mandans.
D. *, some words resembling the Osage.
E. Two.
F.
G. 350.
H. 1.250.
I. On both sides of the Missouri, 1612 miles from its mouth.
J. The Hudson Bay and N.W. companies, from their establishment on the Assinniboin.
K. At their villages.
L. 2.000.
M. 6 000.
N. Principally the skins of the large and small wolves, and the small fox, with buffaloe robes, some skins of the large fox and beaver, also corn and beans.
O. The same as the Ricars (see page 23 O.) except the grizzly bear. They could furnish, in addition, the skins of a large species of white hair, a very delicate fur.
P. At or near the mouth of the Yellow Stone river.
Q. With no nation except a defensive war with the Sioux.
R. With all nations who do not wage war against them.
S. These are the most friendly, well disposed Indians inhabiting the Missouri. They are brave, humane, and hospitable. About 25 years since they lived in six villages, about forty miles below their present villages, on both sides of the Missouri. Repeated visitations of the Small-pox, aided by frequent attacks of the Sioux, has reduced them to their

present number." They claim no particular tract of country. They live in fortified villages, hunt immediately in their neighbourhood, and cultivate corn, beans, squashes, and tobacco, which form articles of traffic with their neighbours the Assinniboin: they also barter horses with the Assinniboins for arms, ammunition, axes, kettles, and other articles of European manufacture, which these last obtain from the British establishments on the Assinniboin river. The articles which they thus obtain from the Assinniboins and the British traders who visit them, they again exchange for horses and leather tents with the Crow Indians, Chyennes, Wetepahatoes, Kiawas, Kanenavich, Stactan, and Cataka, who visit them occasionally for the purpose of traffic. Their trade may be much increased. Their country is similar to that of the Ricaras. Population increasing.

A. Ahwahhaway.
B. Ah-wâh-hâ-way.
C. Gens des Soulier.
D. Menetarres.
E. One.
F.
G. 50.
H. 200.
I. On the S. W. side of the Missouri, three miles above the Mandans.
J. See page 24, J.
K. At the Mandan and Menetare villages.
L. 300.
M. 1.000.
N. See page 24, N.
O. See page 24, O.
P. See page 25, P.
Q. Defensive war with the Sioux, and offensive with the Snake Indians and Flatheads.
R. With all who do not wage war against them, except the Snake Indians and Flatheads.
S. They differ but very little, in any particular, from the Mandans, their neighbours, except in the unjust war which they, as well as the Minetares, prosecute against the defenceless Snake Indians, from which, I believe, it will be difficult to induce them to desist. They claim to have once been a part of the Crow Indians, whom they still acknowledge as relations. They have resided on the Missouri as long as their tradition will enable them to inform.

A. Minetares.

B. E-hât-sâ, { Me-ne-tar-re, 1st village. / Me-ne-tar-re-me-te-har-tar, 2d village.

C. Gross Ventres.

D *.

E Two.

F.

G. 600.

H. 2 500.

I. On both sides of Knife river, near the Missouri, 5 miles above the Mandans.

J. See page 24, J

K At their villages and hunting camps.

L 1 000.

M 3 000.

N. See page 24, N.

O. The same as the Mandans (see p. 24, O.) with the addition of the white bear.

P See p. 25, P.

Q Defensive war with the Sioux, and offensive with the Snake Indians and Flatheads.

R. With all, except the Snake Indians and Flatheads, who do not wage war against them.

S. They claim no particular country, nor do they assign themselves any limits. their tradition relates that they have always resided at their present villages In their customs, manners, and dispositions, they are similar to the Mandans and Ahwahhaways. The scarcity of fuel induces them to reside, during the cold season, in large bands, in camps, on different parts of the Missouri, as high up that river as the mouth of the river Yellow Stone, and west of their villages, about the Turtle mountain. I believe that these people, as well as the Mandans and Ahwahhaways, might be prevailed on to remove to the mouth of Yellow Stone river, provided an establishment is made at that place. They have as yet furnished scarcely any beaver, although the country they hunt abounds with them; the lodges of these animals are to be seen within a mile of their villages. These people have also suffered considerably by the small pox, but have successfully resisted the attacks of the Sioux. The N. W. company intend to form an establishment in the course of the next summer, and autumn, on the Missouri, near these people, which, if effected, will most probably prevent their removal to any point which our government may hereafter wish them to reside at.

A. Ayauwais.
B. Ah'-e-o-war.
C. Ne Perce'.
D. Missouri.
E. One.
F.
G. 200.
H. 800.
I. 40 leagues up the river Demoin on the S. E. side.
J. Mr. Crawford, and other merchants from Michilimackinac
K. At their village and hunting camps
L. 3.800.
M. 6.000.
N. Deer skins principally, and the skins of the black bear, beaver, otter, grey fox, rackoon, muskrat, and mink.
O. Deer skins, beaver, black bear, otter, grey fox, rackoon, muskrat, and mink; also, elk, and deers' tallow, and bears' oil.
P. At the mouth of the Kanzas
Q. Particularly with the Osage, Kanzas, and Chippeways la Fallorine, and those of Leach and Sand Lakes, sometimes with the Mahas and Sioux Wahpatone, Mindawarcarton and Wahpacoota
R. With the Ottoes, Missouris, Siouxs, Yankton ahnah, and all the nations east of the Mississippi, and south of the Chippeways.
S. They are the descendants of the ancient Missouris, and claim the country west of them to the Missouri, but as to its precise limits, or boundaries, between themselves and the Saukees and Foxes, I could never learn. They are a turbulent savage race, frequently abuse their traders, and commit depredations on those ascending and descending the Missouri. Their trade cannot be expected to increase much.

Saukees.
O'saw-kee.
la Sauk.

Two.

500.
2.000.

S. WAHPATONE. Claim the country in which they rove on the N. W. side of the river St. Peters, from their village to the mouth of the Chippeway river, and thence north eastwardly towards the head of the Mississippi, including the Crow-wing river. Their lands are fertile, and generally well timbered. They are only stationary while the traders are with them, which is from the beginning of October to the last of March. Their trade is supposed to be at its greatest extent. They treat their traders with respect, and seldom attempt to rob them. This, as well as the other Sioux bands, act, in all respects, as indepeudently of each other as if they were a distinct nation.

S. MINDAWARCARTON. 'Tis the only band of Sioux that cultivates corn, beans, &c. and these even cannot properly be termed a stationary people. They live in tents of dressed leather, which they transport by means of horses and dogs, and ramble from place to place during the greater part of the year. They are friendly to their own traders; but the inveterate enemies to such as supply their enemies, the Chippeways, with merchandise. They also claim the country in which they hunt, commencing at the entrance of the river St. Peters, and extending upwards, on both sides of the Mississippi river, to the mouth of the Crow-wing river. The land is fertile, and well watered; lies level, and sufficiently timbered. Their trade cannot be expected to increase much.

S. WAHPACOOTA. They rove in the country south west of the river St. Peters, from a place called the *Hardwood* to the mouth of the Yellow Medicine river; never stationary but when their traders are with them, and this does not happen at any regular or fixed point. At present they treat their traders tolerably well. Their trade cannot be expected to increase much. A great proportion of their country is open plains, lies level, and is tolerably fertile. They maintain a partial traffic with the Yanktons and Tetons to the west of them; to these they barter the articles which they obtain from the traders on the river St. Peters, and receive in return horses, some robes and leather lodges.

S. SISSATONE. They claim the country in which they rove, embracing the upper portions of the Red river, of lake Winnipie, and St. Peters: it is a level country, intersected with many small lakes; the land is fertile and free of stone; the majority of it open plains. This country abounds more in the valuable fur animals, the beaver, otter and marten, than any portion of Louisiana yet known. This circumstance furnishes the Sissatones with the means of purchasing more merchandise, in proportion to their number, than any nation in this quarter.

A great proportion of this merchandise is reserved by them for their trade with the Tetons, whom they annually meet at some point previously agreed on, upon the waters of James river, in the month of May. This Indian fair is frequently attended by the Yanktons of the North and Ahnah. The Sissatones and Yanktons of the North here supply the others with considerable quantities of arms, ammunition, axes, knives, kettles, cloth, and a variety of other articles; and receive in return principally horses, which the others have stolen or purchased from the nations on the Missouri and west of it. They are devoted to the interests of their traders.

S. YANKTONS of the NORTH. This band, although they purchase a much smaller quantity of merchandise than the Sissatones, still appropriate a considerable proportion of what they do obtain in a similar manner with that mentioned of the Sissatones. This trade, as small as it may appear, has been sufficient to render the Tetons independent of the trade of the Missouri, in a great measure, and has furnished them with the means not only of distressing and plundering the traders of the Missouri, but also, of plundering and massacreing the defenceless savages of the Missouri, from the mouth of the river Platte to the Minetares, and west to the Rocky mountains. The country these people inhabit is almost one entire plain, uncovered with timber; it is extremely level; the soil fertile, and generally well watered.

S. YANKTONS AHNAH. These are the best disposed Sioux who rove on the banks of the Missouri, and these even will not suffer any trader to ascend the river, if they can possibly avoid it: they have heretofore, invariably, arrested the progress of all those they have met with, and generally compelled them to trade at the prices, nearly, which they themselves think proper to fix on their merchandise: they seldom commit any further acts of violence on the whites. They sometimes visit the river Demoin, where a partial trade has been carried on with them, for a few years past, by a Mr. Crawford. Their trade, if well regulated, might be rendered extremely valuable. Their country is a very fertile one; it consists of a mixture of wood-lands and prairies. The land bordering on the Missouri is principally plains with but little timber.

S. TETONS BOIS BRULE'.
TETONS OKANDANDAS.
TETONS MINNAKINEAZZO.
TETONS SAHONE.

These are the vilest miscreants of the savage race, and must ever remain the pirates of the Missouri, until such measures are pursued, by our government, as will make them feel a dependance on its will for their supply of merchandise. Unless these people are reduced to order, by coercive measures, I am ready to pronounce

that the citizens of the United States can never enjoy but partially the advantages which the Missouri presents. Relying on a regular supply of merchandise, through the channel of the river St. Peters, they view with contempt the merchants of the Missouri, whom they never fail to plunder, when in their power. Persuasion, or advice, with them, is viewed as supplication, and only tends to inspire them with contempt for those who offer either. The tameness with which the traders of the Missouri have heretofore submitted to their rapacity, has tended not a little to inspire them with contempt for the white persons who visit them, through that channel. A prevalent idea among them, and one which they make the rule of their conduct, is, that the more illy they treat the traders the greater quantity of merchandise they will bring them, and that they will thus obtain the articles they wish on better terms; they have endeavoured to inspire the Ricaras with similar sentiments, but, happily, without any considerable effect. The country in which these four bands rove is one continued plain, with scarcely a tree to be seen, except on the water-courses, or the steep declivities of hills, which last are but rare: the land is fertile, and lies extremely well for cultivation; many parts of it are but badly watered. It is from this country that the Missouri derives most of its colouring matter; the earth is strongly impregnated with glauber salts, alum, copperas and sulphur, and when saturated with water, immense bodies of the hills precipitate themselves into the Missouri, and mingle with its waters. The waters of this river have a purgative effect on those unaccustomed to use it. I doubt whether these people can ever be induced to become stationary; their trade might be made valuable if they were reduced to order. They claim jointly with the other bands of the Sioux, all the country lying within the following limits, viz. beginning of the confluence of the river Demoin and Mississippi, thence up the west side of the Mississippi to the mouth of the St. Peters river, thence on both sides of the Mississippi to the mouth of Crow-wing river, and upwards with that stream, including the waters of the upper part of the same; thence to include the waters of the upper portion of Red river, of lake Winnipie, and down the same nearly to Pembenar river, thence a south-westerly course to intersect the Missouri at or near the Mandans, and with that stream downwards to the entrance of the Warrecunne creek, thence passing the Missouri it goes to include the lower portion of the river Chyenne, all the waters of White river and river Teton, includes the lower portion of the river Quicurre, and returns to the Missouri, and with that stream downwards to the mouth of Waddipon river, and thence eastwardly to intersect the Mississippi at the beginning.

A. Chyennes.
B. Shâr'-ba.
C. la Chien.
D. *
E.
F. 110.
G. 300.
H. 1200.
I. About the source of the river Chyenne, in the black hills.
J. Mr. Loiselle, & Co. of St. Louis.
K. On the river Chyenne, not stationary, and at the Ricaras village.
L. 1.500.
M. 2.000.
N. Buffaloe robes of best quality.
O. Buffaloe robes, tallow, grease, and dried meat, skins of the beaver, small and large foxes, small and large wolf, antelope, elk and deer in great abundance; also, elk and deers' tallow, a few grizzly bear, skins of the white bear, and big-horned antelopes.
P. At, or near the mouth of Chyenne river.
Q. A defensive war with the Sioux, and at war with no other within my knowledge.
R. With all their neighbours except the Sioux
S. They are the remnant of a nation once respectable in point of number: formerly resided on a branch of the Red river of Lake Winnipic, which still bears their name. Being oppressed by the Sioux, they removed to the west side of the Missouri, about 15 miles below the mouth of Warricunne creek, where they built and fortified a village, but being pursued by their ancient enemies the Sioux, they fled to the Black hills, about the head of the Chyenne river, where they wander in quest of the buffaloe, having no fixed residence. They do not cultivate. They are well disposed towards the whites, and might easily be induced to settle on the Missouri, if they could be assured of being protected from the Sioux. Their number annually diminishes. Their trade may be made valuable.

A. Wetepâhâ'toes.
B. We-te-pâ hâ'-to.
C. Wete-pahatoes,
D. *
E.

F. 70, including the Kiâwâs.
G. 200, including the Kiawas.
H. 700, including the Kiawas.
I. On the Paduca fork of the river Platte.
J. No trader.
K. L. M. N.
O. The same as the Tetons. (see first table) also horses.
P. At, or near the mouth of Chyenne river.
Q. A defensive war with the Sioux, and at war with no other within my knowledge.
R. With all their wandering neighbours to the west, and particularly with Ricaras, Mandans, Minatares, and Ahwahhaways whom they occasionally visit for the purpose of trafficking their horses, mules, &c. for European manufactures.
S. They are a wandering nation, inhabit an open country, and raise a great number of horses, which they barter to the Ricaras, Mandans, &c. for articles of European manufactory. They are a well disposed people, and might be readily induced to visit the trading establishments on the Missouri. From the animals their country produces, their trade would, no doubt, become valuable. These people again barter a considerable proportion of the articles they obtain from the Menetares, Ahwahhaways, Mandans, and Ricaras, to the Dotames and Castapanas.



A. Kiâwâs.
B. Kï-â-wâ,
C. Kïâwâs,
D. *
E.
F. See above, F.
G. See above, G.
H. See above, H.
I. On the Paduca, and frequently with the Wetepahatoes.
J. No trader.
K. L. M. N.
O. See page 20, O.
P. At, or near the mouth of Chyenne river.
Q. See above, Q.
R. See above, R.
S. What has been said of the Wetepahatoes is in all respects applicable to these people also. Neither these people, the Wetepahatoes, nor the Chyennes have any idea of exclusive right to the soil.

A. Kanenavish.
B. Kan-e-nâ'-vish.
C. Gens-des-Vache.
D. *
E.
F. 150.
G. 400.
H. 1.500.
I. On the heads of the Paducas fork of the river Platte, and S. fork of Chyenne river.
J. No trader.
K. L. M. N.
O. See page 20, O.
P. At, or near the mouth of Chyenne river.
Q. See page 21, Q.
R. See page 21, R.
S. See bottom of page 21, S.

A. Staetan.
B. Sta'-e-tan.
C. Kites.
D. *
E.
F. 40.
G. 100.
H. 400.
I. On the head of the Chyenne, and frequently with the Kanenavish.
J. K. L. M. N.
O. See page 21, O.
P. At, or near the mouth of Chyenne river.
Q. See page 21, Q.
R. See page 21, R.
S. See bottom of page 21, S.

A. Cataka.
B. Cat'-a-kâ.
C. Cat'akâ.
D. *
E.
F. 25.
G. 75.
H. 300.

I. Between the heads of the north and south forks of the river Chyenne.
J. K. L. M. N.
O. See page 20, O.
P. At, or near the mouth of the Chyenne river
Q. See page 21, Q.
R. See page 21, R.
S. See bottom of page 21, S.

A. Nemousin.
B. Ne'-mo-sin.
C. Allebome.
D. *
E.
F. 15.
G. 50.
H. 200.
I. On the head of the north fork of the river Chyenne.
J. No trader.
K. L. M. N.
O. See page 20, O.
P. At, or near the mouth of the Chyenne river.
Q. A defensive war with the Ricaras and Sioux.
R. The same as the Wetepahatoes (see page 21, R.) except the Ricaras.
S. These differ from the others (viz. Wetepahatoes, Kiawas, Kanenavich, Staetan and Cataka) in as much as they never visit the Ricaras; in all other respects they are the same, see bottom of page 21, S.

A. Dotame.
B. Do-ta'-me.
C. Dotame.
D. *
E.
F. 10.
G. 30.
H. 120.
I. On the heads of the river Chyenne.
J. No trader.
K. L. M. N.
O. See page 20, O.
P. At, or near the mouth of the Chyenne river.

Q See page 21, Q.
R. See page 21, R.
S. The information I possess, with respect to this nation, is derived from Indian information: they are said to be a wandering nation, inhabiting an open country, and who raise a great number of horses and mules. They are a friendly, well disposed people, and might, from the position of their country, be easily induced to visit an establishment on the Missouri, about the mouth of Chyenne river. They have not, as yet, visited the Missouri.

A. Castahana.
B. Cas-ta-ha'-na.
C. Castahana.
D. *
E.
F. 500.
G. 1.300.
H. 5.000.
I. Between the sources of the Padoucas fork, of the rivers Platte and Yellow Stone.
J. No trader
K. L. M. N.
O. The same as the Chyennes (see page 20, O) and the skins of the lynx, or louverin, and martens in addition.
P. At, or near the mouth of the river Yellow Stone, on the Missouri.
Q. A defensive war with the Sioux and Assinniboins.
R. See page 21, R.
S. What has been said of the Dotames is applicable to these people, except that they trade principally with the Crow Indians, and that they would most probably prefer visiting an establishment on the Yellow Stone river, or at its mouth on the Missouri.

A. Crow Indians.
B. Kee'-kât'-sâ.
C. Gens des Corbeau.
D. Minetarre.
E.
F. 350.
G. 900.
H. 3.500.

I. On each side of the river Yellow Stone, about the mouth of the Big-horn river.
J. No trader.
K.
L. M. N.
O. See page 24, O.
P. At, or near the mouth of the river Yellow Stone, on the Missouri.
Q. Defensive with the Sioux and Ricaras.
R. The same as the Wetepahatoes, (See page 21, R.) except the Ricaras.
S. These people are divided into four bands, called by themselves Ahâh'-âr-ro'-pir-no-pah, Noo'-ta-, Pa-recs-car, and E-hârt'-sâr. They annually visit the Mandans, Minetares, and Ahwahhaways, to whom they barter horses, mules, leather lodges, and many articles of Indian apparel, for which they receive in return, guns, ammunition, axes, kettles, awls, and other European manufactures. When they return to their country, they are in turn visited by the Paunch and Snake Indians, to whom they barter most of the articles they have obtained from the nations on the Missouri, for horses and mules, of which those nations have a greater abundance than themselves. They also obtain of the Snake Indians, bridle-bits and blankets, and some other articles which those Indians purchase from the Spaniards. The bridle-bits and blankets I have seen in the possession of the Mandans and Minetares. Their country is fertile, and well watered, and in most parts well timbered.

A. Paunch Indians.
B. Al-la-kâ'-we-âh.
C. Gens de Panse.
D. *
E.
F. 300.
G. 800.
H. 2300.
I. On each side of the Yellow Stone river, near the rocky mountains, and heads of the Big-horn river.
J. No trader
K. L. M. N.
O. See page 24, O.
P. At, or near the mouth of the river Yellow Stone, on the Missouri.

Q. Defensive with the Sioux and Ricaras.

R. The same as the Wetepahatoes (see page 21, R.) except the Ricaras.

S. These are said to be a peaceable, well disposed nation. Their country is a variegated one, consisting of mountains, vallies, plains, and wood-lands, irregularly interspersed. They might be induced to visit the Missouri, at the mouth of the Yellow Stone river; and from the great abundance of valuable furred animals which their country, as well as that of the Crow Indians, produces, their trade must become extremely valuable. They are a roving people, and have no idea of exclusive right to the soil.

A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	I.
A. ASSINNIBOIN. NACOTA.	Ma-ne-to'-pâ.	Gens des Canoe.	Sioux, with some few words peculiar to themselves.		100	200	750	On the Mouse river, between the Assinniboin and the Missouri.
	O-seé-gâh	Gens des Tee.			100	250	850	From the Misouri, about the mouth of Little Missouri, to the Assinniboin, at the mouth of Capelle river.
	Mâh'-to,-pâ-nâ-to.	Gens des grand Diable.			200	450	1.600	On the Missouri, about the mouth of the White Earth river, and on the head of Assinniboin and Capelle rivers.

CONTINUED.

A.		B.	J.	K.	L.	M.	N.
A. ASSINNIBOIN.		Ma-ne-to'-pâ.	British Hudson's Bay, and the N. W. and X. Y. Canadian companies.	Establishments on the Assinniboin river.	4.500	7.000	Buffaloe meat dried or pounded, and grease in bladders principally; also, wolves, a few beaver and buffaloe robes.
	NACOTA.	O-seé-gâh.		Establishments on the Assinniboin and Capelle rivers.	6.000	6.500	
		Mâh'-to,-pâ-nâ-to.		Ditto, and occasionally at the establishments on the river Saskashawan.	8.000	8.000	

CONTINUED.

A.		B.	O.	P.	Q.	R.
A. ASSINNIBOIN.		Ma-ne-to'-pâ	Buffaloe robes, tallow, dried and pounded meat and grease, skins of the large and small fox, small and large wolves, antelopes, (or cabri) and elk in great abundance; also some brown, white and grissly bear, deer and lynx.	At or near the mouth of the river Yellow Stone, on the Missouri.	Reciprocally with the Sioux; offensive with the Ricaras, Castahana, Crow, Paunch and Snake Indians, and all those south-west of the Missouri, within their reach.	With all their own tribes; Christenoes (branch of the Knistenaus) and partially with the Chippeways of Pembena, Algonquins, of Portage de Prairie, Mandans, Minetares, and Ahwahhawas.
	NACOTA.	O-seé-gâh.				
		Mâh'-to-pâ-nâ-to.	Ditto, with more bears and some marten.			

S. MANETOPA. } Are the descendants of the
OSSEEGAH. } Sioux, and partake of their turbu-
MAHTOPANATO. } lent and faithless disposition; they frequently plunder, and sometimes murder, their own traders. The name by which this nation is generally known was borrowed from the Chippeways, who call them *Assinniboan*, which, literally translated, is *Stone Sioux*, hence the name of Stone Indians, by which they are sometimes called. The country in which they rove is almost entirely uncovered with timber; lies extremely level, and is but badly watered in many parts; the land, however, is tolerably fertile and unincumbered with stone They might be induced to trade at the river Yellow Stone; but I do not think that their trade promises much. Their numbers continue about the same. These bands, like the Sioux, act entirely independent of each other, although they claim a naional affinity and never make war on each other. The country inhabited by the Mahtopanato possesses rather more timber han the other parts of the country. They do not cultivate.

	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	I.	J.
A. CHIPPEWAYS.	O-jib'-â-way.	La Sauteur.	*	1		400	1.600	On an island in a small lake, called Leach Lake, formed by the Mississippi river.	N W. Compy.
	Ditto.		Chippeway.			200	700	About the head of the Mississippi and around Red Lake.	Ditto.
	Ditto.		Ditto.			100	350	On the Red river of Lake Winnipie, and about the mouth of Pembanar river.	N. W. and X. Y. Companies.

	B.	K.	L.	M.	N.	O
A. CHIPPENWAYS.	Ojibaway.	At their villages and hunting camps on the Mississippi.	12.000	16 000	Beaver, otter, black bear, rackoon, fox, marten, mink, fisher, and deer skins.	Beaver, otter, black bear, rackoon, grey fox, marten, mink, fisher, & deer skins.
	Ditto.	At an establishment on Red lake, and at their hunting camps.	8.000	10.000	Ditto, and bark canoes.	Ditto, and bark canoes.
	Ditto.	Establishments near the mouth of Pembanar river, and at their hunting camps.	7.000	10.000	Ditto, principally, beaver and otter, but no canoes, some wolverine and lynx.	Ditto, except canoes, with wolverine lynx in addition.

CONTINUED.

	B.	P.	Q.	R.
A. CHIPPENWAYS.	Ojibaway.	On the north side of the Mississippi, at Sandy Lake.	With all the tribes of Sioux, Saukees, Renars, and Ayouwais.	All the tribes of Chippeways, and the nations inhabiting lakes Superior, Michigan, and the country east of the Mississippi.
	Ditto.	On the Red Lake, near the head of the Mississippi.	! The Sioux only.	
	Ditto.	On the Red river of Lake Winnipie, about the mouth of the Assiniboin river.	† The Sioux, and partially with the Assiniboins.	Ditto, and with the Christenoes and Algonquins.

S. CHIPPEWAYS, *of Leach Lake*. Claim the country on both sides of the Mississippi, from the mouth of the Crow-wing river to its source, and extending west of the Mississippi to the lands claimed by the Sioux, with whom they still contend for dominion. They claim, also, east of the Mississippi, the country extending as far as lake Superior, including the waters of the river St. Louis. This country is thickly covered with timber generally; lies level, and generally fertile, though a considerable proportion of it is intersected and broken up by small lakes, morasses and swamps, particularly about the heads of the Mississippi and river St. Louis. They do not cultivate, but live principally on the wild rice, which they procure in great abundance on the borders of Leach Lake and the banks of the Mississippi. Their number has been considerably reduced by small pox. Their trade is at its greatest extent.

Of Red Lake. Claim the country about Red lake and Red lake river, as far as the Red river of lake Winnipie, beyond which last river they contend with the Sioux for territory. This is a low level country, and generally thickly covered with timber, interrupted with many swamps and morasses. This, as well as the other bands of Chippeways, are esteemed the best hunters in the north-west country; but from the long residence of this band in the country they now inhabit, game is becoming scarce, therefore their trade is supposed to be at its greatest extent. The Chippeways are a well disposed people, but excessively fond of spirituous liquor.

Of river Pembena. These people formerly resided on the east side of the Mississippi, at Sand lake, but were induced, by the north-west company, to remove, about two years since, to the river Pembena. They do not claim the lands on which they hunt. The country is level and the soil good. The west side of the river is principally prairies or open plains; on the east side there is a greater proportion of timber. Their trade at present is a very valuable one, and will probably increase for some years. They do not cultivate, but live by hunting. They are well disposed towards the whites.

A.	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	I.	J.
ALGONQUINS.	O-jib'-â-way.	Algonquins.	Chippeways.			100	300	On the south side of Rainy Lake, Rainy Lake river, and the Lake of the Wood.	N. W. and X. Y. Companies
	Ditto.	Algonquins.	Chippeways.			200	600	About the mouth of the Assiniboin, on Red river.	Ditto

CONTINUED.

A.	B.	K.	L.	M.	N.
ALGONQUINS.	Ojibaway.	Establishments on the rivers Winnipie and Rainy Lake, and at their hunting camps.	4,000	6,000	Principally birch bark canoes.
	Ditto.	Establishments on the Assinniboin at Fort de Prairie.	8,000	11,000	Beaver, otter rackoon, black bear, large fox, mink, and a few deer.

CONTINUED.

	B.	O.	P.	Q.	R.
A. ALGONQUINS.	Ojibaway.	The same as the Chippeways, but in small quantities, and canoes, (see page 29, O.)	At the Red Lake establishment.	The Sioux, and partially with the Assinniboins.	All the tribes of the Chippeways, Algonquins, and Christenoes.
	Ditto.	Beaver, otter, rackoon, black bear, large fox, mink, deer, wolves and muskrats.	At the Red river establishment.		

S. ALGONQUINS, *of Rainy Lake, &c.* With the precise limits of the country they claim, I am not informed. They live very much detached, in small parties. The country they inhabit is but an indifferent one; it has been much hunted, and the game, of course, nearly exhausted. They are well disposed towards the whites. Their number is said to decrease. They are extremely addicted to spirituous liquor, of which large quantities are annually furnished them by the north-west traders, in return for their bark canoes. They live wretchedly poor.

Of Portage de Prairie. These people inhabit a low, flat, marshy country, mostly covered with timber, and well stocked with game. They are emigrants from the lake of the Woods and the country east of it, who were introduced, some years since, by the north-west traders, in order to hunt the country on the lower parts of Red river, which then abounded in a variety of animals of the fur kind. They are an orderly, well disposed people, but, like their relations on Rainy lake, extremely addicted to spirituous liquors. Their trade is at its greatest extent.

A. Christenoes or Knistenaus.
B. Chris-'te-no.
C. Cree.
D. Chippeways, with a different accent, and many words peculiar to themselves.
E.
F. 150.
G. 300.
H. 1,000.
I. On the heads of the Assinniboin, and thence towards the Saskashawan.
J. Hudson's Bay, N. W. and X. Y. companies.
K. Establishments on the Assinniboin, Swan Lake river and the Saskashawan.
L. 15,000.
M. 15,000.
N. Beaver, otter, lynx, wolverine, marten, mink, wolf, small fox (or kitts) dressed elk and moose deer skins.
O. The skins of the beaver, otter, lynx, wolf, wolverine, marten, mink, small fox, brown and grizzly bear, dressed elk and moose-deer skins, muskrat skins, and some buffaloe robes, dried meat, tallow and grease.
P. On the Missouri, at or near the mouth of the Yellow Stone river.
Q. With the Siouxs, Fall, Blood, and Crow Indians.
R. With the Assinniboins, Algonquins, Chippeways, Mandans, Minatares and Ahwahhaways.
S. They are a wandering nation; do not cultivate, nor claim any particular tract of country. They are well disposed towards the whites, and treat their traders with respect. The country in which they rove is generally open plains, but in some parts, particularly about the head of the Assinniboin river, it is marshy, and tolerably well furnished with timber, as are also the Fort Dauphin mountains, to which they sometimes resort. From the quantity of beaver in their country, they ought to furnish more of that article than they do at present. They are not esteemed good beaver hunters. They might probably be induced to visit an establishment on the Missouri, at the Yellow Stone river. Their number has been reduced, by the small pox, since they were first known to the Canadians.

A. Fall Indians.
B. A-lân-s^r.

C. Fall Indians.
D. Minetare.
E.
F. 260.
G. 660.
H. 2.500.
I. On the head of the south fork of the Saskshawan river, and some streams supposed to be branches of the Missouri.
J. N.W. company.
K. Upper establishment on the Saskashawan; but little trade.
L. 1.000.
M. 4.000.
N. Beaver and marten.
O. Skins of the beavers, brown, white and grizzly bear, large and small foxes, muskrat, marten, mink, lynx, wolverine, wolves, white hares, deer, elk, moose-deer, antelopes of the Missouri, and some buffaloe.
P. At or near the falls of the Missouri.
Q. Defensive war with the Christenoes.
R.
S. The country these people rove in is not much known: it is said to be a high, broken, woody country. They might be induced to visit an establishment at the falls of the Missouri: their trade may, no doubt, be made profitable.

A. Cattanahaws.
B. Cat-tan-a-hâws.
C. Cattanahâws.
D. *
E. F. G. H.
I. Between the Saskashawan and the Missouri, on waters supposed to be of the Missouri.
J. No trader.
K. L. M. N.
O. See above, O.
P. At, or near the falls of the Missouri.
Q. R.
S. What has been said of the Fall Indians is, in all respects, applicable to this nation. They are both wandering nations.

A. Black-foot Indians.
B.
C. Blackfoot Indians.
D. *
E. F. G. H.

I. Between the Saskashawan and the Missouri, on water supposed to be of the Missouri.
J. No trader.
K. L. M. N.
O. See page 34, O.
P. At, or near the falls of the Missouri.
Q. R.
S. See page 34, S.

A. Blue Mud and Long Hair Indians.
B.
C. Blue Mud and Long Hair Indians.
D. *
E. F. G. H.
I. West of the Rocky mountains, and near the same on water courses supposed to be branches of the Columbia river.
J. No trader.
K. L. M. N.
O. Not known, but from the position of their country supposed to abound in animals similar to those mentioned in page 34, O.
P. Q. R.
S. Still less is known of these people, or their country. The water courses on which they reside, are supposed to be branches of the Columbia river. They are wandering nations.

A. Flatheads.
B. Tut-sec'-wâs.
C Flathead Indians.
D. *
E. F. G. H.
I. On the west side of a large river, lying west of the Rocky mountains, and running north, supposed to be the south fork of the Columbia river.
J. No trader.
K. L. M. N.
O. See above, O.
P.
Q. Defensive war with the Minetares.
R.
S. The information I possess with respect to these people has been received from the Minetares, who have extended their war excursions as far westerly as that nation, of whom

they have made several prisoners, and brought them with them to their villages on the Missouri: these prisoners have been seen by the Frenchmen residing in this neighbourhood. The Minetares state, that this nation resides in one village on the west side of a large and rapid river, which runs from south to north, along the foot of the Rocky mountains on their west side; and that this river passes at a small distance from the three forks of the Missouri. That the country between the mountains and the river is broken, but on the opposite side of the river it is an extensive open plain, with a number of barren sandy hills, irregularly distributed over its surface as far as the eye can reach. They are a timid, inoffensive, and defenceless people. They are said to possess an abundance of horses.

A. ALIATANS.

	B.	C.	D.	E.	F.	G.	H.	I.
Snake Indians.	So-so-na'. So-so-bâ, & I'â-kâr.	Gens des Serpent.	* Aliatan.					Among the Rockymountains, on the heads ofthe Missouri, Yellow Stone, and Platte rivers.
Of the West.	A-lí-a-tân.	Aliatá.	Aliatan.					Among the Rockymountains, and in the plains at the heads of the Platte and Arkansas rivers.
La Plays.		La Plays.	Aliatan.			Very numerous.		The mountains on the borders of New Mexico, and the extensive plains atthe heads of the Arkansas and Red rivers.

CONTINUED.

		J.	K.	L.	M.	N.	O.
A. ALIATANS.	Snake Indians.	With the Spaniards of New Mexico.	The place at which this trade is carried on is not known.				The same with the Fall, Cattanahaws and Black Foot Indians, except buffaloes; but they have in addition immense quantities of horses, mules and asses.
	Of the West.						Immense quantities of horses, mules, asses, buffaloe, deer, elk, black bear, and large hares; and in the northern regions of their country, big horn and Missouri antelopes, with many animals of the fur kind.
	La Plays.						

CONTINUED.

		P.	Q.	R.
A. ALIATANS.	Snake Indians.	At or near the Falls of the Missouri.	Defensive war with the Ricaras, Sioux, Assinniboins, Christenoes, Minetares, Ahwahharways, and all the nations inhabiting the Saskashawan river.	Mandans and Crow Indians, and all those who do not attack them.
	Of the West.	On the Arkansas, as high up as possible. It would be best that it should be west of the Kansas, if it should be necessary even to supply it some distance by land	Defensive war with the Great and Little Osages, Pamapique, Kansas, Pania Proper, Pania Republican, Pania Loups, Ricaras, and Sioux.	At peace with all who do not wage war against them.
	La Plays.			

S. ALIATANS, *Snake Indians.* These are a very numerous and well disposed people, inhabiting a woody and mountainous country; they are divided into three large tribes, who wander a considerable distance from each other; and are called by themselves So-so-na, So-so'bu-bar, and I-a-kar; these are again subdivided into smaller though independent bands, the names of which I have not yet learnt; they raise a number of horses and mules which they trade with the Crow Indians, or are stolen by the nations on the east of them. They maintain a partial trade with the Spaniards, from whom they obtain many articles of cloathing and ironmongery, but no warlike implements.

Of the West. These people also inhabit a mountainous country, and sometimes venture in the plains east of the Rocky mountains, about the head of the Arkansas river. They have more intercourse with the Spaniards of New Mexico, than the Snake Indians. They are said to be very numerous and warlike, but are badly armed. The Spaniards fear these people, and therefore take the precaution not to furnish them with any warlike implements. In their present unarmed state, they frequently commit hostilities on the Spaniards. They raise a great many horses.

La Playes. These principally inhabit the rich plains from the head of the Arkansas, embracing the heads of Red river, and extending with the mountains and high lands eastwardly as far as it is known towards the gulph of Mexico. They possess no fire arms, but are warlike and brave. They are, as well as the other Aliatans, a wandering people. Their country abounds in wild horses, besides great numbers which they raise themselves. These people, and the West Aliatans, might be induced to trade with us on the upper part of the Arkansas river. I do not believe that any of the Aliatans claim a country within any particular limits.

A. Pania Piqûe'.
B.
C. La Paunee Piqûe'.
D. Panai Proper.
E. F. G. H. I. J. K. L.
M. N. O. P. Q. R.

These people have no intercourse with the inhabitants of the Illinois; the information, therefore, which I have been enabled to obtain, with respect to them, is very imperfect. They were formerly known by the name of the *White* Panias, and are of the same family with the Panias of the

river Platte. The are said to be a well disposed people, and inhabit a very fertile country; certain it is that they enjoy a delightful climate.

A. Padacus.
B.
C. La. Paddo.
D. *
E. F. G H. I. J. K. L.
M. N. O. P. Q. R.
S. This once powerful nation has, apparently, entirely disappeared; every inquiry I have made after them has proved ineffectual. In the year 1724, they resided in several villages on the heads of the Kansas river, and could, at that time, bring upwards of two thousand men into the field (see Mons. Dupratz history of Louisiania, page 71, and the map attached to that work). The information that I have received is, that being oppressed by the nations residing on the Missouri, they removed to the upper part of the river Platte, where they afterwards had but little intercourse with the whites. They seem to have given name to the northern branch of that river, which is still called the Paducas fork. The most probable conjecture is, that being still further reduced, they have divided into small wandering bands, which assumed the names of the subdivisions of the Paducas nation, and are known to us at present under the appellation of Wetepahatoes, Kiawas, Kanenavish, Katteka, Dotame, &c. who still inhabit the country to which the Paducas are said to have removed. The majority of my information led me to believe that those people spoke different languages, but other and subsequent information has induced me to doubt the fact.

HISTORICAL SKETCHES

OF THE SEVERAL

INDIAN TRIBES IN LOUISIANA,

SOUTH OF

THE ARKANSA RIVER,

AND BETWEEN

THE MISSISSIPPI AND RIVER GRAND.

CADDOQUES, live about 35 miles west of the main branch of Red river, on a bayau or creek, called by them Sodo, which is navigable for peroques only within about six miles of their village, and that only in the rainy season. They are distant from Natchitoches about 120 miles, the nearest route by land, and in nearly a north-west direction. They have lived where they now do only five years. The first year they moved there the small pox got amongst them and destroyed nearly one half of them; it was in the winter season, and they practised plunging into the creek on the first appearance of the eruption, and died in a few hours. Two years ago they had the measles, of which several more of them died. They formerly lived on the south bank of the river, by the course of the river 375 miles higher up, at a beautiful prairie, which has a clear lake of good water in the middle of it, surrounded by a pleasant and fertile country, which had been the residence of their ancestors from time immemorial.

They have a traditionary tale which not only the Caddos, but half a dozen other smaller nations believe in, who claim the honour of being descendants of the same family: they say, when all the world was drowned by a flood that inundated the whole country, the great spirit placed on an eminence, near this lake, one family of Caddoques, who alone were saved; from that family all the Indians originated.

The French, for many years before Louisiana was transferred to Spain, had, at this place, a fort and some soldiers; several French families were likewise settled in the vicinity, where they had erected a good flour mill with burr stones brought from France. These French families continued there till about 25 years ago, when they moved down and settled at Campti, on the Red river, about 20 miles above Natchitoches, where they now

live; and the Indians left it about 14 years ago, on account of a dreadful sickness that visited them. They settled on the river nearly opposite where they now live, on a low place, but were driven thence on account of its overflowing, occasioned by a jam of timber choaking the river at a point below them.

The whole number of what they call warriors of the ancient Caddo nation, is now reduced to about 100, who are looked upon somewhat like knights of Malta, or some distinguished military order. They are brave, despise danger or death, and boast that they have never shed white man's blood. Besides these, there are of old men and strangers who live amongst them, nearly the same number, but there are 40 or 50 more women than men. This nation has great influence over the Yattassees, Nandakoes, Nabadaches, Inies or Yachies, Nagogdoches. Keychies, Adaize and Natchitoches, who all speak the Caddo language, look up to them as their fathers, visit and intermarry among them, and join them in all their wars.

The Caddoques complain of the Choctaws incroaching upon their country; call them lazy, thievish, &c. There has been a misunderstanding between them for several years, and small hunting parties kill one another when they meet.

The Caddos raise corn, beans, pumpkins, &c.; but the land on which they now live is prairie, of a white clay soil, very flat: their crops are subject to injury either by too wet or too dry a season. They have horses, but few of any other domestic animal, except dogs: most of them have guns, and some have rifles: they, and all other Indians that we have any knowledge of, are at war with the Osages.

The country, generally, round the Caddos is hilly, not very rich; growth a mixture of oak, hickory, and pine, interspersed with prairies, which are very rich generally, and fit for cultivation. There are creeks and springs of good water frequent.

YATTASSEES, live on Bayau Pierre (or Stony creek), which falls into Red river, western division, about 50 miles above Natchitoches. Their village is in a large prairie, about half way between the Caddoques and Natchitoches, surrounded by a settlement of French families. The Spanish government at present exercise jurisdiction over this settlement, where they keep a guard of a non-commissioned officer and eight soldiers.

A few months ago, the Caddo chief, with a few of his young men, were coming to this place to trade, and came that way which is the usual road. The Spanish officer of the guard threatened to stop them from trading with the Americans, and

told the chief if he returned that way with the goods he should take them from him. The chief and his party were very angry, and threatened to kill the whole guard, and told them that that road had been always theirs, and that if the Spaniards attempted to prevent their using it as their ancestors had always done, he would soon make it a bloody road. He came here, purchased the goods he wanted, and might have returned another way and avoided the Spanish guard, and was advised to do so; but he said he would pass by them, and let them attempt to stop him if they dared. The guard said nothing to him as he returned.

This settlement, till some few years ago, used to belong to the district of Natchitoches, and the rights to their lands given by the government of Louisiana, before it was ceded to Spain. Its now being under the government of Taxus, was only an agreement between the commandant of Natchitoches and the commandant of Nagogdoches. The French formerly had a station and factory there, and another on the *Sabine* river, nearly one hundred miles north-west from the Bayau Pierre settlement. The Yattassees now say the French used to be their people, and now the Americans.

But of the ancient Yattassees there are but eight men remaining, and twenty-five women, besides children; but a number of men of other nations have intermarried with them and live together. I paid a visit at their village last summer; there were about forty men of them all together: their original language differs from any other, but now all speak Caddo. They live on rich land, raise plenty of corn, beans, pumpkins, tobacco, &c.; have horses, cattle, hogs and poultry.

NANDAKOES, live on the Sabine river, 60 or 70 miles to the westward of the Yattassees, near where the French formerly had a station and factory. Their language is Caddo, about 40 men only of them remaining. A few years ago they suffered very much by the small pox. They consider themselves the same as Caddos, with whom they intermarry, and are, occasionally, visiting one another in the greatest harmony: have the same manners, customs, and attachments.

ADAIZE, live about 40 miles from Natchitoches, below the Yattassees, on a lake called Lac Macdon, which communicates with the division of Red river that passes by Bayau Pierre. They live at or near where their ancestors have lived from time immemorial. They being the nearest nation to the old Spanish fort, or Mission of Adaize, that place was named after them, being about 20 miles from them, to the south. There are now but 20 men of them remaining, but more women. Their language differs from all other, and is so difficult to speak or under-

stand, that no nation can speak ten words of it; but they all speak Caddo, and most of them French, to whom they were always attached, and joined them against the Natchez Indians. After the massacre of Natchez, in 1798, while the Spaniards occupied the post of Adaize, their priests took much pains to proselyte these Indians to the Roman Catholic religion, but, I am informed, were totally unsuccessful.

ALICHE (commonly pronounced Eyeish), live near Nacogdoches, but are almost extinct, as a nation, not more than 25 souls of them remaining: four years ago the small pox destroyed the greater part of them. They were, some years ago, a considerable nation, and lived on a bayau which bears their name, which the road from Natchitoch to Nacogdoches crosses, about 12 miles west of Sabine river, on which a few French and American families are settled. Their native language is spoken by no other nation, but they speak and understand Caddo, with whom they are in amity, often visiting one another.

KEYES, or KEYCHIES, live on the east bank of Trinity river, a small distance above where the road from Natchitoches to St. Antoine crosses it. There are of them 60 men: have their peculiar native language, but mostly now speak Caddo; intermarry with them, and live together in much harmony, formerly having lived near them, on the head waters of the Sabine. They plant corn and some other vegetables.

INIES, or TACHIES (called indifferently by both names). From the latter name the name of the province of Tachus or Taxus is derived. The Inies live about 25 miles west of Natchitoches, on a small river a branch of Sabine, called the Naches. They are like all their neighbours, diminishing; but have now 80 men. Their ancestors, for a long time, lived where they now do. Their language the same as that of the Caddos, with whom they are in great amity. These Indians have a good character, live on excellent land, and raise corn to sell.

NABEDACHES, live on the west side of the same river, about fifteen miles above them; have about the same number of men; speak the same language; live on the best of land; raise corn in plenty; have the same manners, customs and attachments.

BEDIES, are on the Trinity river, about 60 miles to the southward of Nacogdoches; have 100 men; are good hunters for deer, which are very large and plenty about them; plant, and make good crops of corn; language differs from all other, but speak Caddo; are a peaceable, quiet people, and have an excellent character for their honesty and punctuality.

ACCOKESAWS. Their ancient town and principal place

of residence is on the west side of Colerado or Rio Rouge, about 200 miles south-west of Nacogdoches, but often change their place of residence for a season; being near the bay, make great use of fish, oysters, &c. kill a great many deer, which are the largest and fattest in the province; and their country is universally said to be inferior to no part of the province in soil, growth of timber, goodness of water, and beauty of surface; have a language peculiar to themselves, but have a mode of communication by dumb signs, which they all understand; number about 80 men. Thirty or forty years ago the Spaniards had a mission here, but broke it up, or moved it to Nacogdoches. They talk of resettling it, and speak in the highest terms of the country.

MAYES, live on a large creek called St. Gabriel, on the bay of St. Bernard, near the mouth of Guadaloupe river: are estimated at 200 men; never at peace with the Spaniards, towards whom they are said to possess a fixed hatred, but profess great friendship for the French, to whom they have been strongly attached since Mons. de Salle landed in their neighbourhood. The place where there is a talk of the Spaniards opening a new port, and making a settlement, is near them; where the party, with the governor of St. Antoine, who were there last fall to examine it, say they found the remains of a French block-house; some of the cannon now at Labahie are said to have been brought from that place, and known by the engravings now to be seen on them.

The French speak highly of these Indians for their extreme kindness and hospitality to all Frenchmen who have been amongst them: have a language of their own, but speak Attakapa, which is the language of their neighbours the Carankouas; they have likewise a way of conversing by signs.

CARANKOUAS, live on an island, or peninsula, in the bay of St. Bernard, in length about ten miles, and five in breadth; the soil is extremely rich and pleasant; on one side of which there is a high bluff, or mountain of coal, which has been on fire for many years, affording always a light at night, and a strong, thick smoke by day, by which vessels are sometimes deceived and lost on the shoaly coast, which shoals are said to extend nearly out of sight of land. From this burning coal there is emitted a gummy substance the Spaniards call *cheta*, which is thrown on the shore by the surf, and collected by them in consi-
-rable quantities, which they are fond of chewing; it has the
de- -rance and consistence of pitch, of a strong, aromatic, and
appea- -eeable smell. These Indians are irreconcileable ene-
not disag- Spaniards, always at war with them, and kill them
mies to the -an. The Spaniards call them cannibals, but the
whenever they c-

French give them a different character, who have always been treated kindly by them since Mons. de Salle and his party were in the neighbourhood. They are said to be 500 men strong, but I have not been able to estimate their numbers from any very accurate information; in a short time expect to be well informed. They speak the Atfakapa language; are friendly and kind to all other Indians, and, I presume, are much like all others, notwithstanding what the Spaniards say of them, for nature is every where the same.

Last summer an old Spaniard came to me from Labahie, a journey of about 500 miles, to have a barbed arrow taken out of his shoulder, that one of these Indians had shot in it. I found it under his shoulder-blade, near nine inches, and had to cut a new place to get at the point of it, in order to get it out the contrary way from that in which it had entered: it was made of a piece of an iron hoop, with wings like a fluke and an inche.

CANCES, are a very numerous nation, consisting of a great many different tribes, occupying different parts of the country, from the bay of St. Bernard, cross river Grand, towards La Vera Cruz. They are not friendly to the Spaniards, and generally kill them when they have an opportunity. They are attached to the French; are good hunters, principally using the bow. They are very particular in their dress, which is made of neatly dressed leather; the women wear a long loose robe, resembling that of a Franciscan friar; nothing but their heads and feet are to be seen. The dress of the men is straight leather leggings, resembling pantaloons, and a leather hunting shirt, or frock. No estimate can be made of their number.

Thirty or forty years ago the Spaniards used to make slaves of them when they could take them; a considerable number of them were brought to Natchitoches and sold to the French inhabitants at 40 or 50 dollars a head, and a number of them are still living here, but are now free. About 20 years ago an order came from the king of Spain that no more Indians should be made slaves, and those that were enslaved should be emancipated; after which some of the women who had been servants in good families, and taught spinning, sewing, &c. as well as managing household affairs, married maitiffs of the country, and became respectable, well behaved women, and have now growing up decent families of children: have a language peculiar to themselves, and are understood, by signs, by all others. They are in amity with all other Indians except the Hietans.

TANKAWAYS (or TANKS, as the French call them) have no land, nor claim the exclusive right to any, nor have any particular place of abode, but are always moving, alternately occu-

pying the country watered by the Trinity, Braces and Colerado, towards St. a Fé. Resemble, in their dress, the Cances and Hietans, but all in one horde or tribe. Their number of men is estimated at about 200; are good hunters; kill buffaloe and deer with the bow; have the best breed of horses; are alternately friends and enemies of the Spaniards. An old trader lately informed me that he had received 5000 deer skins from them in one year, exclusive of tallow, rugs and tongues. They plant nothing but live upon wild fruits and flesh: are strong, athletic people, and excellent horsemen.

TAWAKENOES, or THREE CANES. They are called by both names indifferently; live on the west side of the Braces, but are often, for some months at a time, lower down than their usual place of residence, in the great prairie at the Tortuga, or Turtle, called so from its being a hill in the prairie, which, at a distance, appears in the form of a turtle, upon which there are some remarkable springs of water. Their usual residence is about 200 miles to the westward of Nacogdoches, towards St. a Fé. They are estimated at 200 men: are good hunters; have guns, but hunt principally with the bow: are supplied with goods from Nacogdoches, and pay for them in rugs, tongues, tallow and skins. They speak the same language of the Panis, or Towiaches, and pretend to have descended from the same ancestors.

PANIS, or TOWIACHES. The French call them Panis, and the Spaniards Towiaches; the latter is the proper Indian name. They live on the south bank of Red river; by the course of the river upwards of 800 miles above Natchitoches, and by land, by the nearest path, is estimated at about 340. They have two towns near together: the lower town, where the chief lives, is called Nitcheta, and the other is called Towaahach. They call their present chief the Great Bear. They are at war with the Spaniards, but friendly to those French and American hunters who have lately been among them. They are likewise at war with the Osages, as are every other nation. For many hundreds of miles round them, the country is rich prairie, covered with luxuriant grass, which is green summer and winter, with skirts of wood on the river bank, by the springs and creeks.

They have many horses and mules. They raise more corn, pumpkins, beans and tobacco, than they want for their own consumption; the surplusage they exchange with the Hietans for buffaloe, rugs, horses and mules: the pumpkins they cut round in their shreads, and when it is in a state of dryness that it is so tough it will not break, but bend, they plait and work it into large mats, in which state they sell it to the Hietans, who, as they travel, cut off and eat it as they want it. Their tobacco

season of the year when the able planters are occupied at home, and would make no use of the river were there no obstructions in it; but at any rate, the navigation of the river is clear a longer proportion of the year than the rivers in the northern countries are clear of ice. But this obstruction is certainly removable, at a very trifling expense, in comparison to the importance of having it done; and nothing but the nature of the government we have lately emerged from, can be assigned as a reason for its not having been effected long ago.

After passing the Rapides there are very few settlements to be seen, on the main river, for about 20 miles, though both sides appeared to me capable of making as valuable settlements as any on the river; we arrive then at the Indian villages, on both sides, situate exceedingly pleasant, and on the best lands; after passing which you arrive at a large, beautiful plantation of Mr. Gillard; the house is on a point of a high pine woods bluff, close to the river, 60 or 70 feet above the common surface of the country, overlookiug, on the east, or opposite side, very extensive fields of low grounds, in high cultivation, and a long reach of the river, up and down; and there is an excellent spring of water issues from the bluff, on which the house is situated, from an aperture in the rock that seems to have been cloven on purpose for it to flow; and a small distance, back of the house, there is a lake of clear water, abounding with fish in summer and fowl in winter. I have seen in all my life, very few more beautiful or advantageously situated places.

Six miles above Gillard's you arrive at the small village of Boluxa Indians, where the river is divided into two channels, forming an island of about fifty miles in length, and three or four in breadth. The right hand division is called the Rigula de Bondieu, on which are no settlements; but, I am informed, will admit of being well settled; the left hand division is the boat channel, at present, to Natchitoches: the other is likewise boatable. Ascending the left hand branch for about 24 miles, we pass a thick settlement and a number of wealthy inhabitants. This is called the *River Cane* settlement; called so, I believe, from the banks some years ago, being a remarkable thick canebrake.

After passing this settlement of about forty families, the river divides again, forming another island of about thirty miles in length, and from two to four in breadth, called the *Isle Brevel*, after a reputable old man now living in it, who first settled it. This island is sub-divided by a bayau that communicates from one river to the other, called also Bayau Brevel. The middle division of the river, is called *Little* river, and it is thickly settled, and is the boat channel: the westward division of the river

is called False river, is navigable, but not settled, the banks are too low; it passes through a lake called *Lac Occassa*. When you arrive at Natchitoches, you find it a small, irregular, and meanly built village, half a dozen houses excepted, on the west side of that division of the river it is on, the high pine and oak woods approach within two or three hundred yards of the river. In the village are about forty families, twelve or fifteen merchants or traders, nearly all French. The fort built by our troops since their arrival, called fort Claiborne, is situated on a small hill, one street from the river, and about thirty feet higher than the river banks. All the hill is occupied by the fort and barracks, and does not exceed two acres of ground. The southern and eastern prospects from it are very beautiful. One has an extensive view of the fields and habitations down the river, and the other a similar view over the river, and of the whole village. This town thirty or forty years ago, was much larger than at present, and situated on a hill about half a mile from its present site. Then most of the families of the district lived in the town, but finding it convenient on account of the stocks and farms, they filed off, one after another, and settled up and down the river. The merchants and trading people found being on the bank of the river more convenient for loading and unloading their boats, left the hill on that account: and others, finding the river ground much superior for gardens, to which they are in the habit of paying great attention, followed the merchants; after them the priests and commandant; then the church and jail (or calleboose), and now nothing of the old town is left, but the form of their gardens and some ornamental trees. It is now a very extensive common of several hundred acres, entirely tufted with clover and covered with sheep and cattle. The hill is a stiff clay, and used to make miry streets; the river soil, though much richer, is of a loose, sandy, texture; the streets are neither miry nor very dusty. Our wells do not afford us good water, and the river water, in summer, is too brackish to drink, and never clear. Our springs are about half a mile back from the river, but the inhabitants, many of them, have large cisterns, and use, principally, rain water, which is preferred to the spring water. The planters along on the river generally use rain water; though when the river is high, and the water taken up and settled in large earthen jars, (which the Indian women make of good quality and at a moderate price), it can be drank tolerably well, but it makes bad tea.

Near Natchitoches there are two large lakes, one within a mile, the other six miles to the nearest parts. One of them is fifty or sixty miles in circumference, the other upwards of thirty: these lakes rise and fall with the river. When the river

is rising the bayaus that connect with the lakes, run into the lakes like a mill-tale, till the lakes are filled; and when the river is falling, it is the same the contrary way, just like the tide, but only annual. On these creeks good mills might be erected, but the present inhabitants know nothing of mills by water, yet have excellent cotton gins worked by horses. I do not know a single mechanic in the district, who is a native of it, one tailor excepted. Every thing of the kind is done by strangers, and mostly Americans. Though Natchitoches has been settled almost one hundred years, it is not more than twelve or fifteen years since they ever had a plow, or a flat to cross the river with; both which were introduced by an Irish Pennsylvanian, under a similar opposition to the Copernican system. 'Tis almost incredible the quantity of fish and fowl these lakes supply. It is not uncommon in winter for a single man to kill from two to four hundred fowl in one evening; they fly between sundown and dark; the air is filled with them; they load and fire as fast as they can, without taking any particular aim, continuing at the same stand till they think they have killed enough, and then pick up what they have killed; they consist of several kinds of duck, geese, brant, and swan. In summer, the quantities of fish are nearly in proportion. One Indian will, with a bow and arrow, sometimes kill them faster than another, with two horses, can bring them in; they weigh, some of them, thirty or forty pounds. The lakes likewise afford plenty of shells for lime; and at low water, the greater of them is a most luxuriant meadow, where the inhabitants fatten their horses. All round these lakes above high water mark, there is a border of rich land, generally wide enough for a field. On the bank of one of them, there is plenty of stone coal, and several quarries of tolerable good building stone; at high water boats can go out of the river into them. Similar lakes are found all along Red river, for five or six hundred miles, which, besides the uses already mentioned, nature seems to have provided as reservoirs for the immense quantity of water beyond what the banks of the river will contain; otherwise no part of them could be inhabited: the low grounds, from hill to hill, would be inundated. About twelve miles north of Natchitoches, on the north-east side of the river, there is a large lake called *Lac Noiz;* the bayau of it communicates to the Rigula de Bondieu, opposite Natchitoch, which is boatable the greater part of the year. Near this lake are the salt works, from which all the salt that is used in the district, is made; and which is made with so much ease, that two old men, both of them cripples, with ten or twelve old pots and kettles, have, for several years past, made an abundant supply of salt for the whole district: they inform me they make six bushels per day.

I have not been at the place, but have a bottle of the water brought to me, which I found nearly saturated. The salt is good. I never had better bacon than I make with it. I am informed, there are twelve saline springs now open; and by digging for them, for aught any one knows, twelve hundred might be opened. A few months ago, captain Burnet, of the Mississippi territory, coming to this place by Washita, came by the salt works, and purchased the right of one of the old men he found there, and has lately sent up a boat, with some large kettles and some negroes, under the direction of his son; and expects, when they get all in order, to be able to make thirty or forty bushels a day. Captain Burnet is of opinion, that he shall be able to supply the Mississippi territory, and the settlements on Mississippi, from point Coupee, upwards, lower than they can get it in New Orleans and bring it up. Cathartic salts, and magnesia, might likewise be made in large quantities, if they understood it. The country all round the Sabine and Black lake is vacant, and from thence to Washita, a distance of about one hundred and twenty miles, which I am informed affords considerable quantities of well timbered good uplands, and well watered. There is a small stream we cross on the Washita road, the English call it *Little river*, the French *Dogdimona*, affording a wide rich bottom: this stream falls into the Acatahola lake; from thence to Washita, it is called Acatahola river; its course is eastwardly, and falls into Washita, near the mouth of Tensaw, where the road from Natchitoches to Natchez, crosses it: from the confluence of these three rivers, downwards, it is called Black river, which falls into Red river, sixty miles below. There is a good salt spring near the Acatahola lake.

Ascending Red river, above Natchitoches, in about three miles arrive at the upper mouth of the Rigula de Bondieu: there are settlements all along; plantations adjoining. From the upper mouth of the Rigula de Bondieu, the river is one channel through the settlement called Grand Ecore, of about six miles; it is called Grand Ecore, (or in English the Great Bluff) being such a one on the left hand side, near one hundred feet high. The face next the river, almost perpendicular, of a soft, white rock; the top, a gravel loam, of considerable extent, on which grow large oaks, hickory, black cherry, and grape vines. At the bottom of one of these bluffs, for there are two near each other, is a large quantity of stone-coal, and near them several springs of the best water in this part of the country; and a lake of clear water within two hundred yards, bounded by a gravelly margin. I pretend to have no knowledge of military tactics, but think, from the river in this place being all in one channel,

the goodness of the water, a high, healthy country, and well timbered all round it, no height near it so high, its commanding the river, and a very public ferry just under it, and at a small expense, would be capable of great defence with a small force. The road from it to the westward, better than from Natchitoch, and by land only about five miles above it, and near it plenty of good building stone. These advantages it possesses beyond any other place within my knowledge on the river, for a strong fort, and safe place of deposit. Just about this bluff the river makes a large bend to the right, and a long reach nearly due east and west by it: the bluff overlooks, on the opposite side, several handsome plantations. I have been induced, from the advantages this place appeared to me to possess, to purchase it, with four or five small settlements adjoining, including both bluffs, the ferry, springs and lake, the stone quarries, and coal; and a field of about five hundred acres of the best low grounds, on the opposite side. After leaving Grand Ecore, about a mile, on the left side comes in a large bayau, from the Spanish lake, as it is called, boatable the greater part of the year. This lake is said to be about fifty miles in circumference, and rises and falls with the river, into which, from the river, the largest boats may ascend, and from it, up the mouths of several large bayaus that fall into it, for some distance, one in particular called bayau Dupong, up which boats may ascend within one and a half mile of old fort Adaize. Leaving this bayau about two miles, arrive at a fort or division of the river; the left hand branch bears weswardly for sixty or eighty miles; then eastwardly, meeting the branch it left, after forming an island of about one hundred miles long, and, in some places, nearly thirty miles wide. Six or seven years ago, boats used to pass this way into the main river again; its communication with which being above the great raft or obstruction; but it is now choaked, and requires a portage of three miles; but at any season, boats can go from Natchitoches, about eighty miles, to the place called the point, where the French had a factory, and a small station of soldiers to guard the Indian trade, and is now undoubtedly a very eligible situation for a similar establishment. The country bounded to the east and north, by this branch or division of the river, is called the bayau Pierre settlement, which was begun, and some of the lands granted before Louisiana was ceded to Spain by France, and continued under the jurisdiction of the commandant of Natchitoches until about twenty years ago, when, by an agreement between a Mr. Vogone, then commandant of this place, and a Mr. Elibarbe, commandant at Natchitoches, the settlement called Bayau Pierre, was placed under the jurisdiction of the latter, and has so continued ever

since. The settlement, I believe, contains about forty families, and generally they have large stocks of cattle: they supply us with our cheese entirely, and of a tolerable quality, and we get from them some excellent bacon hams. The country is interspersed with prairies, resembling, as to richness, the river bottoms, and, in size, from five to five thousand acres. The hills are a good grey soil, and produce very well, and afford beautiful situations. The creek called Bayau Pierre, (stony creek) passes through the settlement, and affords a number of good mill seats, and its bed and banks lined with a good kind of building stone, but no mills are erected on it. Some of the inhabitants have tried the uplands in wheat, which succeeded well. They are high, gently rolling, and rich enough; produce good corn, cotton, and tobacco. I was through the settlement in July last, and found good water, either from a spring or well, at every house. The inhabitants are all French, one family excepted. A few miles to the westward, towards Sabine, there is a Saline where the inhabitants go and make their salt. On the whole, for health, good water, good living, plenty of food for every kind of animal, general conveniency, and handsome surface, I have seen few parts of the world more inviting to settlers.

Returning back again to the fork of the main river we left, for the purpose of exploring the Bayau Pierre branch, we find irregular settlements, including Campti, where a few families are settled together on a hill near the river, north east side. For about 20 miles the river land is much the same every where, but the Campti settlement is more broken with bayaus and lagoons than any place I am acquainted with on the river, and for want of about a dozen bridges is inconvenient to get to, or travel through. The upper end of this settlement is the last on the main branch of Red river, which, straight by land, does not exceed 25 miles above Natchitoches. At the upper house the great raft or jam of timber begins; this raft choaks the main channel for upwards of 100 miles, by the course of the river; not one entire jam from the beginning to the end of it, but only at the points, with places of several leagues that are clear. The river is very crooked, and the low grounds are wide and rich, and I am informed, no part of Red river will afford better plantations than along its banks by this raft, which is represented as being so important as to render the country above it of little value for settlements; this opinion is founded entirely upon incorrect information. The first or lowest part of the raft is at a bend or point in the river, just below the upper plantation, at which, on the right side, a large bayau, or divi-

sion of the river, called Bayau Channo, comes in, which is free of any obstructions, and the greater part of the year boats of any size may ascend it, into lake Bistino, through which, to its communication with the lake, is only about three miles; the lake is about 60 miles long, and lays nearly parallel with the river, from the upper end of which it communicates again with the river, by a bayau called *Daichet*, about forty miles above the upper end of the raft; from the lake to the river, through Bayau Daichet, is called nine miles; there is always in this bayau sufficient water for any boat to pass; from thence upwards Red river is free of all obstructions to the mountains. By lake Bistino, and these two bayaus, an island is formed, about 70 miles long, and three or four wide capable of affording settlements inferior to none on the river. From the above account you will perceive, that the only difficulty in opening a boat passage by this raft, through the lake, which is much shorter than by the course of the river, and avoid the current, and indeed, was the river unobstructed, would always be preferred, is this small jam of timber at the point, just below the bayau Channo, as it is called.

After the receipt of your letter I had an opportunity of seeing some of the inhabitants who live near this place, who informed me, that that small raft was easily broken, and that they had lately been talking of doing it. I persuaded them to make the attempt, and they accordingly appointed the Friday following; and all the neighbours were to be invited to attend and assist. They met accordingly, and effected a passage next to one bank of the river, so that boats could pass, but did not entirely break it; they intend to take another spell at it, when the water falls a little, and speak confidently of succeeding.

The country about the head of lake Bistino, is highly spoken of, as well the high lands, as the river bottom. There are falling into the river and lake in the vicinity, some handsome streams of clear wholesome water from towards Washita, one in particular called bayau Badkah by the Indians, which is boatable at some seasons; this bayau passes through a long, narrow, and rich prairie, on which my informant says, 500 families might be desirably settled; and from thence up to where the Caddos lately lived, the river banks are high, bottoms wide and rich as any other part of the river. From thence it is much the same to the mouth of the Little river of the left; this river is generally from 50 to an 100 yards wide; heads in the great prairies, south of Red river, and interlocks with the head branches of the Sabine and Trinity rivers; and in times of high water is boatable 40 or 50 leagues, affording a large body of excellent, well timbered and rich land, the low grounds from 3 to 6 miles

wide; but the quality of the water, though clear, is very inferior to that of the streams that fall into Red river on the north side. The general course of the Red river from this upwards is nearly from west to east, till we arrive at the Panis towns, when it turns north westwardly. After leaving the mouth of the Little river of the left, both banks are covered with strong thick cane for about 20 miles; the low grounds very wide, rich and do not overflow; the river widening in proportion as the banks are less liable to overflow; you arrive at a handsome, rich prairie, 25 miles long on the right side, and 4 or 5 miles wide; bounded by handsome oak and hickory woods, mixed with some short leaved pine, interpersed with pleasant streams and fountains of water. The opposite, or left side is a continuation of thick cane; the river or low lands 10 or 12 miles wide. After leaving the prairie, the cane continues for about 40 miles; you then arrive at another prairie, called Little prairie, left side, about 5 miles in length, and from 2 to in 3 breadth; opposite side continues cane as before; low lands wide, well timbered, very rich, and overflow but little; the river still widening. Back of the low grounds, is a well timbered, rich upland country; gently rolling and well watered; from the Little prairie, both banks cane for 10 or 12 miles, when the oak and pine woods come bluff to the river for about 5 miles; left hand side, cane as before; then the same on both sides, for from 10 to 20 miles wide, for about 15 miles, when the cedar begins on both sides, and is the principal growth on the wide, rich river bottom for 40 miles; in all the world there is scarcely to be found a more beautiful growth of cedar timber; they, like the cedars of Libanus, are large, lofty and straight.

You now arrive at the mouth of the Little river of the right; this river is about 150 yards wide; the water clear as crystal; the bottom of the river stony, and is boatable, at high water, up to the great prairies near 200 miles by the course of the river; the low grounds generally from 10 to 15 miles wide, abounding with the most luxuriant growth of rich timber, but subject to partial indundation at particular rainy seasons. After leaving this river, both banks of Red river are cane as before, for about 20 miles, when you come to the round prairie, right side, about 5 miles in circumference. At this place Red river is fordable at low water; a hard stony bottom, and is the first place from its mouth where it can be forded. This round prairie is high and pleasant; surrounded by handsome oak and hickory uplands; left side cane as before, and then the same both sides for 20 miles, to the long prairie, left side, 40 miles long; opposite side cane as before; near the middle of this prairie, there is a lake of about 5 miles in circumference, in an oval

form, neither tree nor shrub near it, nor stream of water running either in or out of it; it is very deep, and the water so limpid that a fish may be seen 15 feet from the surface. By the side of this lake the Caddoquies have lived from time immemorial. About one mile from the lake is the hill on which, they say, the Great Spirit placed one Caddo family, who were saved when, by a general deluge, all the world were drowned; from which family all the Indians have originated. For this little natural eminence all the Indian tribes, as well as the Caddoquies, for a great distance, pay a devout and sacred homage. Here the French, for many years before Louisiana was ceded to Spain, had erected a small fort, kept some soldiers to guard a factory they had here established for the Indian trade, and several French families were settled in the vicinity, built a flour mill, and cultivated wheat successfully for several years; and it is only a few years ago that the mill irons and mill stones were brought down, it is about 25 years since those French families moved down, and 14 years since the Caddoquies left it. Here is another fording place when the river is low. On the opposite side a point of high oak, hickory, and pine land comes bluff to the river for about a mile, after which, thick cane to the upper end of the prairie, then the same on both sides for about 12 miles, then prairie on the left side for 20 miles, opposite side cane, then the same for 30 miles, then an oak high bluff three miles, cane again for about the same distance, on both sides, then for about one league, left side, is a beautiful grove of pecans, intermixed with no other growth, after which, cane both sides for 40 miles, then prairie, left side, for 20 miles, and from one to two miles only in depth, about the middle of which comes in a bayau of clear running water, about 50 feet wide, then cane again both sides of the river for about 40 miles, then, on the right side, a point of high pine woods bluff to the river for about half a mile, cane again 15 or 16 miles, then a bluff of large white rocks for about half a mile, near 100 feet high, cane again about 45 miles, to a prairie on the right side, of about [illegible]0 miles long, and 12 or 15 miles wide, there is a thin skirt of wood along the bank of the river, that when the leaves are on the trees, the prairie is, from the river, scarcely to be seen. From the upper end of this prairie it is thick cane again for about six miles, when we arrive to the mouth of Bayau Galle, which is on the right side, about thirty yards wide, a beautiful, clear, running stream of wholesome well tasted water, after passing which it is thick cane again for 25 miles, when we arrive at a river that falls in on the right side, which is called by the Indians *Kiomitchie*, and by the French *La Riviere la Mine*, or Mine river, which is

about 160 yards wide, the water clear and good, and is boatable about 60 miles to the silver mine, which is on the bank of the river, and the ore appears in large quantities, but the richness of it is not known. The Indians inform of their discovering another, about a year ago, on a creek that empties into the Kiomitchie, about three miles from its mouth, the ore of which they say resembles the other. The bottom land of this river is not wide, but rich; the adjoining high lands are rich, well timbered, well watered and situated. About the mine the current of the river is too strong for boats to ascend it, the country being hilly. After passing the Kiomitchie, both banks of the river are covered with thick cane for 25 miles, then, left side, a high pine bluff appears again to the river for about half a mile, after which nothing but cane again on each side for about 40 miles, which brings you to the mouth of a handsome bayau, left side, called by the Indians *Nahaucha*, which, in English, means the Kick; the French call it *Bois d' Arc*, or Bow-wood creek, from the large quantity of that wood that grows upon it. On this bayau trappers have been more successful in catching beaver than on any other water of Red river; it communicates with a lake, three or four miles from its mouth, called Swan lake, from the great number of swan that frequent it; it is believed that this bayau is boatable at high water, for 20 or 30 leagues, from what I have been informed by some hunters with whom I have conversed, who have been upon it. The low grounds are from three to six miles wide, very rich, the principal growth on it is the bois d'arc. The great prairies approach pretty near the low grounds on each side of this creek; leaving which it is cane both sides for about eight miles, when we arrive at the mouth of the Vazzures, or Boggy river, which is about 200 yards wide, soft miry bottom, the water whitish, but well tasted. Attempts have been made to ascend it in perogues, but it was found to be obstructed by a raft of logs, about 20 miles up it. The current was found to be gentle, and depth of water sufficient; was the channel not obstructed might be ascended far up it. The low grounds on this river are not as wide as on most of the rivers that fall into Red river, but very rich; the high lands are a strong clay soil; the principal growth oak. After leaving this river the banks of Red river are alternately cane and prairie; the timber is very small and scattered along only in places; it is only now to be seen along the water courses. From the Boggy river to the Blue river is about 50 miles, which comes in on the right side. The water of this river is called *blue*, from its extreme transparency; it is said to be well tasted, and admired, for its quality, to drink. The bed of this river is lined generally with black and greyish flint stones;

it is about 50 yards wide, and represented as a beautiful stream; perogues ascend it about 60 or 70 miles. The low grounds of Blue river are a good width for plantations, very rich; the growth pacan, and every species of the walnut. The whole country here, except on the margin of the water courses, is one immense prairie. After passing this river copses of wood only are to be seen here and there along the river bank for 25 miles, to a small turgid river, called by the Indians *Bahachaha*, and by the French *Fauxoachita*, or False oachito; some call it the Missouri branch of Red river; it emits a considerable quantity of water; runs from north to south, and falls into Red river nearly at right angles, and heads near the head of the Arkensa, and is so brackish it cannot be drank. On this river, and on a branch of the Arkensa, not far from it, the Indians find the salt rock; pieces of it have often been brought to Natchitoches by hunters, who procured it from the Indians From the mouth of this river, through the prairie, to the main branch of the Arkensa, is three days journey; perhaps 60 or 70 miles in a straight line. From this to the Panis, or Towrache towns, by land, is about 30 miles, and by water, double that distance; the river is nearly a mile wide. The country on each side, for many hundreds of miles, is all prairie, except a skirt of wood along the river bank, and on the smaller streams; what trees there are, are small; the grass is green summer and winter. In between 33 and 34 degrees of north latitude, the soil is very rich, producing, luxuriously, every thing that is planted in it: the river, from this upwards, for 150 miles, continues at least a mile wide, and may be ascended in perogues.

Mr. Grappe, to whom I am indebted for the foregoing accurate description of Red river, informed me, that his personal knowledge of it did not extend but little above the Panis towns; but Mr. Brevel, of the Isle Brevel, who was born at the Caddo old towns, where he was, had been farther up it, and that whatever account he gave me might be relied on.

I therefore sought an opportunity, a few days after, to obtain from Mr. Brevel the following narrative, which I wrote down from his own mouth, as he related it:

"About 40 years ago, I set off, on foot, from the Panis nation (who then lived about 50 leagues above where they now live), in company with a party of young Indian men, with whom I had been partly raised, on a hunting voyage, and to procure horses. We kept up on the south side of Red river, as near it as we could conveniently cross the small streams that fall in, sometimes at some distance, and at others very near it, and in sight of it. We found the country all prairie, except small copses of wood, cedar, cotton wood, or musketo, amongst

which a stick six inches in diameter could not be found; the surface becoming more and more light, sandy and hilly, with ledges of clifts of a greyish sandy rock, but every where covered with herbage. We found many small streams falling into the river, but none of any considerable size, or that discharged much water in dry seasons, but many deep gullies formed by the rain water. After travelling for several days over a country of this description, the country became more broken, the hills rising into mountains, amongst which we saw a great deal of rock salt, and an ore the Indians said was my (meaning the white people's) treasure, which I afterwards learned was silver. And that amongst these mountains of mines, we often heard a noise like the explosion of a cannon, or distant thunder, which the Indians said was the spirit of the white people working in their treasure, which, I afterwards was informed, was the blowing of the mines, as it is called, which is common in all parts of Spanish America where mines exist. The main branch of the river becoming smaller, till it divided into almost innumerable streams that issued out of the vallies amongst these mountains; the soil very light and sandy, of a reddish grey colour. We travelled on from the top of one mountain to the top of another, in hopes the one we were ascending was always the last, till the small streams we met with ran the contrary way, towards the setting sun, and the lands declining that way. We continued on till the streams enlarged into a river of considerablesize, and the country became level, well timbered, the soil a rich black loam; the waters were all clear and well tasted. Here we found a great many different tribes of the Hietan, Appaches, and Concee Indians; we likewise fell in with them frequently from the time we had been a few days out from the Panis towns, and were always treated kindly by them. I believe the distance from the Panis old towns to where we saw the last of Red river water, is at least one hundred leagues; and in crossing over the ridge, we saw no animals that were not common in all the country of Louisiana, except the spotted tyger, and a few white bears. After spending some days on the western waters, we set off for the settlements of St. a Fé, steering nearly a south-east course, and in a few days were out of the timbered country into prairie; the country became broken and hilly; the waters all running westwardly; the country clothed with a luxuriant herbage, and frequently passing mines of silver ore. We arrived, at length, at a small meanly-built town in the St. a Fé settlement, containing about one hundred houses, round which were some small cultivated fields, fenced round with small cedar and musketo brush, wattled in stakes. This little town was on a small

stream of water that ran westwardly, and in a dry season scarcely run at all; and that the inhabitants were obliged to water their cattle from wells. And I understood that the bayau upon which this town is situated, was no part of Rio Grandi, but fell into the western ocean; but of that I might have been mistaken. I understood that similar small towns, or missions, were within certain distances of each other for a great extent southwardly, towards Mexico; and that the inhabitants were mostly christianised Indians and Mattiffs. That the mines in that settlement afforded very rich ore, which was taken away in large quantities, packed on mules, and had the same appearance of what we met with about the head branches of Red river. After furnishing ourselves with horses at this place, we set off again for the Panis towns, from whence we started, steering at first southwardly, in order to avoid a high mountainous country that is difficult to cross, that lies between St. a Fé and Red river. After travelling some distance south, we turned our course north-eastwardly, and arrived at the Panis towns in eighteen days from the day we left St. a Fe settlements, and three months and twenty days from the time we started."

He is of the opinion, that from the Panis towns to St. a Fé, in a right line, is nearly three hundred miles, and all the country prairie, a few scattering cedar knobs excepted. After he had finished his narrative, I asked him how far Red river was boatable. He said, not much above the Panis old towns; not that he knew of any particular falls or obstructions, but that the head branches of the river came from steep mountains, on which the rain often poured down in torrents, and runs into the river with such velocity, sweeping along with it large quantities of loose earth, of which these hills and mountains are composed: that it rolls like a swell in the sea, and would either sink or carry along with it any boat that it might meet in the river. But, he observed at the same time, that his opinion was founded on no experiment that he had ever known made. I asked him if the Indians had no perogues high up in the river. He told me, that the Indians there knew nothing of the use of them; for, instead of there being for hundreds of miles a tree large enough for a canoe, one could scarcely be found large enough to make a fowl trough. I asked him what animals were found in the Great prairies. He told me, that from Blue river, upwards, on both sides of Red river, there were innumerable quantities of wild horses, buffaloe, bears, wolves, elk, deer, foxes, sangliers or wild hogs, antelope, white hares, rabbits, &c and on the mountains the spotted tyger, panther, and wild cat. He farther told me, that about twenty-three years ago, he was employed by the governor of St. An-

time, to go from that place into some of the Indian nations that lived towards St. a Fé, who were at war with the Spaniards, to try to make a peace with them, and bring in some of the chiefs to St. Antoine. He set off from that place with a party of soldiers, and was to have gone to St. a Fé; they passed on a north-westwardly course for about two hundred miles, but after getting into the Great Prairie, being a dry season, they were forced to turn back for want of water for themselves and horses, and that he does not know how near he went to St. a Fé, but believes he might have been half way.

The accounts given by Mr. Brevel, Mr. Grappe, and all other hunters with whom I have conversed, of the immense droves of animals that, at the beginning of winter, descend from the mountains down southwardly, into the timbered country, is almost incredible. They say the buffaloe and bear particularly are in droves of many thousands together, that blacken the whole surface of the earth, and continue passing, without intermission, for weeks together, so that the whole surface of the country is, for many miles in breadth, trodden like a large road.

I am, sir, &c. &c.

(Signed) JOHN SIBLEY.

Natchitoches, 10th April, 1805.

Distances up Red river by the course of the river.

	Miles.	
From the mouth of Red river to Black river	31	
to Baker's landing, lower end avoyal	51	
La Glee's ditto, upper end avoyal	15	
Rice's	6	
Hoome's	18	
Nicholas Grubb's	21	
mouth of bayau Rapide	15	
	—	157
Indian villages	22	
Mount Pleasant, Gillard's place	7	
mouth of Rigula de Bondieu	6	
Mounete's plantation	10	
mouth of Little river	24	
bayau Brevell	20	
Natchitoches	20	
	—	109
		—
		266

Continued.	MILES.	266
Grand Ecore	10	
Compti	20	
bayau Channo	15	
lake Bistino, through bayau Channo	3	
through lake Bistino to the upper end of Channo	60	
through bayau Daichet to the river again	9	
late Caddo villages where they lived 5 years ago	80	
	—	197
Little river of the left	80	
long prairie, right side	25	
upper end of ditto	25	
little prairie, left side	40	
upper end ditto	5	
	—	175
pine Bluff, right side	12	
upper end ditto	5	
cedars	15	
upper end ditto and mouth of Little river of the right	40	
	—	72
round prairie, right side (first fording place)	20	
lower end of long prairie, left side	25	
upper end ditto	40	
next prairie, same side	12	
upper end of the same	20	
3 mile oak and pine Bluff	30	
Pacan grove	9	
upper end of the same	6	
prairie next above the Pacans	40	
upper end of the same	25	
pine Bluff, right side	45	
white oak Bluff	15	
next prairie, right side	45	
upper end ditto	30	
bayau Galle, right side	6	
mouth of Kiomitchie, or mine river	25	
	—	231
pine Bluff, left side	25	
bayau Kick, or Bois d'arc creek	40	
the Vazzures, or Boggy river, right side	8	
Blue river, right side	50	
Faux Oacheto or Missouri branch	25	
	—	148
		1,251

Continued.		MILES. 1,251
Panis or Towiache towns	70	
Panis or ditto old towns	150	
head branch of Red river, or dividing ridge	300	—520
To which may be added for so much the distance being shortened by going through lake Bistino, than the course of the river . .		60
		1,831
Computed length of Red river from where it fall into the Mississippi, to which add the distance from the mouth of Red river to the ocean, by either the Mississippi, or the Cheffeli, which was once probably the mouth of Red river .		320
Total length of Red river .		*Miles.* 2,151

OBSERVATIONS

Made in a voyage commencing at St. Catharine's landing, on the east bank of the Mississippi, proceeding downwards to the mouth of Red river, and from thence ascending that river, the Black river, and the Washita river, as high as the hot springs in the proximity of the last-mentioned river, extracted from the journals of William Dunbar, Esquire, and Doctor Hunter.

Mr. DUNBAR, Doctor Hunter, and the party employed by the United States to make a survey of, and explore the country traversed by the Washita river, left St. Catharine's landing, on the Mississippi, in latitude 31° 26′ 30″ N. and longitude 6h 5′ 56″ W. from the meridian of Greenwich, on Tuesday the 16th of October, 1804. A little distance below St. Catharine's creek, and five leagues from Natches, they passed the White Cliffs, composed chiefly of sand, surmounted by pine, and from one hundred to two hundred feet high. When the waters of the Mississippi are low, the base of the cliff is uncovered, which consists of different coloured clays, and some beds of ochre, over which there lies, in some places, a thin lamina of iron ore. Small springs possessing a petrifying quality flow over the clay [illegible]d ochre, and numerous logs and pieces of timber, converted [illegible] stone, are strewed about the beach. Fine pure argil, of va[illegible]s colours, chiefly white and red, is found here.

[illegible] 17th they arrived at the mouth of Red river, the con[illegible] which with the Mississippi, agreeably to the observa[illegible] Mr. de Ferrer, lies in latitude 31° 1′ 15″, and longitude

6h 7′ 11″ west of Greenwich. Red river is here about five hundred yards wide, and without any sensible current. The banks of the river are clothed with willow; the land low and subject to inundation, to the height of thirty feet or more above the level of the water at this time. The mouth of the Red river is accounted to be seventy-five leagues from New Orleans, and three miles higher up than the Chafalaya, or Opelousa river, which was probably a continuation of the Red river when its waters did not unite with those of the Mississippi but during the inundation.

On the 18th the survey of the Red river was commenced, and on the evening of the 19th the party arrived at the mouth of the Black river, in latitude 31° 15′ 48″ N. and about 26 miles from the Mississippi. The Red river derives its name from the rich fat earth, or marle, of that colour, borne down by the floods; the last of which appeared to have deposited on the high bank a stratum of upwards of half an inch in thickness. The vegetation on its banks is surprisingly luxuriant; no doubt owing to the deposition of marle during its annual floods. The willows grow to a good size; but other forest trees are much smaller than those seen on the banks of the Mississippi. As you advance up the river, it gradually narrows; in latitude 31° 08′ N. it is about two hundred yards wide, which width is continued to the mouth of Black river, where each of them appears one hundred and fifty yards across. The banks of the river are covered with pea vine and several sorts of grass, bearing seed, which geese and ducks eat very greedily; and there are generally seen willows growing on one side, and on the other a small growth of black oak, packawn, hickory, elm, &c. The current in the Red river is so moderate as scarcely to afford an impediment to its ascent.

On sounding the Black river a little above its mouth, there was found twenty feet of water, with a bottom of black sand. The water of Black river is rather clearer than that of the Ohio, and of a warm temperature, which it may receive from the water flowing into it from the valley of the Mississippi, particularly by the Catahoola. At noon on the 23d, by a good meridian observation, they ascertained their latitude to be 30° 36′ 20″ N. and were then a little below the mouths of Catahoola, Washita and Bayau Tenza, the united waters of which form the Black river. The current is very gentle the whole length of the Black river, which in many places does not exceed eighty yards in width. The banks on the lower part of the river present a great luxuriance of vegetation and rank grass, with red and black oak, ash, paccawn, hickory, and some

elms*. The soil is black marle, mixed with a moderate proportion of sand, resembling much the soil on the Mississippi banks; yet the forest trees are not lofty, like those on the margin of the Great river, but resembling the growth on the Red river. In latitude 31° 22′ 46″ N. they observed that canes grew on several parts of the right bank, a proof that the land is not deeply overflowed; perhaps from one to three feet: the banks have the appearance of stability; very little willow, or other productions of a newly formed soil being seen on either side. On advancing up the river, the timber becomes larger, in some places rising to the height of forty feet; yet the land is liable to be inundated, not from the waters of this small river, but from the intrusion of its more powerful neighbour the Mississippi. The lands decline rapidly, as in all alluvial countries, from the margin to the Cypress swamps, where more or less water stagnates all the year round. On the 21st they passed a small, but elevated island, said to be the only one in this river for more than one hundred leagues ascending. On the left bank, near this island, a small settlement of a couple of acres has been begun by a man and his wife. The banks are not less than forty feet above the present level of the water in the river, and are but rarely overflowed: on both sides they are clothed with rich cane brake, pierced by creeks fit to carry boats during the inundation.

They saw many cormorants, and the hooping crane; geese and ducks are not yet abundant, but are said to arrive in myriads, with the rains and winter's cold. They shot a fowl of the duck kind, whose foot was partially divided, and the body covered with a bluish, or lead coloured plumage. On the morning of the twenty-second, they observed green matter floating on the river, supposed to come from the Catahoola and other lakes and bayaus of stagnant water, which, when raised a little by rain, flow into the Black river: and also many patches of an aquatic plant, re-

* Among the plants growing on the margin of the river is the china root, used in medicine, and the cantac, occasionally used by the hunters for food: the last has a bulbous root, ten times the size of a man's fist. In preparing it, they first wash it clean from earth, then pound it well, and add water to the mass and stir it up; after a moment's settlement the water and fecula is poured off: this operation is repeated until it yields no more fecula, the fibrous part only being left, which is thrown away as useless: the water is then poured from the sediment, which is dried in the sun and will keep a long time. It is reduced into powder and mixed with Indian meal or flour, and makes wholesome and agreeable food. The labour is performed by the women whilst they are keeping the camp, and their husbands are in the woods hunting.

sembling small islands, some floating on the surface of the river, and others adhering to, or resting on the shore and logs. On examining this plant, it was found a hollow, jointed stem, with roots of the same form, extremely light, with very narrow willow shaped leaves projecting from the joint, embracing, however, the whole of the tube, and extending to the next inferior joint or knot. The extremity of each branch is terminated by a spike of very slender, narrow seminal leaves from one to two inches in length, and one tenth, or less, in breadth, producing its seed on the underside of the leaf, in a double row almost in contact; the grains alternately placed in perfect regularity: not being able to find the flower, its class and order could not be determined, although it is not probably new. Towards the upper part of the Black river, the shore abounded with muscles and periwinkles. The muscles were of the kind called pearl muscles. The men dressed a quantity of them, considering them as an agreeable food; but Mr. D. found them tough and unpalatable.

On arriving at the mouth of the Catahoola, they landed to procure information from a Frenchman settled there. Having a grant from the Spanish government, he has made a small settlement, and keeps a ferry boat for carrying over men and horses travelling to and from Natchez, and settlements on Red river and on the Washita river.. The country here is all alluvial. In process of time, the rivers shutting up ancient passages and elevating the banks over which their waters pass, no longer communicate with the same facility as formerly; the consequence is, that many larger tracts formerly subject to inundation, are now entirely exempt from that inconvenience. Such is the situation of a most valuable tract upon which this Frenchman is settled. His house stands on an Indian mount, with several others in view. There is also a species of rampant surrounding this place, and one very elevated mount, a view and description of which is postponed till the return; their present situation not allowing of the requisite delay. The soil is equal to the best Mississippi bottoms[1].

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[1] There is an embankment running from the Catahoola to Black river (inclosing about two hundred acres of rich land), at present about ten feet high, and ten feet broad. This surrounds four large mounds of earth at the distance of a bow-shot from each other; each of which may be twenty feet high, one hundred feet broad, and three hundred feet long at the top, besides a stupendous turret situate on the back part of the whole, or farthest from the water, whose base covers about an acre of ground, rising by two steps or stories tapering in the ascent, the whole surmounted by a great cone with its top cut off. This tower of earth on admeasurement was found to be eighty feet perpendicular.

They obtained from the French settler the following list of distances between the mouth of Red river and the post on the Washita, called fort Miro.

From the mouth of Red river to the mouth of Black river, 10 leagues.

To the mouth of Catahoola, Washita, and Tenza, ...	22
To the river Ha-ha, on the right, ...	1
To the Prairie de Villemont, on the same side, .	5
To the bayau Louis, on the same side, rapids here	1
To bayau Bœufs, on the same side, ...	½
To the Prairie Noyu, (drowned savanna), . .	3
To Pine Point, on the left, ...	4½
To bayau Calumet	3½
To the Coalmine, on the right, and Gypsum on the opposite shore, ...	3
To the first settlement, ...	12
To fort Miro, ...	22
Leagues,	91

From this place they proceeded to the mouth of Washita, in lat. 35° 37′ 7″ N. and encamped on the evening of the 23d.

This river derives its appellation from the name of an Indian tribe, formerly resident on its banks; the remnant of which, it is said, went into the great plains to the westward, and either compose a small tribe themselves, or are incorporated into another nation. The Black river loses its name at the junction of the Washita, Catahoola, and Tenza, although our maps represent it as taking place of the Washita. The Tenza and Catahoola are also named from Indian tribes now extinct. The latter is a creek twelve leagues long, which is the issue of a lake of the same name, eight leagues in length, and about two leagues in breadth. It lies west from the mouth of the Catahoola, and communicates with the Red river during the great annual inundation. At the west or north-west angle of the lake, a creek called Little river, enters, which preserves a channel with running water at all seasons, meandering along the bed of the lake; but in all other parts its superficies, during the dry season from July to November, and often later, is completely drained, and becomes covered with the most luxurious herbage; the bed of the lake then becomes the residence of immense herds of deer, of turkeys, geese, crane, &c. which feed on the grass and grain. Bayau Tenza serves only to drain off a part of the waters of the inundation from the low lands of the Mississippi, which here communicate with the Black river during the season of high water.

Between the mouth of the Washita, and Villemont's prairie on the right, the current of the river is gentle, and the banks

favourable for towing. The lands on both sides have the appearance of being above the inundation; the timber generally such as high lands produce, being chiefly red, white and black oaks, interspersed with a variety of other trees. The magnolia grandiflora, that infallible sign of the land not being subject to inundation, is not, however, among them. Along the banks a stratum of solid clay, or marle, is observable, apparently of an ancient deposition. It lies in oblique positions, making an angle of nearly thirty degrees with the horizon, and generally inclined with the decent of the river, although in a few cases the position was contrary. Timber is seen projecting from under the solid bank, which seems indurated, and unquestionably very ancient, presenting a very different appearance from recently formed soil. The river is about 80 yards wide. A league above the mouth of the Washita, the bayau Ha-ha comes in unexpectedly from the right, and is one of the many passages through which the waters of the great inundation penetrate and pervade all the low countries, annihilating, for a time, the currents of the lesser rivers in the neighbourhood of the Mississippi. The vegetation is remarkably vigorous along the alluvial banks, which are covered with a thick shrubbery, and innumerable plants in full blossom at this late season.

Villemont's prairie is so named in consequence of its being included within a grant under the French government to a gentleman of that name. Many other parts on the Washita are named after their early proprietors. The French people projected and begun extensive settlements on this river, but the general massacre planned, and in part executed by the Indians against them, and the consequent destruction of the Natchez tribe by the French, broke up all these undertakings, and they were not recommenced under that government. Those prairies are plains, or savannas, without timber; generally very fertile, and producing an exuberance of strong, thick and coarse herbage. When a piece of ground has once got into this state, in an Indian country, it can have no opportunity of re-producing timber, it being an invariable pratice to set fire to the dry grass in the fall or winter, to obtain the advantage of attracting game when the young tender grass begins to spring: this destroys the young timber, and the prairie annually gains upon the wood-land. It is probable that the immense plains known to exist in America, may owe their origin to this custom. The plains of the Washita lie chiefly on the east side, and being generally formed like the Mississippi land, sloping from the bank of the river to the Great river, they are more or less subject to inundation in the rear; and in certain great floods the water has advanced so far as to be ready to pour over the

margin into the Washita. This has now become a very rare thing, and it may be estimated that from a quarter of a mile to a mile in depth, will remain free from inundation during high floods. This is pretty much the case with those lands nearly as high as the post of the Washita, with the exception of certain ridges of primitive high-land; the rest being evidently alluvial, although not now subject to be inundated by the Washita river in consequence of the great depth which the bed of the river has acquired by abrasion. On approaching towards the bayau Louis, which empties its waters into the Washita on the right, a little below the rapids, there is a great deal of high land on both sides, which produces pine and other timber, not the growth of inundated lands. At the foot of the rapids the navigation of the river is impeded by beds of gravel formed in it. The first rapids lie in latitude 31° 48′ 57″ 5 N. a little above which there is a high ridge of primitive earth, studded with abundance of fragments of rocks, or stone, which appears to have been thrown up to the surface in a very irregular manner. The stone is of a friable nature, some of it having the appearance of indurated clay; the outside is blackish from exposure to the air, within it is a greyish white; it is said that in the hill the strata are regular, and that good grindstones may be here obtained. The last of the rapids, which is formed by a ledge of rocks crossing the entire bed of the river, was passed in the evening of the 27th; above it the water became again like a mill pond, and about one hundred yards wide. The whole of these first shoals, or rapids, embraced an extent of about a mile and a half; the obstruction was not continued, but felt at short intervals in this distance. On the right, about four leagues from the rapids, they passed the "Bayau Aux Boeufs," a little above a rocky hill: high lands and savanna is seen on the right. On sounding the river they found three fathoms water on a bottom of mud and sand. The banks of the river, above the bayau, seem to retain very little alluvial soil; the highland earth, which is a sandy loam of a light grey colour, with streaks of red sand and clay, is seen on the left bank; the soil not rich, bearing pines, interspersed with red oak, hickory and dogwood. The river is from sixty to one hundred yards wide here, but decreases as you advance. The next rapid is made by a ledge of rocks traversing the river, and narrowing the water channel to about thirty yards. The width between the high banks cannot be less than one hundred yards, and the banks from thirty to forty feet high. In latitude 32° 10′ 13″ rapids and shoals again occurred, and the channel was very narrow; the sand bars, at every point, extended so far into the bend as to leave little more than the breadth of the boat of water suffi-

ciently deep from her passage, although it spreads over a width of seventy or eighty yards upon the shoal.

In the afternoon of the 31st, they passed a little plantation or settlement on the right, and at night arrived at three others adjoining each other. These settlements are on a plain or prairie, the soil of which we may be assured is alluvial from the regular slope which the land has from the river The bed of the river is now sufficiently deep to free them from the inconvenience of its inundation; yet in the rear, the waters of the Mississippi approach, and sometimes leave dry but a narrow stripe along the bank of the river. It is however now more common, that the extent of the fields cultivated (from ¼ to ½ mile) remains dry during the season of inundation; the soil here is very good, but not equal to the Mississippi bottoms; it may be esteemed second rate. At a small distance to the east are extensive cypress swamps, over which the waters of the inundation always stand to the depth of from fifteen to twenty-five feet. On the west side, after passing over the valley of the river whose breadth varies from a quarter of a mile to two miles, or more, the land assumes a considerable elevation, from one hundred to three hundred feet, and extends all along to the settlements of the Red river. These high lands are reported to be poor, and badly watered, being chiefly what is termed pine barren. There is here a ferry and road of communication between the post of the Washita, and the Natchez, and a fork of this road passes on to the settlement called the rapids, on Red river, distant from this place by computation one hundred and fifty miles.

On this part of the river lies a considerable tract of land granted by the Spanish government to the marquis of Maison Rouge, a French emigrant, who bequeathed it with all his property to M. Bouligny, son of the late colonel of the Louisiana regiment, and by him sold to Daniel Clarke. It is said to extend from the post of Washita with a breadth of two leagues, including the river, down to the bayau Calumet; the computed distance of which along the river is called thirty leagues, but supposed not more than twelve in a direct line.

On the 6th of November, in the afternoon, the party arrived at the post of the Washita, in lat. 32° 29′ 37″ 25 N. where they were politely received by lieut. Bowmar, who immediately offered the hospitality of his dwelling with all the services in his power.

From the ferry to this place the navigation of the river is, at this season, interrupted by many shoals and rapids. The general width is from eighty to a hundred yards. The water is extremely agreeable to drink, and much clearer than that of the Ohio. In this respect it is very unlike its two neighbours, the

Arkansa and Red rivers, whose waters are loaded with earthy matters of a reddish brown colour, giving to them a chocolate-like appearance; and, when those waters are low, are not potable, being brackish from the great number of salt springs which flow into them, and probably from the beds of rock salt over which they may pass. The banks of the river presented very little appearance of alluvial land, but furnished an infinitude of beautiful landscapes, heightened by the vivid colouring they derive from the autumnal changes of the leaf. Mr. Dunbar observes, that the change of colour in the leaves of vegetables, which is probably occasioned by the oxygen of the atmosphere acting on the vegetable matter, deprived of the protecting power of the vital principle, may serve as an excellent guide to the naturalist who directs his attention to the discovery of new objects for the use of the dyer. For he has always remarked that the leaves of those trees whose bark or wood are known to produce a dye, are changed in autumn to the same colour which is extracted in the dyers vat from the woods; more especially by the use of mordants, as alum, &c. which yields oxygen: thus the foliage of the hickory, and oak, which produces the quercitron bark, is changed before its fall into a beautiful yellow; other oaks assume a fawn colour, a liver colour, or a blood colour, and are known to yield dyes of the same complexion.

In lat. 32° 18″ N. doctor Hunter discovered along the river side a substance nearly resembling mineral coal: its appearance was that of the carbonated wood described by Kirwan. It does not easily burn; but on being applied to the flame of a candle, it sensibly increased it, and yielded a faint smell, resembling in a slight degree, that of the gum lac of common sealing wax.

Soft friable stone is common, and great quantities of gravel and sand, upon the beaches in this part of the river. A reddish clay appears in the strata, much indurated and blackened by exposure to the light and air.

The position called fort Miro being the property of a private person, who was formerly civil commandant here, the lieutenant has taken post about four hundred yards lower; has built himself some log houses, and inclosed them with a slight stockade. Upon viewing the country east of the river, it is evidently alluvial; the surface has a gentle slope from the river to the rear of the plantations. The land is of excellent quality, being a rich black mould to the depth of a foot, under which there is a friable loam of a brownish liver colour.

At the post of the Washita, they procured a boat of less draught of water than the one in which they ascended the river thus far; at noon, on the 11th of November, they proceeded

on the voyage, and in the evening encamped at the plantation of Baron Bastrop.

This small settlement on the Washita, and some of the creeks falling into it, contains not more than five hundred persons, of all ages and sexes. It is reported, however, that there is a great quantity of excellent land upon these creeks, and that the settlement is capable of great extension, and may be expected, with an accession of population, to become very flourishing. There are three merchants settled at the post, who supply, at very exorbitant prices, the inhabitants with their necessaries; these, with the garrison, two small planters, and a tradesman or two, constitute the present village. A great proportion of the inhabitants continue the old practice of hunting, during the winter season, and they exchange their peltry for necessaries, with the merchants, at a low rate. During the summer these people content themselves with raising corn, barely sufficient for bread during the year. In this manner they always remain extremely poor: some few who have conquered that habit of indolence, which is always the consequence of the Indian mode of life, and attend to agriculture, live more comfortably, and taste a little the sweets of civilized life.

The lands along the river above the post, are not very inviting, being a thin poor soil, and covered with pine wood. To the right, the settlements on the bayau Barthelemi and Siard, are said to be rich land.

On the morning of the thirteenth, they passed an island and [redacted] rapid, and arrived at a little settlement below a chain of rocks, which cross the channel between an island and the main land, called Roque Raw. The Spaniard and his family, settled here, appear, from their indolence, to live miserably. The river acquires here a more spacious appearance, being about one hundred and fifty yards wide. In the afternoon they passed the bayau Barthelemi on the right, above the last settlements, and about twelve computed leagues from the post. Here commences Baron Bastrop's great grant of land from the Spanish government, being a square of twelve leagues on each side, a little exceeding a million of French acres. The banks of the river continue about thirty feet high, of which eighteen feet from the water are a clayey loam of a pale ash colour, upon which the water has deposited twelve feet of light sandy soil, apparently fertile, and of a dark brown colour. This description of land is of small breadth, not exceeding half a mile on each side the river, and may be called the valley of the Washita, beyond which there is high land covered with pines.

The soil of the "Bayau des Buttes," continues thin, with a growth of small timber. This creek is named from a number

of Indian mounts discovered by the hunters along its course. The margin of the river begins to be covered with such timber as usually grows on inundated land, particularly a species of white oak, vulgarly called the over-cup oak; its timber is remarkably hard, solid, ponderous and durable, and it produces a large acorn in great abundance, upon which the bear feeds, and which is very flattering to hogs.

In lat. 32° 50′ 8″ N. they passed a long and narrow island. The face of the country begins to change; the banks are low and steep; the river deeper and more contracted, from thirty to fifty yards in width. The soil in the neighbourhood of the river is a very sandy loam, and covered with such vegetables as are found on the inundated lands of the Mississippi. The tract presents the appearance of a new soil, very different from what they passed below. This alluvian tract may be supposed the site of a great lake, drained by a natural channel, from the abrasion of the waters; since which period the annual inundations have deposited the superior soil; eighteen or twenty feet is wanting to render it habitable for man. It appears, nevertheless, well stocked with the beasts of the forest, several of which were seen.

Quantities of water fowl are beginning to make their appearance, which are not very numerous here until the cold rains and frost compel them to leave a more northern climate. Fish is not so abundant as might be expected, owing, it is said, to the inundation of the Mississippi, in the year 1799, which dammed up the Washita, some distance above the post, and produced a stagnation and consequent corruption of the waters that destroyed all the fish within its influence.

At noon, on the 15th of November, they passed the island of Mallet, and at ninety yards north-east from the upper point of the island, by a good observation ascertained their latitude to be 32° 59′ 27″ 5 N. or two seconds and a half of latitude south of the dividing line between the territories of Orleans and Louisiana. The bed of the river along this alluvial country is generally covered with water, and the navigation uninterrupted; but in the afternoon of this day, they passed three contiguous sand bars, or beaches, called "les trois battures," and before evening the "bayau de grand Marais," or great marsh creek on the right, and "la Cypreri Chattelrau," a point of high land on the other side, which reaches within half a mile of the river. As they advanced towards the marais de saline, on the right, a stratum of dirty white clay under the alluvial tract, shewed them to be leaving the sunken, and approaching the high land country. The salt lick marsh does not derive its name from any brackishness in the water of the lake or marsh, but from its contiguity to some of the licks, sometimes called "saline," and sometimes "glaise," generally found in a clay,

compact enough for potter's ware. The bayau de la Tulipe forms a communication between the lake and the river. Opposite to this place, there is a point of high land, forming a promontory, advancing within a mile of the river, and to which boats resort when the low grounds are under water. A short league above is the mouth of the grand bayau de la Saline (Salt Lick creek). This creek is of a considerable length, and navigable for small boats. The hunters ascend it, to one hundred of their leagues, in pursuit of game, and all agree that none of the springs which feed this creek are salt. It has obtained its name from the many buffaloe salt licks which have been discovered in its vicinity. Although most of these licks, by digging, furnish water which holds marine salt in solution, there exists no reason for believing that many of them would produce nitre. Notwithstanding this low and alluvial tract appears in all respects well adapted to the growth of the long moss (tilandsia), none was observed since entering it in latitude 32° 52′, and as the pilot informed them none would be seen in their progress up the river, it is probable that the latitude of thirty-three degrees is about the northern limit of vegetation. The long-leaf pine, frequently the growth of rich and even inundated land, was here observed in great abundance: the short-leaved or pitch pine, on the contrary, is always found upon arid lands, and generally in sandy and lofty situations.

This is the season when the poor settlers on the Washita turn out to make their annual hunt. The deer is now fat and the skins in perfection; the bear is now also in his best state, with regard to the quality of his fur, and the quantity of fat or oil he yields, as he has been feasting luxuriantly on the autumnal fruits of the forest. It is here well known that he does not confine himself, as some writers have supposed, to vegetable food; he is particularly fond of hogs flesh; sheep and calves are frequently his prey, and no animal escapes him which comes within his power, and which he is able to conquer. He often destroys the fawn, when chance throws it in his way; he cannot, however, discover it by smelling, notwithstanding the excellence of his scent, for nature has, as if for its protection, denied the fawn the property of leaving any effluvium upon its track, a property so powerful in the old deer*. The bear, unlike most other

* It may not be generally known to naturalists, that between the hoof of the deer, &c. there is found a sack, with its mouth inclining upwards, containing more or less of musk, and which, by escaping over the opening, in proportion to the secretion, causes the foot to leave a scent on the ground wherever it passes. During the rutting season this musk is so abundant, particularly in old males, as to be smelt by the hunters at a considerable distance.

beasts of prey, does not kill the animal he has seized upon before he eats it; but regardless of its struggles, cries and lamentations, fastens upon, and if the expression is allowable, devours it alive. The hunters count much on their profits from the oil drawn from the bears fat, which, at New Orleans, is always of ready sale, and much esteemed for its wholesomeness in cooking, being preferred to butter or hogs lard. It is found to keep longer than any other animal oil without becoming rancid; and boiling it, from time to time, upon sweet bay leaves, restores its sweetness, or facilitates its conservation.

In the afternoon of the 17th they passed some sand beaches, and over a few rapids. They had cane brakes on both sides of the river; the canes were small, but demonstrate that the water does not surmount the bank more than a few feet. The river begins to widen as they advance: the banks of the river shew the high land soil, with a stratum of three or four feet of alluvion deposited by the river upon it. This superstratum is greyish, and very sandy, with a small admixture of loam, indicative of the poverty of the mountains and uplands where the river rises. Near this they passed through a new and very narrow channel, in which all the water of the river passes, except in time of freshes, when the interval forms an island. A little above this pass is a small clearing, called "Cache la Tulipe" (Tulip's hiding place); this is the name of a French hunter who here concealed his property. It continues the practice of both the white and red hunters to leave their skins, &c. often suspended to poles, or laid over a pole placed upon two forked posts, in sight of the [illegible]r, until their return from hunting. These deposits are considered as sacred, and few examples exist of their being plundered. After passing the entrance of a bay, which within must form a great lake during the inundation, great numbers of the long leaf pine were observed; and the increased size of the canes along the river's bank, denoted a better and more elevated soil; on the left was a high hill (300 feet) covered with lofty pine trees.

The banks of the river present more the appearance of upland soil, the under stratum being a pale yellowish clay, and the alluvial soil of a dirty white, surmounted by a thin covering of a brown vegetable earth. The trees improve in appearance, growing to a considerable size and height, though yet inferior to those on the alluvial banks of the Mississippi. After passing the "Bayau de Hachis," on the left points of high land, not subject to be overflowed, frequently touch the river, and the valley is said to be more than a league in breadth on both sides. On the left are pine hills, called "Code de Champignole." The river is not more than fifty or sixty yards wide. On the morning

of the 20th they passed a number of sand beaches, and some rapids, but found good depth of water between them. A creek called "Chemin Couvert," which forms a deep ravine in the high lands, here enters the river; almost immediately above this is a rapid where the water in the river is confined to a channel of about forty yards in width; above it they had to quit the main channel, on account of the shallowness and rapidity of the water, and pass along a narrow channel of only sixty feet wide: without a guide a stranger might take this passage for a creek.

Notwithstanding the lateness of the season, and the northern latitude they were in, they this day met with an alligator. The banks of the river are covered with cane, or thick under brush, frequently so interwoven with thorns and briars as to be impenetrable. Birch, maple, holly, and two kinds of wood to which names have not yet been given, except "water side wood," are here met with; as also persimons and small black grapes. The margin of the river is fringed with a variety of plants and vines, among which are several species of convolvulus.

On the left they passed a hill and cliff one hundred feet perpendicular, crowned with pines, and called "Cote de Finn" (Fin's hill) from which a chain of high land continues some distance. The cliff presents the appearance of an ash-coloured clay. A little farther to the right is the Bayau d'Acasia (Locust creek.) The river varies here from eighty to an hundred yards in width, presenting frequent indications of iron along its banks, and some thin strata of iron ore. The ore is from half an inch to three inches in thickness.

On the morning of the 22d of November, they arrived at the road of the Chadadoquis Indian nation, leading to the Arkansa nation; a little beyond this is the Ecor a Frabri (Fabri's cliffs) from 80 to 100 feet high; and a little distance above, a smaller cliff, called "Le Petit Ecor a Fabri" (the Little Cliff of Fabri). These cliffs appear chiefly to be composed of ash-coloured sand, with a stratum of clay at the base, such as runs all along under the banks of this river. Above these cliffs are several rapids; the current is swifter, and denotes their ascent into a higher country: the water becomes clear, and equal to any in its very agreeable taste, and as drinking water. In the river are immense beds of gravel and sand, over which the water passes with great velocity in the season of its floods, carrying with it vast quantities of drift wood, which it piles up, in many places, to the height of twenty feet above the present surface, pointing out the difficulty and danger of navigation in certain times of the flood; accidents, however, are rare with the canoes of the country.

As the party ascended they found the banks of the river less

elevated, being only from nine to twelve feet, and are probably surmounted by the freshes some feet. The river becomes more obstructed by rapids, and sand and gravel beaches, among which are found fragments of stone of all forms, and a variety of colours, some highly polished and rounded by friction. The banks of the river in this upper country suffer greatly by abrasion, one side and sometimes both being broken down by every flood.

At a place called "Auges d'Arclon," (Arclon's troughs) is laminated iron ore, and a stratum of black sand, very tenacious, shining with minute crystals. The breadth of the river is here about eighty yards: in some places, however, it is enlarged by islands, in others, contracted to eighty or one hundred feet. Rocks of a greyish colour, and rather friable, are here found in many places on the river *. On the banks grow willows of a different form from those found below, and on the margin of the Mississippi; the last are very brittle; these, on the contrary, are extremely pliant, resembling the osier, of which they are probably a species.

At noon on the 24th, they arrived at the confluence of the lesser Missouri with the Washita; the former is a considerable branch, perhaps the fourth of the Washita, and comes in from the left hand. The hunters often ascend the Little Missouri, but are not inclined to penetrate far up, because it reaches near the great plains or prairies upon the Red river, visited by the lesser Osage tribes of Indians, settled on Arkansa; these last frequently carry war into the Chadadoquis tribe settled on the Red river, about west-south-west from this place, and indeed they are reported not to spare any nation or people. They are prevented from visiting the head waters of the Washita by the steep hills in which they rise. These mountains are so difficult to travel over, that the savages, not having an object sufficiently desirable, never attempt to penetrate to this river, and it is supposed to be unknown to the nation. The Cadadoquis (or Cadaux, as the French pronounce the word) may be considered as Spanish Indians; they boast, and it is said with truth, that they never have imbrued their hands in the blood of a white man. It is said that the stream of the Little Missouri, some distance from its mouth, flows over a bright splendid bed of mineral of a yellowish white colour (most probably martial pyrites), that thirty years ago, several of the inhabitants, hunters,

* The banks rise into hills of free stone of a very sharp and fine grit, fit for grind stones; the strata irregular, inclining from 20° to 30° down the river.

worked upon this mine, and sent a quantity of the ore to the government at New Orleans, and they were prohibited from working any more.

There is a great sameness in the appearance of the river banks: the islands are skirted with osier, and immediately within, on the bank, grows a range of birch trees and some willows; the more elevated banks are covered with cane, among which grows the oak, maple, elm, sycamore, ash, hickory, dog-wood, holly, iron-wood, &c. From the pilot they learned that there is a body of excellent land on the Little Missouri, particularly on the creek called the "Bayau a terre noire," which falls into it. This land extends to Red river, and is connected with the great prairies which form the hunting grounds of the Cadaux nation, consisting of about two hundred warriors. They are warlike, but frequently unable to defend themselves against the tribe of Osages settled on the Arkansa river, who, passing round the mountains at the head of the Washita, and along the prairies, which separate them from the main chain on the west, where the waters of the Red and Arkansa rivers have their rise, pass into the Cadaux country, and rob and plunder them.

The water in the river Washita rising, the party are enabled to pass the numerous rapids and shoals which they meet with in the upper country, some of which are difficult of ascent. The general height of the main banks of the river is from six to twelve feet above the level of the water; the land is better in quality, the canes, &c. shewing a more luxuriant vegetation. It is subject to inundation, and shews a brown soil mixed with sand. Near Cache Maçon (Maison's hiding place), on the right, they stopped to examine a supposed coal mine: doctor Hunter and the pilot set out for this purpose, and at about a mile and a half north-west from the boat, in the bed of a creek*, they found a substance similar to what they had before met with under that name, though more advanced towards a state of perfect coal. At the bottom of the creek, in a place then dry, was found detached pieces of from fifty to one hundred pounds weight, adjoining to which lay wood changing into the same substance. A stratum of this coal, six inches thick, lay on both sides of this little creek, over another of yellow clay, and covered by one foot of gravel: on the gravel is eight inches of loam, which bears a few inches of vegetable mould. This stratum of coal is about three feet higher than the water in the creek, and appears manifestly to have been, at some period, the surface of the ground. The gravel and loam have been deposited there since, by the waters.

* Called Coal-mine creek.

Some pieces of this coal were very black and solid, of an homogeneous appearance, much resembling pit coal, but of less specific gravity. It does not appear sufficiently impregnated with bitumen, but may be considered as vegetable matter in the progress of transmutation to coal.

Below the "Bayau de l'eau Froide," which runs into the Washita from the right, the river is 170 yards, flowing through tolerably good land. They passed a beautiful forest of pines, and on the 28th fell in with an old Dutch hunter and his party, consisting in all of five persons.

This man has resided forty years on the Washita, and before that period, has been up the Arkansa river, the White river, and the river St. Francis; the two last, he informs, are of difficult navigation, similar to the Washita; but the Arkansa river is of great magnitude, having a large and broad channel, and when the water is low, has great sand banks, like those in the Mississippi. So far as he has been up it, the navigation is safe and commodious, without impediments from rocks, shoals, or rapids, its bed being formed of mud and sand. The soil on it is of the first-rate quality. The country is easy of access, being lofty open forests, unembarrassed by canes or under growth. The water is disagreeable to drink, being of a red colour, and brackish when the river is low. A multitude of creeks which flow into the Arkansa furnish sweet water, which the voyager is obliged to carry with him for the supply of his immediate wants. This man confirms the accounts of silver being abundant up that river: he has not been so high as to see it himself; but says he received a silver pin from a hunter, who assured him that he himself collected the virgin silver from the rock, out of which he made the epinglete by hammering it out. The tribe of the Osage live higher up than this position, but the hunters rarely go so high, being afraid of these savages, who are at war with all the world, and destroy all strangers they meet with. It is reported that the Arkansa nation, with a part of the Choctaws, Chickasaws, Shawneese, &c. have formed a league, and are actually gone, or going, 800 strong, against these depredators, with a view to destroy or drive them entirely off, and possess themselves of their fine prairies, which are most abundant hunting ground, being plentifully stocked with buffaloe, elk, deer, bear, and every other beast of the chase common to those latitudes in America. This hunter having given information of a small spring in their vicinity, from which he frequently supplied himself by evaporating the water, doctor Hunter, with a party, accompanied him, on the morning of the 29th November, to the place. They found a saline, about a mile and a half north of the camp from whence they set out, and near a creek which enters the Washita a little

above. It is situated in the bottom of the bed of a dry gulley. The surrounding land is rich and well timbered, but subject to inundation, except an Indian mount on the creek side, having a base of eighty or a hundred feet diameter, and twenty feet high. After digging about three feet, through blue clay, they came to a quick sand, from which the water flowed in abundance: its taste was salt and bitter, resembling that of water in the ocean. In a second hole, it required them to dig six feet before they reached the quick sand, in doing which they threw up several broken pieces of Indian pottery. The specific gravity, compared with the river, was, from the first pit, or that three feet deep, 1,02720, from the second pit, or that six feet deep, 1,02104, yielding a saline mass, from the evaporation of ten quarts, which, when dry, weighed eight ounces. This brine is, therefore, about the same strength as that of the ocean on our coast, and twice the strength of the famous licks in Kentucky, called Bullet's lick and Mann's lick, from which so much salt is made.

The "Fourche de Cadaux" (Cadadoquis fork) which they passed on the morning of the 30th, is about one hundred yards wide at its entrance into the Washita, from the left: immediately beyond which, on the same side, the land is high, probably elevated three hundred feet above the water. The shoals and rapids here impede their progress. At noon they deduced their latitude, by observation, to be 30° 11′ 37″ N. Receiving information of another salt lick, or saline, doctor Hunter landed, with a party, to view it. The pit was found in a low flat place, subject to be overflowed from the river; it was wet and muddy, the earth on the surface yellow, but on digging through about four feet of blue clay, the salt water oozed from a quick sand. Ten quarts of this water produced, by evaporation, six ounces of a saline mass, which, from taste, was principally marine salt; to the taste, however, it shewed an admixture of soda, and muriated magnesia, but the marine salt greatly preponderated. The specific gravity was about 1,076, probably weakened from the rain which had fallen the day before. The ascent of the river becomes more troublesome, from the rapids and currents, particularly at the "isle du bayau des Roches" (Rocky creek island), where it required great exertions, and was attended with some hazard to pass them. This island is three-fourths of a mile in length. The river presents a series of shoals, rapids, and small cataracts; and they passed several points of high land, full of rocks and stones, much harder and more solid than they had yet met with.

The rocks were all silicious, with their fissures penetrated by sparry matter. Indications of iron were frequent, and fragments

of poor ore were common, but no rich ore of that or any other metal was found. Some of the hills appear well adapted to the cultivation of the vine; the soil being a sandy loam, with a considerable proportion of gravel, and a superficial covering of good vegetable black earth. The natural productions are, several varieties of oak, pine, dog-wood, holly, &c. with a scattering undergrowth of whortleberry, hawthorn, china briar, and a variety of small vines.

Above the Isle de Mallon, the country wears another prospect: high lands and rocks frequently approach the river. The rocks in grain resemble free stone, and are hard enough to be used as hand mill-stones, to which purpose they are frequently applied. The quality of the lands improves, the stratum of vegetable earth being from six to twelve inches, of a dark brown colour, with an admixture of loam and sand. Below Deer Island they passed a stratum of free stone, fifty feet thick, under which is a quarry of imperfect slate in perpendicular layers. About a league from the river, and a little above the slate quarry, is a considerable plain, called "Prairie de Champignole," often frequented by buffaloe. Some salt licks are found near it, and in many situations on both sides of this river, there are said to be salines which may hereafter be rendered very productive, and from which the future settlements may be abundantly supplied.

About four miles below the "chuttes" (falls), they, from a good observation, found the latitude 34° 21′ 25″ 5. The land on either hand continues to improve in quality, with a sufficient stratum of dark earth of a brownish colour. Hills frequently rise out of the level country, full of rocks and stones, hard and flinty, and often resembling Turkey oil stones. Of this kind was a promontory which came in from the right hand, a little below the chuttes; at a distance it presented the appearance of ruined buildings and fortifications, and several insulated masses of rock, conveyed the idea of redoubts and out-works. This effect was heightened by the rising of a flock of swans which had taken their station in the water, at the foot of these walls. As the voyagers approached, the birds floated about majestically on the glassy surface of the water, and in tremulous accents seemed to consult upon means of safety. The whole was a sublime picture. In the afternoon of the 3d of December, they reached the chuttes, and found the falls to be occasioned by a chain of rocks of the same hard substance seen below, extending in the direction of north-east and south-west, quite across the river. The water passes through a number of branches worn by the impetuosisy of the torrent where it forms so many

cascades. The chain of rock or hill on the left, appears to have been cut down to its present level by the abrasion of the waters. By great exertion, and lightening the boat, they passed the chuttes this evening, and encamped just above the cataracts, and within the hearing of their incessant roar.

Immediately above the chuttes, the current of the water is slow, to another ledge of hard free stone; the reach between is spacious, not less than two hundred yards wide, and terminated by a hill, three hundred feet high, covered with beautiful pines: this is a fine situation for building. In latitude 34° 25′ 48″ they passed a very dangerous rapid, from the number of rocks which obstruct the passage of the water, and break it into foam. On the right of the rapid is a high rocky hill, covered with very handsome pine woods. The strata of the rock has an inclination of 30° to the horizon, in the direction of the river descending. This hill may be three hundred or three hundred and fifty feet high; a border or list of green cane skirts the margin of the river, beyond which generally rises a high, and sometimes a barren hill. Near another rapid they passed a hill on the left, containing a large body of blue slate. A small distance above the bayau de Saline they had to pass a rapid of one hundred and fifty yards in length, and four feet and a half fall, which, from its velocity, the French have denominated "La Cascade." Below the cascade there are rocky hills on both sides composed of very hard free stone. The stone in the bed of the river, and which has been rolled from the upper country, was of the hardest flint, or of a quality resembling the Turkey oil stone. "Fourche au Tygree" (Tyger's creek), which comes in from the right, a little above the cascade, is said to have many extensive tracts of rich level land upon it. The rocky hills here frequently approach the Washita on both sides; rich bottoms are nevertheless infrequent, and the upland is sometimes of moderate elevation, and tolerably level. The stones and rocks here met with have their fissures filled by sparry and crystalline matter.

Wild turkies become more abundant and less difficult of approach than below; and the howl of the wolves is heard during the night.

To the "Fourche of Calfat" (Caulker's creek) where the voyage terminates, they found level and good land on the right and high hills on the left hand. After passing over a very precipitous rapid, seemingly divided into four steeps or falls, one of which was at least fifteen inches in perpendicular height, and which together could not be less than five and a half feet, they arrived at Ellis's camp, a small distance below the Fourche au Calfat, where they stopped on the 6th of December, as the pi-

lot considered it the most convenient landing from whence to carry their necessary baggage to the hot springs, the distance being about three leagues. There is a creek about two leagues higher up, called "bayau des sources chauds" (hot spring creek), upon the banks of which the hot springs are situated at about two leagues from its mouth. The banks of it are hilly, and the road less eligible than from Ellis's camp.

On ascending the hill to encamp, they found the land very level and good, some plants in flower, and a great many ever-green vines; the forest oak with an admixture of other woods. The latitude of this place is 34° 27′ 31″ 5. The ground on which they encamped was about fifty feet above the water in the river, and supposed to be thirty feet higher than the inundations. Hills of considerable height, and clothed with pine, were in view, but the land around, and extending beyond their view, lies handsomely for cultivation. The superstratum is of a blackish-brown colour, upon a yellow basis, the whole intermixed with gravel and blue schistus, frequently so far decomposed as to have a strong alluminous taste. From their camp, on the Washita, to the hot springs, a distance of about nine miles, the first six miles of the road is in a westerly direction, without many sinuosities, and the remainder northwardly, which courses are necessary to avoid some very steep hills. In this distance, they found three principal salt licks, and some inferior ones, which are all frequented by buffaloe, deer, &c. The soil around them is a white tenacious clay, probably fit for potters' ware: hence the name of "glaise," which the French hunters have bestowed upon most of the licks, frequented by the beasts of the forest, many of which exhibit no saline impregnation. The first two miles from the river camp is over level land of the second-rate quality; the timber, chiefly oak, intermixed with other trees common to the climate, and a few scattering pines. Further on, the lands on either hand rise into gently swelling hills, covered with handsome pine woods. The road passes along a valley, frequently wet by the numerous rills and springs of excellent water which issue from the foot of the hills. Near the hot springs the hills become more elevated, steeper of ascent, and rocky. They are here called mountains, although none of them in view exceed four or five hundred feet in altitude. It is said, that mountains of more than five times the elevation of these hills are to be seen in the north-west, towards the sources of the Washita. One of them is called the glass, crystal, or shining mountain, from the vast number of hexagonal prisms of very transparent and colourless crystal which are found on its surface; they are generally surmounted by pyramids at one end,

rarely on both. These crystals do not produce a double refraction of the rays of light. Many searches have been made over these mountains for the precious metals, but it is believed without success.

At the hot springs they found an open log cabin, and a few huts of split boards, all calculated for summer encampment, and which had been erected by persons resorting to the springs for the recovery of their health.

They slightly repaired these huts, or cabins, for their accommodation during the time of their detention at the springs, for the purpose of examining them and the surrounding country; and making such astronomical observations as were necessary for ascertaining their geographical position.

It is understood that the hot springs are included within a grant of some hundred acres, granted by the late Spanish commandant of the Washita, to some of his friends; but it is not believed that a regular patent was ever issued for the place; and it cannot be asserted that residence, with improvement here, form a plea to claim the land upon.

On their arrival, they immediately tasted the waters of the hot springs, that is, after a few minutes cooling, for it was impossible to approach it with the lips when first taken up, without scalding: the taste does not differ from that of good water, rendered hot by culinary fire.

On the 10th they visited all the hot springs. They issue on the east side of the valley, where the huts are, except one spring, which rises on the west bank of the creek, from the sides and foot of a hill. From the small quantity of calcareous matter yet deposited, the western spring does not appear to be of long standing: a natural conduit probably passes under the bed of the creek, and supplies it. There are four principal springs rising immediately on the east bank of the creek, one of which may be rather said to spring out of the gravel bed of the run; a fifth, a smaller one than that above mentioned, as rising on the west side of the creek; and a sixth, of the same magnitude, the most northerly, and rising near the bank of the creek: these are all the sources that merit the name of springs, near the huts; but there is a considerable one below, and all along, at intervals, the warm water oozes out, or drops from the bank into the creek, as appears from the condensed vapour floating along the margin of the creek where the drippings occur.

The hill from which the hot springs issue is of a conical form, terminating at the top with a few loose fragments of rock, covering a flat space twenty-five feet in diameter. Although the figure of the hill is conical it is not entirely insulated,

but connected with the neighbouring hills by a very narrow ridge. The primitive rock of this hill, above the base, is principally silicious, some part of it being of the hardest flint, others a freestone extremely compact and solid, and of various colours. The base of the hill, and for a considerable extent, is composed of a blackish blue schistus, which divides into perpendicular lamina like blue slate. The water of the hot springs is, therefore, delivered from the silicious rock, generally invisible at the surface, from the mass of calcareous matter with which it is incrusted, or rather buried, and which it is perpetually precipitating from the water of the springs: a small proportion of iron, in the form of a red calx, is also deposited; the colour of which is frequently distinguishable in the lime.

In ascending the hill several patches of rich black earth are found, which appear to be formed by the decomposition of the calcareous matter: in other situations the superficial earth is penetrated, or encrusted, by limestone, with fine lamina, or minute fragments of iron ore.

The water of the hot springs must formerly have issued at a greater elevation in the hill, and run over the surface, having formed a mass of calcareous rock one hundred feet perpendicular, by its deposition. In this high situation they found a spring, whose temperature was 140° of Fahrenheit's thermometer. After passing the calcareous region they found the primitive hill covered by a forest of not very large trees, consisting chiefly of oak, pine, cedar, holly, hawthorn, and others common to the climate, with a great variety of vines, some said to produce black, and others yellow grapes, both excellent in their kinds. The soil is rocky, interspersed with gravel, sand, and fine vegetable mould. On reaching the height of two hundred feet perpendicular, a considerable change in the soil was observable; it was stony and gravelly, with a superficial coat of black earth, but immediately under it lies a stratum of fat, tenacious, soapy, red clay, inclining to the colour of bright Spanish snuff, homogeneous, with scarcely any admixture of sand, no saline, but rather a soft agreeable taste: the timber diminishes, and the rocks increase in size to the summit. The whole height is estimated at three hundred feet above the level of the valley.

On examining the four principal springs, or those which yield the greatest quantity of water, or of the highest temperature, No. 1 was found to raise the mercury to 150, No. 2 to 154, No. 3 to 136 and No. 4 to 132 degrees of Fahrenheit's thermometer: the last is on the west side of the creek: No. 3 is a small basin in which there is a considerable quantity of green matter, having much the appearance of a vegetable body,

but detached from the bottom, yet connected with it by something like a stem, which rests in calcarious matter. The body of one of these pseudo plants was from four to five inches in diameter; the bottom a smooth film of some tenacity, and the upper surface divided into ascending fibres of half or three fourths of an inch long, resembling the gills of a fish, in transverse rows. A little further on was another small muddy basin in which the water was warm to the finger: in it was a vermes about half an inch long, moving with a serpentine or vermicular motion. It was invariably observed, that the green matter forming on the stones and leaves covered a stratum of calcarious earth, sometimes a little hard, or brittle, at others soft and imperfect. From the bottom of one of the hot springs a frequent ebullition of gas was observed, which not having the means of collecting, they could not ascertain its nature: it was not inflammable, aud there is little doubt of its being carbonic acid, from the quantity of lime, and the iron, held in solution by the water.

They made the following rough estimate of the quantity of water delivered by the springs. There are four principal springs, two of inferior note; one rising out of the gravel, and a number of drippings and drainings, all issuing from the margin, or from under the rock which overhangs the creek. Of the first mentioned, three deliver nearly equal quantities, but No. 1, the most considerable, delivers about five times as much as one of the other three; the two of inferior note may, together, be equal to one; and all the droppings and small springs, are probably underrated at double the quantity of one of the three; that is, all together, they will deliver a quantity equal to eleven times the water issuing from the one most commodiously situated for measurement. This spring filled a vessel of eleven quarts in eleven seconds, hence the whole quantity of hot water delivered from the springs at the base of the hill is 165 gallons in a minute, or 3771½ hogsheads in 24 hours, which is equal to a handsome brook, and might work an over-shot mill. In cool weather condensed vapour is seen rising out of the gravel bed of the creek, from springs which cannot be taken into account. During the summer and fall the creek receives little or no water but what is supplied by the hot springs: at that season itself is a hot bath, too hot, indeed, near the springs; so that a person may choose the temperature most agreeable to himself, by selecting a natural basin near to, or farther from, the principal springs. At three or four miles below the springs the water is tepid and unpleasant to drink.

From the western mountain, estimated to be of equal

height with that from which the hot springs flow, there are several fine prospects. The valley of the Washita, comprehended between the hills on either side, seemed a perfect flat, and about twelve miles wide. On all hands were seen the hills, or mountains, as they are here called, rising behind each other. In the direction of north, the most distant were estimated to be fifty miles off, and are supposed to be those of the Arkansa river, or the rugged mountains which divide the waters of the Arkansa from those of the Washita, and prevent the Osage Indians from visiting the latter, of whom they are supposed ignorant: otherwise their excursions here would prevent this place from being visited by white persons, or other Indians. In a south-west direction, at about forty miles distance, is seen a perfectly level ridge, supposed to be the high prairies of the Red river.

Notwithstanding the severity of the weather, a considerable number, and some variety of plants were in flower, and others retained their verdure: indeed the ridge was more temperate than the valley below; there it was cold, damp, and penetrating; here dry, and the atmosphere mild. Of the plants growing here was a species of cabbage: the plants grow with expanded leaves, spreading on the ground, of a deep green, with a shade of purple; the taste of the cabbage was plainly predominant, with an agreeable warmth inclining to that of the radish; several tap-roots penetrated into the soil, of a white colour, having the taste of horse radish, but much milder. A quantity of them taken to the camp and dressed, proved palatable and mild. It is not probable that cabbage seed has been scattered on this ridge; the hunters ascending this river have always had different objects. Until further elucidation, this cabbage must be considered as indigenous to this sequestered quarter, and may be denominated the cabbage radish of the Washita. They found a plant, then green, called by the French "racine rouge," (red root), which is said to be a specific in female obstructions; it has also been used, combined with the China root, to dye red, the last probably acting as a mordant. The top of this ridge is covered with rocks of a flinty kind, and so very hard as to be improper for gun-flints, for when applied to that use it soon digs cavities in the hammer of the lock. This hard stone is generally white, but frequently clouded with red, brown, black, and other colours. Here and there fragments of iron-stone were met with, and where a tree had been overturned, its roots brought to view fragments of schistus, which were suffering decomposition from exposure to the atmosphere. On digging where the slope of the hill was precipitous, they found the second stratum to be a reddish clay, resembling that found on

the conical hill, east of the camp. At two-thirds down the hill, the rock was a hard freestone, intermixed with fragments of flint, which had probably rolled from above. Still lower was found a blue schistus, in a state tending to decomposition where exposed to the atmosphere, but hard and resembling coarse slate in the interior. Many stones had the appearance of Turkey oil stones: at the foot of the hill it expands into good farming lands.

Dr. Hunter, upon examining the waters of the hot springs, obtained the following results:

It differed nothing from the hot water in smell or taste, but caused a slight eructation shortly after drinking it.

Its specific gravity is equal to rain or distilled water.

It gave to litamus paper, a slight degree of redness, evincing the presence of the carbonic acid, or fixed air sulphuric, and threw down a few detached particles. Oxylat of ammoniac caused a deposition and white cloud, shewing the presence of a small portion of lime. Prusiat of potash produced a slight and scarcely perceptible tinge of blue, designating the presence of a small quantity of iron.

Sixteen pounds of water evaporated to dryness left ten grains of a grey powder, which proved to be lime.

The myrtle wax tree grows in the vicinity of the springs. At the season in which the voyagers were there, the wax was no longer green, but had changed its colour to a greyish-white, from its long exposure to the weather. The berry when examined by a microscope, is less than the smallest garden pea, approaching to an oval in form. The nuclus, or real seed, is the size of the seed of a radish, and is covered with a number of kidney shaped glands, of a brown colour and sweet taste; these glands secrete the wax which completely envelopes them, and, at this season, gives to the whole the appearance of an imperfectly white berry. This is a valuable plant and merits attention: its favourite position is a dry soil, rather poor, and looking down upon the water. It is well adapted to ornament the margins of canals, lakes, or rivulets. The cassina yapon, is equally beautiful, and proper for the same purpose: it grows here along the banks of this stony creek, intermingled with the myrtle, and bears a beautiful little red berry, very much resembling the red currant.

The rock through which the hot springs either pass or trickle over, appears undermined by the waters of the creek. The hot water is continually depositing calcarious, and, perhaps, some silicious matter, forming new rocks, always augmenting and projecting their promontories over the running water of the creek, which prevents its formation below the surface. Where-

ver this calcarious crust is seen spreading over the bank and margin of the creek, there, most certainly, the hot water will be found, either running over the surface, or through some channel, perhaps below the new rock, or dripping from the edges of the overhanging precipice. The progress of nature in the formation of this new rock is curious, and worthy the attention of the mineralogist. When the hot water issues from the fountain, it frequently spreads over a superficies of some extent; so far as it reaches, on either hand, there is a deposition of, or growth of green matter. Several lamina of this green matter will be found lying over each other, and immediately under, and in contact with the inferior lamina, which is not thicker than paper, is found a whitish substance resembling a coagulum; when viewed with a microscope, this last is also found to consist of several, sometimes a good number of lamina, of which that next the green is the finest and thinnest, being the last formed; those below increasing in thickness and tenacity until the last terminates in a soft earthy matter, which reposes in the more solid rock. Each lamina of the coagulum is penetrated in all its parts by calcarious grains, extremely minute, and divided in the more recent web, but much larger and occupying the whole of the inferior lamina. The understratum is continually consolidating, and adding bulk and height to the rock. When this acquires such an elevation as to stop the passage of the water, it finds another course over the rock, hill, or margin of the creek, forming, in turn, accumulations of matter over the whole of the adjacent space. When the water has found itself a new channel, the green matter, which sometimes acquires a thickness of half an inch, is speedily converted into a rich vegetable earth, and becomes the food of plants. The surface of the calcarious rock also decomposes and forms the richest black mould intimately mixed with a considerable portion of soil; plants and trees vegetate luxuriantly upon it.

On examining a piece of ground upon which the snow dissolved as it fell, and which was covered with herbage, they found, in some places, a calcarious crust on the surface; but in general a depth of five inches to a foot of the richest black mould. The surface was sensibly warm to the touch. In the air the mercury in the thermometer stood at 44°; when placed four inches under the surface, and covered with earth, it rose rapidly to 68°; and upon the calcarious rock, eight inches beneath the surface, it rose to 80°. This result was uniform over the whole surface, which was about a quarter of an acre.

On searching they found a spring, about fifteen inches under the surface, in the water of which the thermometer shewed a temperature of 130°. Beneath the black mould was found a brown mixture of lime and silex, very loose and divisible, ap-

parently in a state of decomposition, and progressing towards the formation of black mould; under this brownish mass it became gradually whiter and harder, to the depth of from six to twelve inches, where it was a calcarious sparkling stone. It was evident that the water had passed over this plac, and formed a flat superficies of silicious limestone; and that its position, nearly level, had facilitated the accumulation of earth, in proportion as the decomposition advanced. Similar spots of ground were found higher up the hill, resembling little savannas, near which hot springs were always discovered, which had once flowed over them. It appears probable that the hot water of the springs, at an early period, had all issued from its grand reservoir in the hill, at a much greater elevation than at present. The calcarious crust may be traced up, in most situations on the west side of the hill looking down the creek and valley, to a certain height, perhaps one hundred feet perpendicular; in this region the hill rises precipitously, and is studded with hard silicious stones; below, the descent is more gradual, and the soil a calcarious black earth. It is easy to discriminate the primitive hill from that which has accumulated, by precipitation, from the water of the springs; this last is entirely confined to the west side of the hill, and washed at its base by the waters of the creek, no hot spring being visible in any other part of its circumference. By actual measurement along the base of the hill the influence of the springs is found to extend seventy perches, in a direction a little to the east of north: along the whole of this space the springs have deposited stony matter, calcarious, with an addition of silex, or crystalized lime. The accumulation of calcarious matter is more considerable at the north end of the hill than the south; the first may be above a hundred feet perpendicular, but sloping much more gradually than the primitive hill above, until it approaches the creek, where not unfrequently it terminates in a precipice of from six to twenty feet. The difference between the primitive and secondary hill is so striking that a superficial observer must notice it; the first is regularly very steep, and studded with rock and stone of the hardest flint, and other silicious compounds, and a superficies of two or three inches of good mould covers a red clay; below, on the secondary hill, which carries evident marks of recent formation, no flint, or silicious stone, is found; the calcarious rock conceals all from view, and is, itself, frequently covered by much fine rich earth. It would seem that this compound, precipitated from the hot waters, yields easily to the influence of the atmosphere; for where the waters cease to flow over any portion of the rock, it speedily decomposes; probably more rapidly from the heat communicated

from the interior of the hill, as insulated masses of the rock are observed to remain without change.

The cedar, the wax myrtle, and the cassina yapon, all evergreens, attach themselves particularly to the calcarious region, and seem to grow and thrive even in the clefts of the solid rock.

A spring, enjoying a freedom of position, proceeds with great regularity in depositing the matter it holds in solution; the border or rim of its basin forms an elevated ridge, from whence proceeds a glacis all around, where the waters have flowed for some time over one part of the brim; this becomes more elevated, and the water has to seek a passage where there is less resistance, thus forming, in miniature, a crater, resembling in shape the conical summit of a volcano. The hill being steep above, the progress of petrifaction is stopped on that side, and the waters continue to flow and spread abroad, incrusting the whole face of the hill below. The last formed calcarious border of the circular basin is soft, and easily divided; at a small depth it is more compact; and at the depth of six inches it is generally hard white stone. If the bottom of the basin is stirred up, a quantity of the red calx of iron rises, and escapes over the summit of the crater.

Visitants to the hot springs having observed shrubs and trees with their roots in the hot water, have been induced to try experiments, by sticking branches of trees in the run of hot water. Some branches of the wax myrtle were found thrust into the bottom of a spring run, the water of which was 130° by Fahrenheit's thermometer; the foliage and fruit of the branch were not only sound and healthy, but at the surface of the water roots were actually sprouting from it: on pulling it up the part which had penetrated the hot mud was found decayed.

The green substance discoverable at the bottom of the hot springs, and which at first sight has the appearance of plush, on examination by the microscope, was found to be a vegetable production. A film of green matter spreads itself on the calcarious base, from which rises fibres more than half an inch in length, forming a beautiful vegetation. Before the microscope it sparkled with innumerable nodules of lime, some part of which was beautifully crystalized. This circumstance might cause a doubt of its being a true vegetable, but its great resemblance to some of the mosses, particularly the byssi, and the discovery which Mr. Dunbar made of its being the residence of animal life, confirmed his belief in its being a true moss. After a diligent search he discovered a very minute shell fish, of the bivalve kind, inhabiting this moss; its shape nearly that of the fresh water muscle; the colour of the

shell a greyish brown, with spots of a purplish colour. When the animal is undisturbed, it opens the shell, and thrusts out four legs, very transparent, and articulated like those of a quadruped; the extremities of the fore legs are very slender and sharp, but those of the hind legs somewhat broader, apparently armed with minute toes: from the extremity of each shell issues three or four forked hairs, which the animal seems to possess the power of moving; the fore-legs are probably formed for making incisions into the moss for the purpose of procuring access to the juices of the living plant, upon which, no doubt, it feeds: it may be provided with a proboscis, although it did not appear while the animal was under examination: the hind legs are well adapted for propelling it in its progress over the moss, or through the water.

It would be desirable to ascertain the cause of that perpetual fire which keeps up the high temperature of so many springs as flow from this hill, at a considerable distance from each other: upon looking around, however, sufficient data for the solution of the difficulty is not discoverable. Nothing of a volcanic nature is to be seen in this country; neither could they learn that any evidence in favour of such a supposition was to be found in the mountains connected with this river. An immense bed of dark blue schistus appears to form the base of the hot spring hill, and of all those in its neighbourhood: the bottom of the creek is formed of it; and pieces are frequently met with rendered soft by decomposition, and possessing a strong aluminous taste, requiring nothing but lixiviation and crystalization to complete the manufacture of alum. As bodies undergoing chemical changes generally produced an alteration of temperature, the heat of these springs may be owing to the disengagement of caloric, or the decomposition of the schistus. Another, and perhaps a more satisfactory cause may be assigned: it is well known, that within the circle of the waters of this river, vast beds of martial pyrites exist; they have not yet, however, been discovered in the vicinage of the hot springs, but may, nevertheless, form immense beds under the bases of these hills; and as in one place at least there is evidence of the presence of bitumen*, the union of these agents will, in the progress of decomposition, by the admission of air and moisture, produce degrees of heat capable of supporting the phenomena of the hot springs. No sulphuric acid is present in this water: the springs may be supplied

* Having thrust a stick down into the crater of one of the springs, at some distance up the hill, several drops of petroleum, or naptha, rose and spread upon the surface: it ceased to rise after three or four attempts.

by the vapour of heated water, ascending from caverns where the heat is generated, or the heat may be immediately applied to the bottom of an immense natural cauldron of rock, contained in the bowels of the hill, from which as a reservoir the springs may be supplied.

A series of accurate observations determined the latitude of the hot springs to be 34° 31′ 4′ 16 N. and long. 6h. 11′ 25″, or 92° 50 45″ west from the meridian of Greenwich.

While Mr. Dunbar was making arrangements for transporting the baggage back to the river camp, doctor Hunter, with a small party, went on an excursion into the country. He left the hot springs en the morning of the 27th, and after travelling sometimes over hills and steep craggy mountains with narrow valleys between them, then up the valleys, and generally by the side of a branch emptying into the Washita, they reached the main branch of the Calfat in the evening, about twelve miles from the springs. The stones they met with during the first part of the day were silicious, of a whitish grey, with flints, white, cream-coloured, red, &c. The beds of the rivulets, and often a considerable way up the hills, shewed immense bodies of schistus, both blue and grey, some of it efflorescing and tasting strongly of alum. The latter part of the day, they travelled over and between hills of black, hard, and compact flint, in shapeless masses, with schist as before. On ascending these high grounds, you distinctly perceive the commencement of the piney region, beginning at the height of sixty or seventy feet, and extending to the top. The soil in these narrow valleys is thin and full of stones. The next day, which was stormy, they reached a branch of the bayau de saline, which stretches towards the Arkansa, and empties into the Washita many leagues below, having gone about twelve miles. The mountains they had passed being of the primitive kind, which seldom produce metals, and having hitherto seen nothing of a mineral kind, a little poor iron ore excepted, and the face of the country, as far as they could see, presenting the same aspect; they returned to the camp, at the hot springs, on the evening of the thirtieth, by another route, in which they met with nothing worthy notice.

In consequence of the rains which had fallen, Mr. Dunbar, and those who were transporting the baggage to the river camp, found the road watery. The soil on the flat lands, under the stratum of vegetable mould, is yellowish, and consists of decomposed schistus, of which there are immense beds in every stage of dissolution, from the hard stone recently uncovered and partially decomposed, to the yellow, and apparently homogeneous earth. The covering of vegetable earth between the hills and the river is, in most places, sufficiently thick to constitute a good

soil, being from four to six inches; and it is the opinion of the people upon the Washita, that wheat will grow here to great perfection. Although the higher hills, three hundred to six hundred feet in height, are very rocky, yet the inferior hills, and the sloping bases of the first, are generally covered with a soil of a middling quality. The natural productions are sufficiently luxuriant, consisting chiefly of black and red oak, intermixed with a variety of other woods, and a considerable undergrowth. Even on these rocky hills are three or four species of vines, said to produce annually an abundance of excellent grapes. A great variety of plants which grow here, some of which in their season are said to produce flowers highly ornamental, would probably reward the researches of the botanist.

On the morning of the 8th January, 1805, the party left Ellis's on the river camp, where they had been detained for several days, waiting for such a rise in the waters of the river, as would carry their boat in safety over the numerous rapids below. A rise of about six feet, which had taken place the evening before, determined them to move this morning; and they passed the chuttes about one o'clock. They stopped to examine the rocky promontory below these falls, and took some specimens of the stone which so much resembles the Turkey oil stone. It appears to › hard. The strata of this chain were observed to run perpendicularly nearly east and west, crossed by fissures at right angles from five to eight feet apart; the lamina from one-fourth of an inch to five inches in thickness. About a league below, they landed at Whetstone-hill and took several specimens. This projecting hill is a mass of greyish blue schistus of considerable hardness, and about twenty feet perpendicular, not regularly so, and from a quarter to two inches in thickness, but does not split with an even surface.

They landed again on the morning of the 9th, in sight of the bayau de la prairie de champignole, to examine and take specimens of some free stone and blue slate. The slate is a blue schistus, hard, brittle, and unfit for the covering of a house; none proper for that purpose have been discovered, except on the Calfat, which Dr. Hunter met with in one of his excursions.

On the evening of the 10th they encamped near Arclon's Troughs, having been only three days in descending the distance which took them thirteen to ascend. They stopped some time at the camp of a Mr. Le Fevre. He is an intelligent man, a native of the Illinois, but now residing at the Arkansas. He came here with some Delaware and other Indians, whom he had fitted out with goods, and receives their peltry, fur, &c. at a stipulated

price, as it is brought in by the hunters. Mr. Le Fevre possesses considerable knowledge of the interior of the country; he confirms the accounts before obtained, that the hills or mountains which give rise to this little river are in a manner insulated; that is, they are entirely shut in and inclosed by the immense plains or prairies which extend beyond the Red river, to the south, and beyond the Missouri, or at least some of its branches, to the north, and range along the eastern base of the great chain, or dividing ridge, commonly known by the name of the sand hills, which separate the waters of the Mississippi from those which fall into the Pacific ocean. The breadth of this great plain is not well ascertained. It is said by some to be at certain parts, or in certain directions, not less than two hundred leagues; but it is agreed by all who have a knowledge of the western country, that the mean breadth is at least two-thirds of that distance. A branch of the Missouri, called the river Platte, or Shallow river, is said to take its rise so far south as to derive its first waters from the neighbourhood of the sources of the Red and Arkansa rivers. By the expression plains or prairies in this place, is not to be understood a dead flat, resembling certain savannas, whose soil is stiff and impenetrable, often under water, and bearing only a coarse grass resembling reeds; very different are the western prairies, which expression signifies only a country without timber. These prairies are neither flat nor hilly, but undulating into gently swelling lawns, and expanding into spacious vallies, in the centre of which is always found a little timber growing on the banks of the brooks and rivulets of the finest waters. The whole of these prairies are represented to be composed of the richest and most fertile soil; the most luxuriant and succulent herbage covers the surface of the earth, interspersed with millions of flowers and flowering shrubs, of the most ornamental kinds. Those who have viewed only a skirt of these prairies, speak of them with enthusiasm, as if it was only there that nature was to be found truly perfect; they declare, that the fertility and beauty of the rising grounds, the extreme richness of the vales, the coolness and excellent quality of the water found in every valley, the salubrity of the atmosphere, and, above all, the grandeur of the enchanting landscape which this country presents, inspire the soul with sensations not to be felt in any other region of the globe. This paradise is now very thinly inhabited by a few tribes of savages, and by the immense herds of wild cattle (bison) which people these countries. The cattle perform regular migrations, according to the seasons, from south to north, and from the plains to the mountains, and in due time, taught by their instincts, take a retrograde direction. These tribes move in the rear of the herds, and pick up stragglers, and

such as lag behind, which they kill with the bow and arrow, for their subsistence. This country is not subjected to those sudden deluges of rain which in most hot countries, and even in the Mississippi territory, tear up and sweep away with irresistible fury, the crop and soil together: on the contrary, rain is said to become more rare in proportion as the great chain of mountain is approached; and it would seem that within the sphere of the attraction of those elevated ridges, little or no rain falls on the adjoining plains. This relation is the more credible, as in that respect our new country may resemble other flat or comparatively low countries, similarly situated, such as the country lying between the Andes and the western Pacific; the plains are supplied with nightly dews so extremely abundant, as to have the effect of refreshing showers of rain; and the spacious vallies, which are extremely level, may with facility be watered by the rills and brooks which are never absent from these situations. Such is the description of the better known country lying to the south of Red river, from Nacogdoches towards St. Antonio, in the province of Taxus: the richest crops are said to be procured there without rain; but agriculture in that quarter is at a low ebb; the small quantities of maize furnished by the country, is said to be raised without cultivation. A rude opening is made in the earth, sufficient to deposit the grain, at the distance of four or five feet, in irregular squares, and the rest is left to nature. The soil is tender, spongy, and rich, and seems always to retain humidity sufficient, with the bounteous dews of Heaven, to bring the crops to maturity.

The Red and Arkansa rivers, whose courses are very long, pass through portions of this fine country. They are both navigable to an unknown distance by boats of proper construction; the Arkansa river is, however, understood to have greatly the advantage with respect to the facility of navigation. Some difficult places are met with in the Red river below the Nakitosh, after which it is good for one hundred and fifty leagues (probably computed leagues of the country, about two miles each); there the voyager meets with a very serious obstacle, the commencement of the "raft," as it is called; that is, a natural covering which conceals the whole river for an extent of seventeen leagues, continually augmenting by the drift-wood brought down by every considerable fresh. This covering, which for a considerable time was only drift-wood, now supports a vegetation of every thing abounding in the neighbouring forest, not excepting trees of a considerable size; and the river may be frequently passed without any knowledge of its existence. It is said that the annual inundation is opening for itself a new passage through the low grounds near the hills; but it must be long before na-

ture, unaided, will excavate a passage sufficient for the waters of Red river. About fifty leagues above this natural bridge, is the residence of the Cadeaux or Cadadoquies nation, whose good qualities are already mentioned. The inhabitants estimate the post of Nakitosh to be half way between New Orleans and the Cadeaux nation. Above this point the navigation of Red river is said to be embarrassed by many rapids, falls, and shallows. The Arkansa river is said to present a safe, agreeable, and uninterrupted navigation as high as it is known. The lands on each side are of the best quality, and well watered with springs, brooks, and rivulets, affording many situations for mill-seats. From description, it would seem that along this river there is a regular gradation of hill and dale, presenting their extremities to the river; the hills are gently swelling eminences, and the dales spacious vallies, with living water meandering through them; the forests consist of handsome trees, chiefly what is called open woods. The quality of the land is supposed superior to that on Red river, until it ascends to the prairie country, where the lands on both rivers are probably similar. About two hundred leagues up the Arkansa is an interesting place, called the Salt prairie. There is a considerable fork of the river there, and a kind of savanna where the salt water is continually oozing out, and spreading over the surface of a plain. During the dry summer season the salt may be raked up in large heaps; a natural crust of a hand breadth in thickness is formed at this season. This place is not often frequented, on account of the danger from the Osage Indians; much less dare the white hunters venture to ascend higher, where it is generally believed that silver is to be found. It is further said, that high up the Arkansa river salt is found in form of a solid rock, and may be dug out with the crow-bar. The waters of the Arkansa, like those of Red river, are not potable during the dry season, being both charged highly with a reddish earth or mould, and extremely brackish. This inconvenience is not greatly felt upon the Arkansa, where springs and brooks of fresh water frequent: the Red river is understood not to be so highly favoured. Every account seems to prove that immense natural magazines of salt must exist in the great chain of mountains to the westward; as all the rivers in the summer season, which flow from them, are strongly impregnated with that mineral, and are only rendered palatable after receiving the numerous streams of fresh water which join them in their course. The great western prairies, besides the herds of wild cattle (bison, commonly called buffaloe), are [illegible] stocked with vast numbers of wild goat (not resembling the domestic goat), extremely swift footed. As the description given of this goat is not perfect, it may from its swiftness prove

to be the antelope, or it possibly may be a goat which has escaped from the Spanish settlements of New Mexico. A Canadian, who had been much with the Indians to the westward, speaks of a wool-bearing animal, larger than a sheep, the wool much mixed with hair, which he had seen in large flocks. He pretends also to have seen a unicorn, the single horn of which, he says, rises out of the forehead and curls back, conveying the idea of the fossil cornu ammonis. This man says, he has travelled beyond the great dividing ridge so far as to have seen a large river flowing to the westward. The great dividing mountain is so lofty, that it requires two days to ascend from the base to its top; other ranges of inferior mountains lie before and behind it; they are all rocky and sandy. Large lakes and vallies lie between the mountains. Some of the lakes are so large as to contain considerable islands, and rivers flow from some of them. Great numbers of fossil bones, of very large dimensions, are seen among the mountains, which the Canadian supposes to be the elephant. He does not pretend to have seen any of the precious metals, but has seen a mineral which he supposes might yield copper. From the top of the high mountain the view is bounded by a curve as upon the ocean, and extends over the most beautiful prairies, which seem to be unbounded, particularly towards the east. The finest of the lands he has seen are on the Missouri; no other can compare in richness and fertility with them. This Canadian, as well as Le Fevre, speak of the Osages of the tribe of Whitehairs, as lawless and unprincipled; and the other Indian tribes hold them in abhorrence as a barbarous and uncivilized race; and the different nations who hunt in their neighbourhood, have their concerting plans for their destruction. On the morning of the 11th, the party passed the petit ecor a Fabri. The osier, which grows on the beaches above, is not seen below upon this river; and here they began to meet with the small tree called "charnier," which grows only on the water side, and is met with all the way down the Washita. The latitude of 33° 40′ seems the northern boundary of the one, and the southern boundary of the other of those vegetables. Having noticed the limit set to the long moss (Telandsia), on the ascent of the river, in latitude 33°, Mr. Dunbar made inquiry of Mr. Le Fevre, as to its existence on the Arkansa settlement, which is known to lie in about the same parallel; he said, that its growth is limited about ten miles south of the settlement, and that as remarkably as if a line had been drawn east and west for the purpose, as it ceases all at once, and not by degrees. Hence it appears, that nature has marked with a distinguishing feature the line established by congress, between tho Orleans and Louisiana territo-

ries. The cypress is not found on the Washita higher than 34 degrees of north latitude.

In ascending the river, they found their rate of going to exceed that of the current about six miles and a half in twenty-four hours; and that on the 12th they had passed the apex of the tide or wave, occasioned by the fresh, and were descending along an inclined plane: as they encamped at night, they found themselves in deeper water the next morning, and on a more elevated part of the inclined plane than they had been in the preceding evening, from the progress of the apex of the tide during their repose.

At noon on the 16th. they reached the post of the Washita.

Mr. Dunbar being anxious to reach the Natchez as early as possible, and being unable to procure horses at the post, took a canoe with one soldier and his own domestic, to push down to the Catahoola, from whence to Concord there is a road of thirty miles across the low grounds. He set off early on the morning of the 20th, and at night reached the settlement of an old hunter, with whom he had conversed on his way up the river. This man informed him, that at the place called the Mine, on the Little Missouri, there is a smoke which ascends perpetually from a particular place, and that the vapour is sometimes insupportable. The river, or a branch of it, passes over a bed of mineral, which from the description given is, no doubt, martial pyrites. In a creek, or branch of the Fourche a' Luke*, there is found on the beaches and in the cliffs a great number of globular bodies, some as large, or larger, than a man's head, which, when broken, exhibit the appearance of gold, silver, and precious stones, most probably pyrites and crystalized spar. And at the Fourche des Glaises a' Paul (higher up the river than Fourche a' Luke), near the river there is a cliff full of hexagonal prisms, terminated by pyramids, which appear to grow out of the rock: they are from six to eight inches in length, and some of them are an inch in diameter. There are beds of pyrites found in several small creeks communicating with the Washita, but it appears that the mineral indications are greatest on the Little Missouri, because, as before noted, some of the hunters actually worked on them, and sent a parcel of the ore to New Orleans. It is the belief here, that the mineral contains precious metal, but that the Spanish government did not choose a mine should be opened so near to the British settlements. An express prohibition was issued against working these mines.

* Three leagues above Ellis's camp.

At this place, Mr. Dunbar obtained one or two slips of the "bois de arc" (bow wood, or yellow wood), from the Missouri. The fruit which had fallen before maturity, lay upon the ground. Some were of the size of a small orange, with a rind full of tubercles; the colour, though it appeared faded, still retained a resemblance to pale gold.

The tree in its native soil, when laden with its golden fruit (nearly as large as the egg of an ostrich), presents the most splendid appearance; its foliage is of a deep green, resembling the varnished leaf of the orange tree, and, upon the whole, no forest tree can compare with it in ornamental grandeur. The bark of the young tree resembles, in texture, the dog-wood bark. The appearance of the wood recommends it for trial as an article which may yield a yellow dye. It is deciduous; the branches are numerous, and full of short thorns or prickles, which seem to point it out as proper for hedges or live fences. This tree is known to exist near the Nakitosh (perhaps in latitude 32°), and upon the river Arkansa, high up (perhaps in latitude 36°); it is therefore probable that it may thrive from latitude 38° to 40°, and will be a great acquisition to the United States if it possess no other merit than that of being ornamental.

In descending the river, both Mr. Dunbar and Dr. Hunter searched for the place said to yield gypsum, or plaister of Paris, but failed. The former gentleman states, that he has no doubt of its existence, having noted two places where it has been found; one of which is the first hill, or high land which touches the river on the west, above the bayan Calumet, and the other is the second high land on the same side. As these are two points of the same continued ridge, it is probable that an immense body of gypsum will be found in the bowels of the hills where they meet, and perhaps extending far beyond them.

On the evening of the 22d Mr. Dunbar arrived at the Catahoola, where a Frenchman of the name of Hebrard, who keeps the ferry across Black river, is settled. Here the road from the Washita forks, one branch of it leading to the settlement on Red river, and the other up to the post on the Washita. The proprietor of this place has been a hunter and a great traveller up the Washita and into the western country: he confirms generally the accounts received from others. It appears, from what they say, that in the neighbourhood of the hot springs, but higher up, among the mountains, and upon the Little Missouri, during the summer season, explosions are very frequently heard, proceeding from under the ground: and not rarely a curious phenomenon is

seen, which is termed the blowing of the mountains; it is confined elastic gas forcing a passage through the side or top of a hill, driving before it a great quantity of earth and mineral matter. During the winter season the explosions and blowing of the mountains entirely cease, from whence we may conclude, that the cause is comparatively superficial, being brought into action by the increased heat of the more direct rays of the summer sun.

The confluence of the Washita, Catahoola, and Tenza; is an interesting place. The last of these communicates with the Mississippi low lands, by the intervention of othe creeks and lakes, and by one in particular, called "Bayau d'Argent," which empties into the Mississippi, about fourteen miles above Natchez. During high water there is a navigation for batteaux of any burthen along the bayau. A large lake, called St. John's lake, occupies a considerable part of the passage between the Mississippi and the Tenza; it is in a horse-shoe form, and has, at some former period, been the bed of the Mississippi: the nearest part of it is about one mile removed from the river at the present time. This lake, possessing elevated banks, similar to those of the river, has been lately occupied and improved. The Catahoola bayau is the third navigable stream: during the time of the inundation there is an excellent communication by the lake of that name, and from thence, by large creeks, to the Red river. The country around the point of union of these three rivers is altogether alluvial, but the place of Mr. Hebrard's residence is no longer subject to inundation. There is no doubt, that as the country augments in population and riches, this place will become the site of a commercial inland town, which will keep pace with the progress and prosperity of the country. One of the Indian mounts here is of considerable elevation, with a species of rampart surrounding a large space, which was, no doubt, the position of a fortified town.

While here, Mr. Dunbar met with an American who pretended to have been up the Arkansa river three hundred leagues. The navigation of this river he says is good to that distance, for boats drawing three or four feet water. Implicit faith, perhaps, ought not to be given to his relation, respecting the quantity of silver he pretends to have collected there. He says he has found silver on the Washita, thirty leagues above the hot springs, so rich, that three pounds of it yielded one pound of silver, and that this was found in a cave. He asserts, also, that the ore of the mine upon the little Missouri, was carried to Kentucky, by a person of the name of Boon, where it was found to yield largely in silver. This man says he has been up the Red river

likewise, and that there is a great rapid just below the raft, or natural bridge, and several others above it; that the Caddo nation is about fifty leagues above the raft, and near to their village commences the country of the great prairies, which extend four or five hundred miles to the west of the sand mountains, as they are termed. These great plains reach far beyond the Red river to the south, and northward over the Arkansa river, and among the numerous branches of the Missouri. He confirms the account of the beauty and fertility of the western country.

On the morning of the 25th Mr. Dunbar set out, on horseback, from the Catahoola to Natchez. The rain which had fallen on the preceding day rendered the roads wet and muddy, and it was two in the afternoon before he reached the Bayau Crocodile, which is considered half way between the Black river and the Mississippi. It is one of the numerous creeks in the low grounds which assist in venting the waters of the inundation. On the margins of the water courses the lands are highest, and produce canes; they fall off, in the rear, into cypress swamps and lakes. The waters of the Mississippi were rising, and it was with some difficulty that they reached a house near Concord that evening. This settlement was begun since the cession of Louisiana to the United States, by citizens of the Mississippi territory, who have established their residence altogether upon newly acquired lands, taken up under the authority of the Spanish commandant, and have gone to the expense of improvement either in the names of themselves or others, before the 20th of December, 1803, hoping thereby to hold their new possessions under the sanction of the law.

Exclusive of the few actual residents on the banks of the Mississippi, there are two very handsome lakes in the interior, on the banks of which similar settlements have been made. He crossed at the ferry, and at mid-day of the 26th reached his own house.

Dr. Hunter and the remainder of the party, followed Mr. Dunbar, down the Washita, with the boat in which they ascended the river, and, ascending the Mississippi, reached St. Catharine's landing on the morning of the 31st January, 1805.

METEOROLOGICAL Observations made by Mr. Dunbar and Doctor Hunter, in their Voyage up the Red and Washita Rivers, in the Year 1804.

Time of observ.		THERMOMETER.				Wind.	Weather and Meteorological Phenomena, &c.
Day of the month.		Sun's Rise.	3 P M	8 P M	In River Water.		
1804.							
October	20	40°	80°	°	73°	—	
—	21	60	83	—	—	S. S. E.	Light clouds.
—	22	65	79	—	—	S. [illegible] E.	Cloudy.
—	23	67	73	—	—	—	
—	24	54	68	—	71	N. NNW.	Cloudy in morn. evening clear
—	25	49	60	—	68	North.	Cloudy morn; clear evening.
—	26	40	70	—	65	N. W.	Light clouds.
—	27	32	73	—	64	North.	Hoar frost, fog on river; clear above.
—	28	40	73	56	63	—	
—	29	41	85	62	62	NW. SW.	Fog on river.
—	30	47	83	60	60	W. N. W.	Fog on river; clear above.
—	31	44	84	—	62	N N W.	Ditto, ditto
November	1	48	85	64	62	—	Calm and clear above.
—	2	48	84	78	62	S. S. E.	
—	3	52	86	72	64	—	Some light clouds.
—	4	54	83	63	64	—	Clear.
—	5	52	68	58	62	N. W.	Heavy fog and damp air.
—	6	45	79	—	64	West.	Heavy fog.
—	7	52	80	67	64	—	Clear. Lat. 32° 29′ N.
—	8	53	61	56	58	—	Cloudy. A disagreeable damp day.
—	9	42	73	—	61	—	Cloudy, damp and cold,
—	10	40	72	34	58	—	Clear and calm.
—	11	24	—	—	53	—	Do. ditto
—	12	36	—	54	51	—	Clear & calm; cloudy evening
—	13	33	66	62	55	South.	Fog on river; calm evening; cloudy
—	14	44	58	44	55	—	Clear and calm.
—	15	38	60	50	54	—	Clear and calm.
—	16	38	51	42	54	North.	Morning calm; afternoon cloudy, damp & disagreeable.
—	17	40	41	44	54	—	Calm, fog on riv. lat. 32° 13′ N.
—	18	32	—	57	52	—	Serene morning; cloudy even
—	19	54	67	62	54	—	Cloudy; calm.
—	20	59	62	54	54	—	Cloudy; calm.
—	21	43	72	58	54	—	Calm; a little fog.
—	22	40	68	—	—	—	
—	23	48	72	54	54	—	Light clouds; calm.
—	24	48	72	59	54	—	Light clouds; calm.
—	25	—	—	—	—	—	Rainy.
—	26	50	68	62	57	—	Clear.
—	27	54	71	66	58	—	Cloudy.
—	28	68	78	73	60	—	Cloudy; calm.
—	29	72	76	52	62	South.	Cloudy & strong wind; rain 9 A. M. clear at noon.
—	30	32	57	—	60	—	Cloudy and calm.

Time of observ.		THERMOMETER.				Wind.	Weather and Meteorological Phenomena, &c.
Day of the month		Sun's Rise.	3 P M	8 P M	In River Water.		
1804.							
December	1	32°	58°	35°	54°	—	Clear and calm.
—	2	30	59	38	50	—	Clear and calm.
—	3	38	59	44	48	—	Clear and calm.
—	4	36	50	36	48	—	Clear and calm.
—	5	23	56	38	47	—	Serene and calm.
—	6	45	67	56	48	S. W.	Cloudy; light wind.
—	7	38	50	24	47	N. W.	Cloudy, Lat. 34° 27′ 31″
—	8	10	47	—	43	N. W.	High wind; very serene.
—	9	19	42	28	41	N. W.	Very serene; wind moderate.
—	10	26	50	28	—	N. W.	Very serene; wind moderate. Lat. 34° 31′ N. at Hot Springs.
—	11	48	59	50	—	S. E.	Cloudy, damp, & penetrating.
—	12	36	44	32	—	North.	Cloudy, damp, & disagreeable
—	13	26	40	30	—	North.	Cloudy, dark, & disagreeable.
—	14	28	40	32	—	N. E.	Cloudy, dark, and cold, with sleet.
—	15	26	32	30	—	N. W.	Wind strong; cloudy.
—	16	21	32	22	—	N. W.	Wind moderate.
—	17	20	42	28	—	N. W.	Wind moderate; bright morn; fine day; rain in the night.
—	18	34	36	32	—	North.	Cold and damp; dark and cloudy; rain at noon; hail and snow in evening.
—	19	30	30	23	—	West.	Snowing. Ground covered 4 inches with snow.
—	20	30	36	32	—	West.	Light driving clouds from N W
—	21	32	—	31	—	North.	Cloudy and damp; snow on ground.
—	22	31	36	34	—	North.	Dark and cloudy; rain early in the day; snow in evening.
—	23	30	40	33	—	N. W.	Clouds begin to dissipate.
—	24	32	45	34	—	N. W.	Wind moderate.
—	25	34	50	44	—	N. W.	Cloudy.
—	26	34	50	34	—	N. W.	Clear and windy.
—	27	26	45	38	—	N. E.	Clear and cold.
—	28	34	32	30	—	S. W.	Cloudy in morning; snow in afternoon.
—	29	25	—	24	—	N. W.	Strong wind; stormy afternoon; calm night.
—	30	9	38	21	36	N. W.	High wind; last night very cold.
—	31	29	32	—	36	S. E.	Snow. Lat 34° 28′ N.
1805.							
January	1	26	32	18	—	—	Snow.
—	2	6	45	32	32	—	Calm.
—	3	22	48	30	34	N. W.	Wind moderate.
—	4	22	50	32	3[illegible]		
—	5	22	55	28	36	N. W. S. E.	Clear.
—	6	28	50	44	38	—	Cloudy and a little rain.
—	7	64	78	38	44	—	Night cloudy, cold & moist.
—	8	28	37	37	46	—	Rain in evening and night.

Time of observ.		THERMOMETER.				Wind.	Weather and Meteorological Phenomena, &c.
Day of the month		Sun's Rise.	3 P M	8 P M	In River Water.		
1805. January	9	42°	36°	24°	44°	North.	Dark, cloudy and cold, with hail.
—	10	23	32	19	42	North.	Cold and damp. Lat. 3[illegible]° N.
—	11	11	32	26	39	—	Fine morning, and very cold
—	12	20	43	30	40	—	The air damp and penetrating.
—	13	27	53	30	40	N. E.	Morning fine and dry; evening moist.
—	14	23	53	32	40	N. W.	Light wind; atmosphere dry.
—	15	30	63	43	40	S. E.	Cloudy; wind light.
—	16	36	65	60	41	—	At Fort Miro. Lat. 32° 30′ N.
—	17	60	—	—	44	S. W.	Cloudy.
—	18						Clear.
—	19	—	58	50	43	S. W.	Cloudy, and drizzly rain.
—	20	56	51	40	43	—	Wind variable.
—	21	21	36	26	40	East.	Weather raw and cold.
—	22	21	48	40	39	N. E.	Clouds and drizzly raw.
—	23	49	64	54	42	S. E.	Rain. Lat. 31° 37′ N.
—	24	55	50	46	43	—	Windy; cold and raw.
—	25	36	40	40	40	—	Stormy and snow.
—	26	32	36	33	42	N. E.	Lat. 31° N.
—	27	24	50	32	44	East.	On Mississippi river; clear and moderate.
—	28	26	56	40	34	North.	Fine weather.
—	29	34	56	—	33	North.	Raw and cloudy.
—	30	36	55	53	34	N. E.	Cloudy and moderate.
—	31	56	—	—	38	S. E.	

END OF LEWIS AND CLARKE'S TRAVELS.

ACCOUNT

OF

A VOYAGE

TO THE

WESTERN COAST

OF

AFRICA;

PERFORMED BY

HIS MAJESTY's SLOOP FAVOURITE,

In the Year 1805.

BEING A JOURNAL OF THE EVENTS WHICH HAPPENED TO THAT VESSEL, FROM THE TIME OF HER LEAVING ENGLAND TILL HER CAPTURE BY THE FRENCH, AND THE RETURN OF THE AUTHOR IN A CARTEL.

BY F. B. SPILSBURY,

SURGEON TO THE FAVOURITE,

AND AUTHOR OF PICTURESQUE TRAVELS IN SYRIA, &c

ILLUSTRATED WITH NUMEROUS ENGRAVINGS

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1807.

ADVERTISEMENT.

ON presenting the following brief remarks for the perusal of the public, the author feels convinced that they can have no other claim to notice, than such as they may deserve on account of their veracity. When he took the various sketches from which the accompanying engravings have been produced, it was with an intention to give Picturesque Views of the African Coast; but his intentions having been rendered abortive by the capture of the ship to which he belonged, he can now only offer the few trifling observations which he was enabled to make, during the short time he remained ashore. These, however, will be found, perhaps, to possess no small interest, as they will afford a correct idea of the present state of Sierra Leone, and the Slave-Trade, as well as of the customs and manners of the various native tribes.

The drawings and portraits were made on the spot; and the author, although he may solicit indulgence, under the circumstances which he has already stated, for the brevity of his descriptions, has nevertheless little to regret on that account, when it is considered that almost every thing which can be said relative to the Western Coast of Africa, has already been detailed by other and more competent travellers.

The author and his companions were captured early in 1806, and were soon afterwards sent to England in the Trio cartel, a Liverpool Slave-brig.

VOYAGE

TO THE

WESTERN COAST OF AFRICA.

ON Sunday September the 22d, 1805, his majesty's sloop Favourite got under weigh from St. Helens, about eleven o'clock, A. M. under the orders of Capt. K. Maxwell, of his majesty's ship Arab, with five vessels in company; and on the 24th about seven P. M. we took our departure from the Lizard, bearing N. ½ W. distant about five leagues. It was at first understood that we were to proceed to the West Indies, but after various orders and equipments, we at length received a final one for the African station. I was now supplied in my department with a double allowance of bark, and such other medicaments as are requisite for a climate so fatal to Europeans as that to which we were destined.

We had now a steady gale with light showers. The thermometer stood in general at 61°; but on the 27th it dropt to 59°; two degrees of cold being produced by the evaporation of water from washing the cabin. And it must be observed, that the thermometer during the course of this voyage and returning in the cartel, hung always in the shade. We were extremely sorry to find one of our convoy prove a bad sailer, as it would of course impede our progress in the voyage; her name was the Mary of London. The commodore and our vessel alternately took her in tow.

September the 28th, we gave chace to a strange sail, which proved to be a Swede bound to the Mediterranean: none but those who are acquainted with the disposition of a sailor, can conceive the disappointment at her not proving a prize. In hopes of better success, we regained our station. On the 29th it blew so hard, that we were obliged to reduce our sails almost to bare poles, and although deeply loaded, we were very crank. The sea now ran very high, yet we spoke two vessels. In the night

two guns broke loose, but very fortunately we got over the danger without damage.

September the 30th, the sea continued high; and in the evening the Mary came alongside, and carried away the jib boom, but got clear without farther loss.

October the 1st, we evidently felt the increase of heat. Our men were regularly trained, as is customary, to the exercise of great guns and small arms. It is perhaps the great attention to this most useful regulation on board British ships of war, which gives us a decided superiority over our enemies. On the beat of a drum, the men immediately fly to their quarters; and their being so constant in that point of duty, increases their agility, gives them confidence in their own powers, and prevents much of that confusion, which with those less disciplined must necessarily ensue—even the little powder-boy would be ashamed of being reproached by his ship mates, for not knowing his duty. On these occasions a general silence prevails, all attentively listening for the word of command.

We now again were sent in chace of a strange ship; she proved to be a Prussian; the master of her was ill, and wished advice, but we were ordered to make sail immediately.

Nothing particular occurred until October the 3d, when, the weather being nearly calm, a number of flying fish passed us, some few of them falling on board. The machine for purifying our water was by some means stopt. The cooper was therefore ordered to open it: the principle was by conveying the water through charcoal, by which method, the most putrid water becomes immediately sweet; but it was insufficient to supply the whole ship's company. We were at this time nearly 210 miles from any land; yet two small birds followed us, one a redstart. The race of these poor animals was nearly run, and the first puff of wind deprived them of their last hopes.

A number of small shells were seen floating by the ship; on gathering of which, they stained the hands, as well as paper or wool, with a beautiful and permanent purple. The fish projected from the shells about an inch and half, and when taken out of them, there appeared at the end a small blue vein, which, when opened, produced the dying liquid; and this we supposed to be the blood of the insect. (*See the Plate.*) The citric acid changed the fluid into a fine deep blue. They can throw out this liquor at pleasure; and when put into water, it is tinged with their colours. To me the insect appeared bloated, which rendered it so extremely buoyant, having perhaps undergone some peculiar change: the sea was literally covered with them; and apparently they had not power to contract themselves into their [illegible]. Light airs and heavy rains.

On the 5th, in lat. 37° 54' N. long. 13° 51' W. we spoke a schooner from Liverpool, bound to the Coast, out of which we pressed the mate and one man; these small vessels run before the large ships, go up the rivers, and bargain for slaves, that the cargoes may be ready against the ships arrive. A large piece of wreck passed us this day, which the commodore sent his boat out after.

On the 7th, we picked up a pipe of excellent red wine, but of what kind we could not determine; it must have been very long in the water, as it was covered with large barnacles. As the cask was towing on board, some coal-fish followed it, two of which we struck. At this time, we saw a brig and large ships bearing down on us, and about eight o'clock at night we cleared for action; they proved to be Portuguese, bound to the Havannah; one a Brazilian. A number of albicores were sporting about, and threw themselves to a considerable height out of the water.

On the 11th we saw land, at 10 A. M. bearing W. N. W. distant six leagues, lat. at noon 32° 32' N. long 17° 37' W. which proved to be the Deserters.

MADEIRA.

Saturday, October the 12th, we anchored in the road of Madeira, off Funchal; it is an open roadstead, and the land has a most romantic appearance. The town is close to the beach; seems entirely white, and has immense mountains behind it, in general covered with clouds. The purser, Mr. Gay, and myself went out here, and dined with the consul, Mr. Pringle, who treated us with true English hospitality. The inhabitants deal chiefly in wine; but grow very little corn, with which they are supplied from America, About two years since, a large water-spout broke on the top of the mountain over the town: this event happened in the night, and, though it continued but a few minutes, destroyed 1000 inhabitants, washing away houses, churches, and whole streets. They are now repairing, and laying down sewers, so that, should any thing of the kind again happen, the water may be carried off without damage. The town is large, but the streets narrow; the lower floors are all ware-houses, and are far from being in a clean condition. We got excellent fruit here at very reasonable prices. Most of the shops are filled with articles of English growth and manufacture. The better sort of people dress like the English, but the costume of the country people is rather grotesque, especially of the women. A blue conical cloth cap, with a small bit of red rag on each side; under this, a white linen handkerchief which flows over their shou-

ders; a straight cloth cloak, blue or brown, edged with red; a close-bodied jacket, and striped petticoat: they go bare-legged. The men likewise wear a cap, and their coat thrown over their shoulders; their waistcoats and drawers fit close; the latter reaching below the knee.

The countrymen in general carry a long pole on their shoulders, over which is oftentimes thrown their coat. The women, according to the Moorish custom, squat on their hams. On Sunday, they bring various productions from the country for sale; especially a coarsish brown bread. They are very hospitable and inoffensive. A draughtsman whom we met with here, informed us, he had travelled over the island, and was always well treated: he described the views as the most grand and romantic imaginable. Their principal article of cultivation, their wines, they bring to the capital, for sale to the merchants; they are the common Madeira, Malmsey, and a species of Burgundy.

The cathedral is well worth seeing; it is very richly decorated with gold and silver ornaments In the body of this edifice, while I was viewing it, the corpse of a female child was brought without a coffin, dressed with flowers, and its hands clasped together: a hole was dug into which they laid it in, the earth was then thrown over it, and trampled down before its mother, who appeared very little concerned. We afterwards learnt, that parents rejoice at their children dying so young; as, having no sin, they are sure to go to heaven. There was, however, a pleasing melancholy about the mother; or I may call it resignation: her attention to keep the flowers in their places, the frequent moving of the handkerchief from its face, all proved, that nature still held her sway, though curbed by superstition. After the ceremony was over, she carefully folded up the handkerchief which covered it, and placed it in her bosom. She received our small gift of money, thanked us with the more eloquent language of her eyes, and all the company separated.

We could not avoid remarking the difference between this really solemn, though artless funeral, and the more pompous ones, which we frequently observe at home; it was indeed grateful to the feelings, and there was no one present but participated. The mother herself carried the child, and laid it in its last bed.

I never saw such a number of ordinary women together; scarcely any of them were even tolerable. The women of Funchal are brown, and some of them almost beyond that cast. Many of the country-girls, however, have pretty features.

A loathsome disease is diffused over this charmingly fertile island, and seems to hover over it, as a curse. Lepers are so common in the streets, as to be completely disgusting; the disease shews itself in ulcers, or white blotches, in various parts of the

body; it makes dreadful havoc on the cheeks, lips, &c. of the poor females, and yet they do not consider it infectious.

The soldiers here are very mean, and are great thieves: some of them stole our purser's dirk while he was walking in the streets.

The wives of the merchants are carried about in palanquins made extremely neat. Their best horses come from America: for removing their wine, &c. to the beach, they use a curious kind of sledge, drawn by two bullocks: a boy always walks before their head, while a man guides them with a pole; and when there are no casks on the sledge, they in general stand on it and drive; they are extremely expert at this, and very seldom any accident happens to them.

We seldom hear of any murders being committed here; and I am, as I before mentioned, credibly informed, that in the country the people are extremely hospitable, and will not accept any return for the little assistance they may render a stranger. Poultry is very dear, a fowl costing six shillings. Fish are caught in abundance: the sea-pikes are not inferior to the river ones.

Our consort, the Arab, lost here some men, who swam away; two fell from a rock forty feet high, but, though much bruised, recovered. We had only two men punished for drunkenness. We obtained here a plentiful supply of beef, wine, and water. When we came to Funchal, we found the wine we had picked up at sea, to be the best Madeira Burgundy. This island produces beans, apples, and every kind of fruit belonging to hot climates.

The fields are covered with most beautiful flowers, and odoriferous herbs; and the honey produced here, is supposed to be the finest in the world. The nuns employ themselves in making artificial fruit and flowers, some of which were brought on board to be sold. I had heard much of their preserves, but saw none. The man we pressed out of the little Liverpool vessel ran away here. This island has been so often and so well described by various authors, that it would be useless for me to enter into any farther particulars, as the shortness of our stay prevented me from making any excursions on it. I should have been happy, had my time been longer, and enabled me to give a full description of the customs and manners of the people; but let an author only relate what he sees on the spot, and "catch the manners living as they rise," instead of compiling from others, and he will gain sufficient credit from his readers.

October 19th. We took our departure from Madeira, leaving our commodore behind, and having in company our convoy. On the 21st we made Teneriffe, S. W. ¼. S. distant about 35 leagues; at twelve o'clock, the Peak bore S. W. ½ S. distant 25 leagues: its ancient name was Teyde, and it is in the centre of the island. At sun-set, Palma bore W. ½ S. distant 15 leagues:

and Teneriffe S. W. by S. The 22d, we gave chace to a vessel, which proved to be the Tigress East Indiaman, who had lost her consort. In the afternoon, a privateer came amongst our convoy, to which we gave chace, and fired several broadsides at her: she got under the land, but we did not give over the chace until dark; when we sent our second lieutenant on board the Anderson schooner with twenty men, but they could not come up with her. It unfortunately happened, that the schooner was without shot to fit her guns; she therefore loaded them up to the muzzles with broken glass, &c.; they chaced her until dark, when she escaped. All our men were now busily employed in preparing for crossing the line, by making masks, and other accoutrements, for the burlesque ceremony which takes place on that occasion.

We were at this time in lat. 38° 27′ N. and close under the land, the Peak of Teneriffe bearing W. ½ N. Doctor Heberden calculates it to be 15,000 feet above the surface of the sea; its different names are Teneriffe, Tenerife, or Teyde; its appearance is very remarkable.

October 23d. During the firing of yesterday, large sharks came round the vessels, which, they say, is often the case in these latitudes. This afternoon parted company from us, the Andrew, Hammond, bound for the Bermudas. We found our situation very troublesome among these islands, being so frequently becalmed: most accounts of these parts, mention the same occurrence to be common.

25th. We had this day a man taken ill at the wheel, with the usual symptoms of fever.

On the 26th, we were very near running on shore in the morning; it was very thick and misty, and the land was mistaken for a fog-bank, until the breakers were heard very plain; we supposed ourselves to be near Cape Bojador. At noon we were in lat. 25° 47′ N. long. 16° 9′ W.

November 1st. This day we crossed the line;* and to see the ceremony, ensign Forbes and lady, with the gentlemen of the Anderson, came on board. It was as follows:——When every thing was prepared, a hoarse voice was heard under the bows hailing the ship—"From whence come you?"—"Whither are you bound, &c.?"—The ship's name, and the commander's, were mentioned in answer, as also its destination. Neptune then made his appearance with his wife and two sons dripping wet, as if he had just arisen out of the sea; his dress consisted solely

* By the line, the author must in this instance mean the tropic of Cancer. EDITOR.

of a pair of fantastical trowsers, with a conical cap on his head; his body was painted with various marine devices, and a large swab (which is composed of strands of ropes untwisted, and is used by the seamen for the same purpose as a mop; answering also for a cloth to wipe up wet, &c.) hanging behind; in his hand a trident, on the barbed points of which was stuck a piece of salt fish, as the produce of his dominions. Amphitrite, or, as they call her, Mrs. Neptune, was personated by the boatswain's mate, an arch fellow, decked in the clothes of some of the women on board: in his hand he held a harpoon. The sons were dressed similar to old Neptune. The ship's crew had beforehand got the carriage of our bow-chase-gun ready, with two tubs for them to sit on. And now if the reader pleases, we will follow them in procession round all the decks: first, those who had before crossed the Tropics, had each a boarding pike in his hand, to enforce order and attention, and at the same time to keep those below who had not undergone this watery ordeal. Every thing being now in readiness, the constables were sent first to clear the way: then marched the fifer and drummer, playing "See the conquering hero comes;" next two barbers, with tremendous razors made of old hoops, one smooth for those who behave well, and the other like a saw for all who rebel: then came the secretary with his book, and a list of the names of those who had not crossed the line; by his side was placed another barber, with a bucket of tar, and something with it which it would not be altogether delicate to mention. After these came the Tritons, six drawing the car; in the front the two sons, Neptune and his wife, with the servant behind. In this order, they proceeded thrice round the deck, amidst repeated shouts and bursts of laughter. At length the car stopped against the pumps; where there was a large tub placed full of water; and now the clerk first called on the constables to bring the purser's steward, one to whom the sailors in general have a peculiar antipathy, as they suppose he frequently abridges a portion of their provisions, to enrich his master. With a great deal of mirth he was brought out of the hold, between two constables, blind-folded, and placed on a board over the tub. The barber, whose office it was to apply the lather, i. e. tar and ——, first put some questions to him, such as "What made him come to sea?" &c.: but he being forewarned, kept his mouth shut close, which was not the case with others who in consequence received a *quantum sufficit* of this delicious compound. Finding him aware of their manœuvre, the tar brush was liberally applied in all directions; the barber with his fine razor then gave him a scrape, which occasioning him to struggle, the plank was

removed from under him, and he fell into the tub: and now it was that the water poured on him in all directions.

We had two women on board, one a little black female; by these Neptune had been oftentimes affronted at the galley fire (where the meat for the officers and people is cooked). He called out lustily for them to be shaven and little Dingey was introduced amidst buckets of water, but instead of patiently submitting to this kind of treatment, she used her hands so well, they were glad to relinquish further proceedings, and let her go. A quarter-master swore he had crossed the line, and he had just before privately thrown overboard the first set of razors, he was at this time at the wheel, and hoped to escape, but the captain ordered him to be relieved, and down he was taken by the constables to stand his trial.—He was asked, Where he had been?—In what latitude?—What marks he saw on the starboard and larboard hand, &c.? He confused himself by his answers, and was taken to the tub by force, and shaved, but not with the smooth razor, to the no small diversion of the whole crew, and being well ducked, he was suffered to escape. Thus closed this day of mirth, which would have been repeated, had we crossed either of the other lines.

November the 2d. We got soundings in 140 fathoms. Lat. 21° 13′ N. Long. 19° 11′ W.

Nov. 2nd. Cape Blanco bore E. by S. ½ S. distant 131 miles.

Nov. 3d. Mustered the ship's company at quarters, and read the articles of war to them, as is customary at least once a month. A great number of flying fish were seen flying round us.

Nov 4th. Read the articles of war to the ship's company, and the captain cautioned them on the preservation of their health. We at length made Cape Verd, passed the large Bird's Island, and dropt anchor before the town of Goree.

GOREE.

Before anchoring we sent the cutter with our sub-lieutenant on shore, with a flag of truce, for fear the French might have possession of the island. Saw our convoy lying in the roads. The boat returned with compliments from the governor, and that he would be glad to see the captain on shore. Goree is almost a barren rock: the inhabitants get nearly all the provisions from the Main-land. The governor's name is Lloyd. He has established some good regulations among them. By cutting the dollars into four parts, he keeps the specie on the island, which before was always drained from it. Nor will he allow



Slaves beating Cuscus.



bodies to be buried there for fear of infection, but has them sent over to the Main, where they are generally dug up, and devoured by the tigers and other wild beasts. The lady of the captain of the African regiment told a pathetic tale of the loss of two of her children, whose corpses they were obliged to smuggle into the fort The riches of the inhabitants consist of slaves, each house having a slave yard, with huts for them; among the female slaves are many elegant figures, and some of the mulatto women are real beauties. Most Europeans form temporary attachments when they come to this island; and so very chaste are the women that none have ever been known to attempt other connexions, while they think their husband survives, even though he may have left the island. The slaves of both sexes are naked, except the piece of cloth which passes round the loins. The females do all the drudgery, such as beating corn, &c. with their children at their backs: this operation is performed in a wooden mortar, with a large pestle; and to shew their agility, the women clap their hands while it flies upwards. There are continual importations of slaves from the Main-land.

About 190 of the African rifle-corps are stationed here, the remains of a body, the rest of which have fallen a prey to the climate; among them are some fine-looking men. An anecdote was told me of a person of rank on the island, which is deserving of notice, as it shews how far human nature may be degraded, when we are deprived of our finer feelings. The governor had a good horse, which this gentleman remarking, said with great *sang-froid*, "It was worth four slaves," and offered to purchase it at that price.

It was now a most healthy season, the commencement of their winter. We frequently sent the boat to the Main-land, which always returned with plenty of excellent fish of various kinds. Our people were obliged to use the utmost caution for fear of the sharks, which are of a large size, and swarm round the island; I have seen them from eight to ten feet long. Natives of the Main come over to Goree, with all kinds of provisions, in a small canoe, sharp at each end and flat bottomed, but raised in the fore part. Some have one sail, others two, which are cut in what the sailors call shoulder of mutton fashion: the canoe is a solid body of a tree hollowed out, and simple as it is, they sail very fast, and the owners steer them in a wonderful manner with their paddles; but by no temptation would they be attracted near us.

The inhabitants of Goree are not jet black, but a mixture. There are about 300 vessels continually trading up the river Gambia for slaves, which, from the best authenticated accounts,

are procured in the following manner: If a prince wants a commodity of any kind, and it requires more than he is worth to pay for it, he destroys a village, seizes its poor inhabitants, and sells them: they weep bitterly at first, but are soon reconciled to their unfortunate situation. Their principal chief is the prince of Marabou; his subjects are jet black. The small town which the kings of Marabou reside in, is surrounded with a mean wall: they have an idea that this wall is a charm, or, as they term it, a *griggery* or *grisgris*; and they think that should any enemies presume to come over it, the houses themselves would fall and destroy them. A neighbouring prince offered to the governor of Goree a hundred slaves, if he would permit our African soldiers to storm it first; however, one of the enemy contrived to get over, and stabbed one of the king's sons.

On this coast, it frequently happens that a large tree in a town becomes a *grisgris*; and some princes who are under a *fittish* will not go on board a ship, or on an island, from an idea that they will sink immediately on setting their foot on it, while others suppose they will die if they see salt water. They are in general covered with such charms: among the Jolofs, Mandingos, &c. who are Mahometans, they consist of pieces of the Alcoran, covered with leather, or some other relic; nor do they suppose they ever can err, but attribute every thing to the ill conduct of those who have offended them.

There is a law in Goree, that if any man murders a slave, he shall buy another to make good the owner's loss.

At the moment of my writing this, the 10th of November, it is so very sickly on the river, that a slave-ship has sent in word, they have lost all hands.

Bird's Island is larger than Goree, and produces a quantity of cotton, wild; but no water is to be got there. There is one small bay, the entrance to which might be easier defended than Goree, and the whole of it might be made a garden. One person from Goree built a house on it, being discontented with his former situation; but he left it for want of water.

On the 11th, Mr. Gay and myself went on shore; a shot was fired over the town from a battery on the hill, which is an annual custom, importing that the healthy season had commenced. If this custom, had been neglected, it would have given rise to unpleasant conjectures, as the inhabitants, as may be supposed from what has been said, are very superstitious. In the evening a ball was given, at which there was certainly a numerous and beautiful assemblage. We were also at a wedding; the bride, a beautiful black girl, was introduced to us; she was veiled, and had a profusion of gold ornaments about her; consisting of

bracelets, rings, necklaces, &c. We were led to it by the sound of a drum, and the clapping of hands; the company formed a ring; and each woman by turns got into the middle, and danced; they made the most hideous contortions of their features and limbs, after which, they joined in the circle. The next day they go in procession round the streets; the bride supported by one of her friends, and the rest at intervals dancing round her, singing, &c.; this continues for some days, and even the governor could not be excused from attending, the custom is so established. If any officer or settler, of respectability, wants a wife, he must court the girl a month, and then give what they call a great dinner; inviting all her relations, and keeping open house for some days: this, of course, is extremely expensive, as it costs seldom less than two hundred pounds. At the weddings of the poorer classes, each one of the company gives a piece of money; I met my washerwoman going to one with a dollar for that purpose.

The second remove, or mixture of a mulatto with a white, produces children nearly of a white cast, or as they are called by Europeans *misters*: I do not think the mulattoes in general so handsome as the blacks.

November 12th. The prince of Marabou this day paid us a visit, and the captain presented him with an old cocked hat, of which he was very proud—his brother Alexander, a general, accompanied him. We found he owed the island fifty slaves, and was on the point of commencing a war for the express purpose of liquidating the debt.

This is the only place at which I heard of going to war for slaves, and I am apt to think there is some mistake, as he was a merchant, and more likely to purchase than otherwise. He brought a milch-goat with him to sell, and kid, but as the lady for whom it was intended was on shore, he would not leave it, but took it into the boat with him. I have given him a drawing of him, exactly as he was dressed. His brother was a strong athletic man, had a fine open countenance, which bespoke urbanity of manners; in short, we were all fond of Alexander: he was almost covered with *grisgris*: his worsted blue cap, with red hoops, had a most ludicrous appearance.

There are several ostriches kept on this island; the governor frequently hunts them on the parade with dogs. As soon as the bird is produced he begins dancing, and at last sets off, leaving the dogs far behind: he goes regularly to the bottom of the parade and up again; setting the dogs at defiance, whom he easily out-runs with the help of his wings; nor can they catch him.

Goree is a rock of iron stone; the principal water they get from the Main-land, as they have only one well on the island, which is not nearly sufficient to supply their wants. The established custom of not giving any woman leave to quit the island after her marriage causes a number of widows to be resident there, many of whom of course are young ones, their husbands probably still living elsewhere.

Their dress is a wrapping petticoat, if such I may call it, of white cotton with a coloured edge, and at the upper part a narrow border of a finer sort; this they lap two or three times round them and tuck in; such a garment costs seven dollars:—the rest consists of a chemise, over which a loose piece of cotton cloth is carelessly wrapped, and a handkerchief round the head. They are excessively fond of gold, and hide every guinea or doubloon they can procure. It was here I first tasted palm-wine, and I cannot say that I think it an unpleasant liquor The ladies, if on the beach when it is coming on shore from the Main, will hold out their hands to have some poured in to drink. When new, it is very pleasant, and looks like milk and water; but when kept a few days, is very intoxicating. When new, the natives here are extremely fond of it.

Washing on this island is charged at the rate of a dollar for a dozen pieces, counting a handkerchief, &c. as a shirt. They are beaten on stones, and then rinsed. This is the only kind of washing in use, notwithstanding which, the articles are bleached very white.

There is a law here which deserves mentioning. If a slave is born on this island, he cannot be sold out of it, unless he or she commits some considerable crime. It was here governor Wall perpetrated the barbarous murder, for which he suffered the sentence of the law. Both the event and the punishment still continue in the memory of the inhabitants.

They are extremely fond of music; and here as well as on other parts of the coast, which I shall have occasion to mention, they have hand-organs in their houses. It certainly is a great change to an Englishman, when he witnesses the customs at Madeira; but what must it be when he lands at Goree? It is impossible to describe the sensation at first stepping on shore, where he finds every thing so perfectly different from European scenes: he is immediately surrounded by numerous black boys and girls, quite naked, and skipping around him in play; but not begging: the females naked, especially the slaves; or with only a small rag round their waists.

We were recommended to a free man, a Mr. Crew, where we found the most liberal accommodations; he had lost his wife, and had a fine boy, who was a more perfect black than himself: at

dinner I could not help looking round me, at the novelty of being waited on by boys and girls, nearly in a state of nature: indeed one named little Harry was quite an adept. The above gentleman once lived at Sierra Leone; and is well known for the goodness of his disposition and pleasantness of his manners: he had lately been in England, and intends sending his son thither to finish his education. When our boat went to the main land, to draw the seine for fish, the prince always came down, and they invariably complimented him with a few choice ones. Here we first began to give our men bark in wine; a glass before they went, and another when they returned, under the idea of preventing fever.

Whatever medical gentlemen may think of this practice, I shall call it a *hocus-pocus* mode of driving away fever. I am of opinion, it might be much better reserved till another opportunity, when it is really wanted, and might prove of great utility. If, instead of this, the men were allowed double the quantity of wine, it would be of more service; for can any one seriously suppose, that a dram of bark, only occasionally exhibited, can be of any advantage? Again, the surgeon is by this, reducing his stock, when it cannot be replenished, as here, money could not purchase it, though for want of this useful tonic, his people were dying round him.

There is another circumstance necessary to be attended to with respect to medicines at sea. All powders, especially bark, should, when sent to hot climates, be put into bottles, well corked down, and then dipt in rosin or wax; for it is well known, that the loss of the virtues of this medicine in these climates, is owing to its being exposed to the air. One proof I shall lay before my readers—From Apothecaries'-hall I had bark in jars; with a bung and a wrapper tied over it: I had also from the same place some in bottles, which I dipped in rosin. When I opened them at Sierra Leone, there was a wonderful difference in their quality, the jar did not smell more aromatic than the small quantity in the bottles; that in the jar appeared to hang together as if mites were among it, and, though the utmost care had been taken of it, it seemed to be damp: samples from each were easily distinguished. As this article is of such material consequence, I hope care will be taken in future, to bottle it in the same manner as the lime juice, which latter might be curtailed on this station, as limes and acid fruits are in plenty, and may be obtained for the trouble of gathering.

Now I am on this subject, I hope I shall not be thought tedious in mentioning some of our necessaries, as they are termed, more especially the tea, if such I may call it, as is allowed for

a sailor when ill. This is supplied by contract, and is of the very worst quality, being composed of the sweepings of the ships' holds, or what would otherwise be sold for dyeing. When water is added, should any one be blind-folded, I defy him to tell what the infusion is, as it has more of the taste of decayed hay, than any other thing I can think of. Surely, if a sick sailor is to be allowed these *necessaries* for his comfort and speedy recovery, they should, to say the least, be of good quality: I would ask, if such wretched stuff as I have now described, is worthy of a surgeon's oath, "*That the necessaries have all been expended for the use of the sick only?*" I once sent some of the trash to a late board; and received for answer, "*We have examined the tea, and find it as good as the contract will allow.*" There used also to be cocoa and spices allowed, but these have vanished, and only a few races of ginger substituted for them.—I shall now proceed with my journal.

November 13th. At noon we left Goree, with the Mary and Anderson; we were in lat. 13° 12′ N. long. 17° 9′ W. Had on board Ensign Forbes and his lady, as passengers to Sierra Leone. On the 14th, uncommonly large bats flew on board—their heads like that of a fox, and their teeth very large; but, on account of the cruelty of the sailors, we were obliged to throw them overboard. We were from now till the 22d, continually in soundings; during which time, a large quantity of dolphins were swimming about the ship.

November 18th. We had fine clear weather, rather inclining to calm. Great quantities of the Remora or sucking fish, under our stern, with the beautiful little pilot-fish, in shape nearly resembling a perch: two or three of these constantly attend the shark, playing about his fins, and under his belly, when he is not in pursuit of any prey. Of these, the sailors give the same account as the natural historians formerly did of the jackall, or lion's provider; and it therefore bears that name of pilot-fish: in the shark they always find a protector, as they never swim to any distance from him.

SIERRA LEONE.

November 22d. Cloudy with showers of rain, thunder, and lightning. Quarter past four P. M. let go our anchor in 12 fathom. At eight o'clock the Anderson fired two guns, and made signal for land in the S. E. A beautiful bird flew on board, it had blue wings and a red beak: at this time we again anchored: lat. 8° 36′ N.

This evening the atmosphere was extremely mild with light-

ning: the island is high in some places, on which the clouds seem to rest. The point of Cape Sierra Leone was cloathed by numerous large trees. I do not know that I ever saw so majestic and tremendous an appearance as was formed by mountain towering over mountain, which, added to the gloominess of the night, increased its horrors. By the number of lights that appeared, we were certain we were near some large town. The captain stood on till a boat came from the shore, by the people of whom we were informed of the death of the governor. On the sides of the hills there are elephants, tigers, tiger cats, &c. with a very large species of monkey called Chimpanzee, which is near six feet high when full grown. He is very mischievous; when young, however, he is most affectionate to men; and cries like a child when he misses his protector. A gentleman here gives a woman 10s. 6d. per week to suckle one, in order to send it home. There is also an insect which is at least equally alarming, a sort of black ant. When they enter a house, the inhabitants are obliged to leave it immediately, otherwise they would devour them as they do every thing else they meet with; serpents, rats, &c. &c.

November 23d. We came to an anchor off Free-town, and at half past seven o'clock a boat came off and informed us this was the principal town. It was quite dark. On our landing we found that not only the governor was dead, but also a captain of the African corps, who was to have been tried by a court martial for some serious offence. They were very sickly, and in great distress both for medicines and food. The town is in a most romantic situation. At the back of it the mountains are cloathed with wood. Near it is another town, commonly called Dalia Mooda; it is situated on the side of a hill, covered with verdure. The natives are black, but there is a great difference betwixt their dress and that of the people of Goree; here the fashion of the women's cloaths somewhat resembles the costume of a Welsh girl, and they are all exceedingly clean and neat.

In the morning two canoes came alongside; though only the breadth of a man, there were three persons in each of them kneeling and sitting; two paddled, while the third baled the water out. The canoes appeared to be made of the bark of trees; and were exceedingly light. This day some women came on board to barter oranges, lemons, &c. they were extremely pleased to see Williams, the gun-room black cook, whom they recollected by the name of Harris. There are some crown-birds here, but they are very rare to be met with. Ten dollars is the price asked for a bow and arrows, with the quiver complete. The governor a pale invalid, came on board this morning, and politely invited us on shore; he at the same time lamented the

want of good bark, as they had now none in the colony, and wished me to spare him some: I supplied him with what I had from Apothecaries'-hall, on my own account, in bottles. The colony is not at this time in a very thriving condition.

I was informed that a few days before a large snake had been killed, the carcase of which was as much as two men could carry on a pole. they are very common; and it is a fact that they can swallow leopards, bears, &c. There are also two extremely large species of the alligator, which are nearly twenty feet long; they swim between the ships, and pick up any garbage that is thrown overboard: they were frequently fired at, but a bullet will not penetrate them. The smaller ones are very numerous.

November 25th. I dined with the governor, who related some curious anecdotes of the reptiles just alluded to: in particular, of one of them destroying a sentry, and carrying him fairly away: his musquet was found left behind on his post. It came afterwards for the other sentry, but was driven away.

On the 27th of November we again weighed for the islands de Los. On the 29th we had five men taken ill with fever: they were attacked with pain in the head, vomiting, pain in the bowels, and sometimes complained of pain all over the body, attended with great lassitude and a low, *irritable*, quick pulse. In the evening we came to an anchor, and we saw Cape Verga, bearing N. N. E. distant ten or twelve leagues. In the afternoon of the 30th we anchored, tiding it along shore, as the wind was contrary. During our passage a female of Sierra Leone related to us the following story, which will shew the spirit of revenge occasioned by jealousy in the native women. A slave-trader kept a native girl, of whom he was extremely fond: one day unfortunately some words arose, and he struck her over the eye; revenge immediately took possession of her mind, nor did she make it any secret that she was resolved to poison him. This the girl who related the story perfectly understood, and warned the gentleman of the fate that would attend him; begging of him not to permit her to cook his supper, but let the informant perform that service: this with some difficulty he consented to, still laughing at the idea of danger; but being soon afterwards thirsty, he hastily called for a glass of water, which was given to him by the native girl whom he had assaulted: he drank it before the other could wrest the goblet from his hands, and as soon as the deadly potion was administered, the native burst into a loud fit of laughter. Soon after the victim clapped his hand to his breast, and exclaimed, "My God! I am poisoned!" The narrator



Negresses of Sierra-Leone.

immediately got him to bed, and sent for his friends, but he expired in a few hours. When his friends arrived and found him dead, they seized the girl, put a chain round her neck, and sold her as a slave. Another instance, in which the attempt, however, proved abortive, is also worth relating. A black chief who lives near Sierra Leone, married a settler of this colony, an American black; who by her attention and industry by trading for him up the rivers, not only procured him riches, but respect and attention from the colony. According to his country's custom of having more wives than one, he took some from among his own nation, who soon became jealous of the first or head woman.* They attempted to poison her, but the plot was discovered; on which she fled, first returning him all his slaves and presents, declaring she never would cohabit with him again. On the other hand he, almost distracted, took every means of discovering her, but in vain. At last a letter arrived from Liverpool, informing him of her affection and death. It is here necessary to remark, that the natives of this country have four or five wives in general, and each woman sleeps with her husband, in turn, a certain number of nights. This is invariably a rule, and so regular are they in the observance of it, that although the man may have no connection with the wife whose turn comes, he cannot refuse to sleep with her: although there may, however, be a favourite wife whom he oft-times calls to him, treats with marked respect, or pays her many attentions, yet if any connection be discovered out of proper turn, the others will hold a palaver, claiming the custom of their country, and the former is in danger of being taken off by poison; therefore whatever is done must be with the utmost secrecy; and these embraces are stolen with as much precaution as an emperor would make use of in his intrigues. Perhaps one custom may account for their having a plurality of wives; when a woman has borne a child, she does not return to the arms of her husband till that child can bring her a pot of water: nor do they go with their husbands when they have, as they express it, "*the moon on them*!" I have been assured that this is a general term for the occurrence all along this coast and throughout Africa. In short, they attribute more to the influence of the moon than we do. The people

* I have mentioned the chief female as *head woman* or *first wife*. Her privilege is to enjoy an entire command over the rest; and of this in all but the circumstance specified, she makes a most despotic use. Her dress and ornaments are more rich, she follows her husband wherever he goes, and chuses such women as she wishes to be with her.

at Sierra Leone, declare that the moon will turn meat putrid, and produce fevers. I have already alluded to the extreme modesty of the African women; I must here again observe, that although an European lady may turn up her nose at "*the horrid naked creatures*," delicacy will not permit me to enter into particular explanations, but I must declare that they are at certain times much more modest as to their actions and behaviour than many of our fantastical women of fashion. Their attention and submission to their husbands, and their affection for their children, are worthy of the highest encomiums —— Blush! ye fair faced females! this—this IS Nature! Here the name of *wet nurse* is unknown! here the true enjoyment of an offspring is felt as it should be!

On the 1st of December we read the Articles of War to the ship's company; a custom which, by act of parliament, is obliged to be repeated every two months. We mistook the island of Matacovy for Temara. It appears a beautiful spot covered with trees and verdure, but has shoal water all round it: it is in the possession of the Mandingoes. On the 2nd of December having missed the islands, either from the incorrectness of the charts or uncertainty of the tides, and having now a fair wind for Sierra Leone, we returned and anchored again off Free Town. On the 10th we again got under weigh for those islands; the 12th we anchored about seven o'clock, four miles from Factory Island; went on shore with the captain and purser to the factory, where we found Mr. Frisk, an American gentleman, extremely ill with an ulcerated leg. It appeared to be an exfoliation of a part of the tibia, which he supposed was a disease called by them *craw-craws*; but this is a species of the itch, producing small white blotches on the skin, in the joints, between the fingers, and sometimes all over the body, and which easily gives way to preparations of sulphur and lime-juice. He said he would not submit it to the native mode of cure, as it would give him excruciating pain; this method is to bind a roasted lime on the diseased part. I gave him every medical assistance that lay in power, in return for which he made me a present of two kids and a billender of oranges: he also made the captain a present of a very fine ox and some goats. On our first landing here, the people belonging to this gentleman, thinking us French, ran into the woods, as did also his head woman, pulling off her cloth, and scampered away with great expedition. This factory consists merely of a few huts, and the island was purchased by another American of Rio Pongos, of the prince who owned it.

We next went to Crawford's Island, and called at Mr. Wil-

son's, who we found was gone to Sierra Leone: in his yard were a great number of slaves. which had been purchased of him, and relanded from an American slave brig lying off this place, whose crew, from the captain to the lowest sailor, were laid up with fever: only a few female slaves were kept on board to attend them. This was the first time I saw the male slaves in chains. The women never are so confined. Two or more are chained together round their necks with heavy padlocks on their breasts, round the ancles, or hand-cuffed. Those with chains were beating rice, but a melancholy gloom hung over their countenance: they frequently would rest, look at each other, and sigh. The women appeared more cheerful, and the girls did not seem to be much affected. The steward made the captain a present of a small pig. We then walked to another factory on the same island, the owner of which we found was in London: we were, however, handsomely treated by a young woman from Sierra Leone, named Betsy Walker, who gave us refreshments, presented to the captain some goats and pigs, and to myself a kid. She related that when she saw our vessel in the offing, she had resolved to collect the slaves, and remove the property into the woods, as she before had been twice obliged to do when the French effected a landing, by which means she preserved the effects of her friend from plunder. She was continually on the watch with a glass, and in short she shewed so much attention to the trust reposed in her, so much affection and anxiety for his safe return, that I could not help reflecting on leaving her, "What is this difference of colour, that it should stigmatize the being who possesses it?" The house, superintended by this female, was in the most exact order; her slaves were at liberty and in perfect obedience, looking up to her as their protector and friend. Here is an extraordinary instance of a female, on an island where there is but another family; liable every moment to brutality from the attacks of the corsairs, or a whim of the petty kings of the opposite coast, defending herself securing the property of her keeper, and obtaining the respect of all who surround her.

We watered at Temara; I went with the party; the water springs from a rock near the beach, and the casks must be rolled down. A party of black men who came down to the spot, said they were sure Mr. Williams would be very glad to see us. We therefore walked across the island, which is covered with underwood; and on the opposite side we came to the ruins of a village, and were shewn to the hut of their prince, Tom Williams, a stout young man, who spoke very good English: he told us he was very sorry he could offer us no-

thing but water, as he had but just returned to Temara, having had a war with a neighbouring king, who had destroyed his town, as we saw, and had taken a great number of his people: but he assured us that he had been fully revenged, and was now returned to rebuild his town. He said he was taken to England when young, and lived a long time at Chester; but having happily returned to his own country, he fixed on this island, which belonged to him by right. His wives procured us some water, and offered to cook us some fowls, but we declined their politeness and took our departure. It is necessary to remark here, that saluting is not the same as the English fashion; but is performed by one person holding out the hand open, over which the other draws his. One point of this island is called Tom Williams's Point, and on this his town is situated.

December the 16th, at four o'clock, Cape Sierra Leone bore S. W. ½ W. three or four miles. At a quarter past four the ship struck on a shoal of sand called the Middle-ground, the cape bearing at this time S. W. nearly five miles. Hove the sails all aback, and sent the master away to sound. Finding it impracticable to get her off at that time, in consequence of the falling tide, we struck the lower yards and top-masts, and put them over the side to keep the ship upright. Boats were also employed in carrying out anchors, to heave her off.

At twenty minutes past five, came alongside to our assistance Mr. Mc. Cawley, master of the Mary, and also a boat from the Arab: we started our water in the hold, and got every thing ready for heaving her off at high water. A. M. light airs and cloudy. At twenty minutes past twelve brought to the capstan, and endeavoured to heave her off, but without effect. At twenty minutes past nine a schooner came alongside and carried out our bower anchor; she took on board also part of our guns. At ten the Arab came to our assistance. The 17th, early in the morning, all hands were employed at the capstan, and at three they hove her off into three fathoms water. At thirty minutes past three received a hawser from the Arab, and warped her off the bank, and at six anchored in seven and half fathoms. People were now employed in getting up the yards and topmasts, and at nine, we weighed and made sail. In the evening we anchored off Free-town, in eleven fathoms water.

December 20th. We first heard of Lord Nelson's victory over the combined fleet off Trafalgar, and fired a salute of twenty-one guns in consequence. We now received orders to go to Rio Ponjor, to look after a privateer. At half-past six, A. M. we weighed; at seven hoisted in all the boats; and at fifteen mi-[illegible]eleven we anchored in seven and half fathoms, Free-

town, bearing S. by E. On the 22d, we lay off Crawford's island. 23d, Tom Williams's point, S. b. ½ W. six or seven miles. Thirty minutes past five saw four strange sail, gave chace to a schooner and ship, and came up with the schooner, which we found to be a friend. At forty minutes past eleven we came to off Factory Island, in seven and half fathoms water, with the kedge. At this time we had on board a gentleman named Wilson, who was to have piloted us into the Rio Pongos; but meeting with Mr. Lawrence, a black gentleman, son to a Mr. Lawrence of Deal, whom he thought to be a better pilot than himself, he returned to Crawford Island, leaving another black man, Captain Jack, as a clever pilot for that channel. He was one of the men taken in a schooner before our last return to Sierra Leone, belonging to a Mr. Butterfield, who was captured in her. He and Mr. Butterfield had agreed that with three or four more men, they should, if the boat came alongside, try to effect their escape, leave their dispatches with Mr. Frisk, and make the best of their way to Sierra Leone, to give timely notice of an enemy being on the coast. They employed themselves for some time in damping the priming of the musquets; the French prize-master gave them a sufficient opportunity of doing so, by drinking so much porter as to make himself drunk. At last the boat came alongside, when they jumped into her and rowed off. Neither oaths, menaces, nor the actions of the enemy, who pointed their musquets at them, had any effect; only one of the latter went off, fortunately it did no mischief. Mr. Butterfield promised this Captain Jack a slave if he succeeded: he was the person who brought to Sierra Leone the intelligence of the circumstance, which occasioned our going in chace of them. We found Mr. Lawrence at Factory Island coming in search of us, to inform us of the privateer; he also told us that a great number of the men were captured by the natives, and were in chains.

I had now again the pleasure of seeing Mr. Frisk, whose leg I found to be much better, but his knee contracted. At thirty minutes past three, P. M. we made all sail, Mr. Lawrence's sloop in company. Saw a ship in the northward firing at the sloop with grape and round shot: discharged our lárboard broadside at her; which she returned with two, and proved to be the Hibernia from Liverpool, bound to Rio Pongos. On the 25th saw a strange sail: heard the report of two guns, and sent the jolly boat with the master and pilot, to discover the entrance of the river: she returned however without success, the pilot declaring that "his TREE *no lib dere*," the tree being his mark for the entrance. This sufficiently shews the errors of the charts, as there is no river where it is laid down.

December 26th. We picked up a very large canoe adrift; came to an anchor in four fathoms, and saw a strange sail in shore steering to the northward. Sent our cutter to reconnoitre again: at eight A. M. fired three guns: at ten observed our cutter coming; without having found the mouth of the river. Made sail again to the N. W.

December 27th. At five P. M. anchored with the kedge in three and half fathoms. We now, from several circumstances, judged we must be at the mouth of the river: all hands were therefore anxious in making preparation, knowing the enemy's privateer to be of superior force to us. We hung the hammock cloths over our sides to prevent their seeing the guns: our head was muffled up, and disguised in the same manner: and the carpenters were employed in making a false poop: which when finished, occasioned her looking more like a rusty old Guineaman, than a man of war.

December 28th. The cutter returned; they had been a long way up the river, and in the night were close to the privateer, before they were aware of their situation: nor did they find it out until they heard their sentries challenge each other. She immediately got under weigh, and a brig with her did the same; our boat following them, but close under the land for fear of discovery. When our cutter left them they had anchored at the mouth of the river, which is twelve or fourteen miles to the northward of its place in the charts. From the soundings, two and half fathoms, there was scarce water to get over the bar. It was therefore proposed, if we could not get in with the Favourite, to cut the privateer out. We hoisted out the gig, and sent the first and second lieutenants to make observations. In the mean time we got under weigh. We had not made much progress, when we saw them returning, waving their hats. We now got out all our sweeps, regulated the strokes by the drum, and sent the boats ahead to tow. When they came back, they said they had seen her taken aback, with a prize, which she had made Dropped anchor at one P. M. we saw two brigs under American colours: at two commenced firing, when a black privateer hoisted French colours and returned it: at twenty minutes past two she struck: we boarded her; and they called for the doctor. I was consequently sent on board, and found seven killed, including the captain, and twenty-four wounded: their decks were so slippery with blood, that I could not stand without holding by the rigging. Having ordered those who were dead to be thrown overboard, I found an old man with his face entirely cut away, except the lower jaw; the ball had left neither eyes, nose, nor cheeks! and where the septum of the nose was, I could see the brain forcing a passage. This poor



Slaves.

Shewing the Method of Chaining them.

object was nevertheless continually swallowing his own blood, and coughing: the French themselves, as an act of humanity, threw him overboard. The captain and two more were killed after they had struck, owing to their not being able to stop their men from firing. One of our twelve pound shots struck one of her guns; the shot split, killed the man at the helm, and another piece went through and tore his lungs out. I got their surgeon at last up from below; and between us, we dressed the wounded. There was one man whose leg it was necessary to amputate; the French surgeon begged to be allowed to operate, but performed his task in such a shocking manner, I was obliged to turn my back on him. The vessel proved to be the General Blanchard, commanded by J. B. de Breux; formerly governor of Goree, a man of great courage, and much lamented by his own people, as well as his enemies. I took some of the wounded with me on board. The vessel was considerably damaged both in her hull and rigging. Her complement before the action was 130 men, and 16 guns of various calibre. We now sent the boatswain with a gang of hands to splice and knot the rigging; and the purser up the river, to inform the settlers of her capture, and to procure some fresh beef. Several Englishmen came on board with presents, and were highly rejoiced at our success. On the purser's return, he informed us he had been a great distance up the river, and that the people behaved in a very liberal manner; they were highly delighted with the news, as were the natives—and stated, that we might expect the next day a large party of gentlemen, who would bring presents of live stock of every denomination with them: accordingly early on the following morning, several boats came with different gentlemen (slave-factors*) bringing goats, cattle, sheep, poultry, &c. &c. One of the company brought a very handsome boy slave about ten years old, as a present to the captain, and to whom we gave the name of John Favorite. At the same time came a general of the king of that country, accompanied with a singing man. Before he well got up the ship's side, he opened his pipes; and when on deck, seized the captain with both hands, and with great rapidity and loudness of voice began his song, in which he called over the names of all the neighbouring sovereigns; saying they were great warriors, but the English still greater, and ending each strain with "King George live for ever!" Wherever the captain went, he would follow him, singing in his cabin, between

* The Sierra Leone colony, though expressly established for the abolition of the slave trade, has produced more slave-factors than any other settlement.

decks—it was all one. The captain thinking to stop him from thus annoying him, made him a present of an umbrella; but this only increased his ardour, for he put it under his arm, strumming on it as if it were a guitar. At this time, we had our prisoners all aft, with a netting separating them from the quarter deck. They now took his attention; and he made the most horrid grimaces at them, with signs of cutting their throats; drawing out his knife, and singing; or rather vociferating all the time. We asked him to go below, and had some rice boiled for him, but he would drink nothing but sugar and water. He proceeded to sing as usual, to our great annoyance. Our purser at length gave him a present of a French pistol; this not only increased the noise of the singing man, but evidently displeased the general; and to prevent his chagrin, I was obliged to give him a pair of the purser's shoes. Every thing was now settled amicably; and they departed in high glee, often calling on board the privateer. We now found the Blanchard had only the day before got her men from slavery on shore; and the captain nobly declared he would sooner be taken, than leave his men in that situation: otherwise he would undoubtedly have got away. The fact was, they went to cut out an English trading brig up the river, but in their attempt, they were taken by the natives; and the gentlemen with much difficulty saved their lives. The river is so extremely narrow, and wood grows so close down to the edge, that volleys of musquetry could be poured on them without seeing whence the firing came. We had at this time on board as passengers, Lieutenant Odlum of the African corps, and his lady. He was the only person wounded in the action, and that slightly, the ball entering his shoes and bruising his foot. We had also one boy extremely ill of a fever.

December 29th. This day the Arab joined us; and twenty-four people now fell ill of a fever. I can only account for this, by recollecting what happened on our going into the river; from the time we began pulling our sweeps, to the time we commenced action, we were constantly stirring up the mud.

Our black pilot in his own idea was certainly a very great man. He received his money for piloting the ship over the bar; and then immediately asked for his prize-money. He behaved extraordinarily well during the action: he asked the captain for a musquet, which when given him he used like a bush-fighter, loading and firing with much rapidity from behind the foremast.

We returned over the Bar as we came, and anchored in three and half fathoms water, Rio Pongos bearing N. by E. three or four leagues; sent fifty-four prisoners on board the Arab. On

the 30th we were busy in repairing our damages, especially our driver-boom, through which a twelve pound shot had passed. At five P. M. we made sail for Goree, having our prize in company.

January 3d. We unfortunately took the powder out of our prize: and were informed by one of our people, that when the captain was killed an officer was seen putting his hands in his pocket, and pulling out a handful of money. This led to farther enquiries; and we found they had sold a prize for 500 doubloons, which, in searching, we found among the people.

Monday, January 6th, 1806. About six o'clock we cast off our prize, and ordered her to proceed on her voyage. Three vessels now appeared N. E. of us: we went down to overhaul them, they standing towards us about half past eight. We found they were French. We then immediately wore, they tacked, and commenced firing. Their force consisted of one 74, two frigates, and a brig. The 74 came up, and gave us three broadsides, as well as the frigates, one of which we found afterwards had expended 130 shot. We cut away our anchors, but this made the ship worse. I was ordered below. At this moment we received a large shot from the commodore just on the quarter, which was near sinking her, and at half past eleven, having no possibility of escaping by resisting longer, we struck. The scene we now witnessed it is not in the power of my pen to describe. The purser threw open the slop-room, and every man helped himself to what clothes he chose. I put on two shirts, two pair of trowsers, and my best clothes. The captain declared they would strip us; and my boy put into a bag my shirts and a case of instruments, which, by good fortune, were those presented me by Sir Sidney Smith, and which I used at the siege of Acre when employed on shore with him; he also put up my cot, in which he wrapt a quadrant. When they boarded us, all was in confusion. Our chests, however, were ordered on deck; and the officers declared they should be sacred, and that no plunder should be allowed. As to myself, I was peremptorily ordered into the boat; but managed to take my cot and bag with me, though I was not permitted to get my chest up from below. When I arrived on board the commodore's ship, he ordered me back again to take care of the sick and wounded, in which time my chest was stove to pieces, and all the instruments and clothes stolen, even my bed-curtains. What they could not take away, they tore to pieces and threw overboard: in a word, the plunder was general. Mr. Odlum, whom I have before mentioned, and his wife, were also pillaged while present; the women they left with the wounded and sick. A French officer, a Lieutenant de Vaisseau, now joined us, who

paid some little attention to our wants: he was, indeed, a humane man. During the course of this day no provision was thought of; and from the women nothing was heard but sighs and moans. The French captain desired us to sleep in the cabin, and a sentry was placed to see the men did not plunder us. The sentries were, however, as bad as the rest; so we had no chance of keeping what little we had remaining. They were not content with what they could get from us, but broke open also the women's chests, and stole chemises and every other article of their paraphernalia. At night I chanced to sleep near our captain's wine-bin, and could not refrain from so good an opportunity of procuring refreshment. We broached and drank two bottles; being very careful, however, that the sentry should not see us. It was during this time that the sentries opened the lady's chests and stole her clothes. I had a boy in my list extremely ill, named Corbet, whom during the chace we had laid below. He was, after our being boarded, continually run over by the Frenchmen; for they having sworn to stab any one who should oppose them, none dared to put themselves in their way. In consequence of this treatment, the blood gushed out of his nose and eyes: the poor lad lingered a few days and died. As soon as he had breathed his last, they bundled him, hammock, bedding, and all, into the sea, like a dog, without funeral service, or any other ceremony.

The next day I arranged my sick, and the wounded Frenchmen of the privateer. I was ordered to place the French and Spaniards aft, the English forward, but never could get any wine for them, though the officers had taken possession of all Captain Davies's and our's, of which there was a very large stock. One of our men, named Francisco, a Portuguese, immediately entered the French service, and became the commissary's steward, and through his means our people had as much to eat and to drink as they pleased; nor did they ever abuse the favour. This indulgence was far from the case with our poor fellows in the other ships, who were allowed three half pints of water a day, a very short quantity considering the intense heat of the climate; they had also a large spoonful of brandy in the morning, one at noon, and a third at night, and numbers of these unfortunate men sold the small remains of their clothes to procure provisions. As to myself, I cannot complain of my treatment. The only thing which distressed me was the sighs and moans of the lady, who, though treated with the greatest respect by every officer on board, never ceased, and her complaints at last became really troublesome. While we were with them we continued running to the southward, and they talked of going to Sierra Leone; but all the English on board every ship gave such an account of

its strength, that they determined to relinquish their project. There was no order, or any apparent idea of religion among them. When they heard of Lord Nelson's victory, the paper was sent to every ship: it stated that there was only four sail of French ships which could be of any service to the English, the rest were Spaniards When the deluded Frenchmen heard this, they pulled off their caps and huzza'd "*Vive l'Empereur**," till the decks echoed with their shouts. They boasted highly of their continental victories, but allowed the English to be their masters on the ocean.

Nothing particular happened till the 22d of January. When we made Cape Mount, the commodore sent two ships round in such a manner that it was impossible any thing should escape. There were four vessels in the bay, three American and an unfortunate Liverpool slave brig, which fired a gun; and on the French commodore hauling down English and hoisting his own colours, she struck. Her name was the Trio. The female slaves on board her they sold to the Americans, and the male ones they divided among their own ships. The first lieutenant went on shore for the Trio's boat, which was at first refused him by King Peter Careful, who thus reasoned with him: "Suppose I no give it you, how you get it? you no have it." But when he found he was English, the prince sent orders to have it given up to him. It was hid among the bushes up a small arm of the river, over which the mandingo trees made a complete cover; and as he could have brought 4000 men with fire-arms into the bushes, could they have found it, it would have been impossible to succeed in carrying it away. The first mate of the Trio went with our officer, and asked Jack, the prime minister, if he had nothing to *yam*. "Yes," said he; "look in that box:" in which appeared, as they supposed, a kid, of which they ate very hearty, and washed it down with trade brandy. After which Jack asked, "What you eat?" They guessed kid. He said, "No; it be *dog*. Me see you coming. Me no kid, no fowls, no nothing but poor dog. You ask me to yam. Me kill dog and roast dog. You no like dog; you sick. You yam more than me." At this they could not help laughing; and they declared it was extremely good. They stopped all night, but could not sleep for the filth; and Lieutenant Parsons, in the morning, came down to the beach. He was very soon joined by the king, who, during the night, was very uneasy, changed his dress four or five times, and appeared very jealous. In the morning they returned. Before we took the

* After the punishment, the poor boys stand with their trowsers down, and are obliged to cry out, "*Vive l'Empereur*."

Trio, we were extremely fearful the commodore would put his threat in execution of landing our poor unfortunate men on the African shore, and take the officers with him: had this been the case, very few would have lived to return to their native country. How pleasing then must have been the sound, "Get all your things on deck to go on board the flag of truce;" for we found they had converted the Trio into a cartel. Every thing was on deck in an instant: and a smile and colour broke forth from the pallid cheeks of my poor convalescents. We now thought all further plunder at an end, but soon found we were mistaken: every man's hammock was again searched by the commissary and another French marauder, who had been prize-master of the schooner from which Mr. Butterfield escaped. They took from each their tobacco pouches, knives, needles, and every article they could find, except barely the suit they had on, and their beds: the two former articles, in particular, are really a serious loss to a sailor From my servant they took his bed and some spirits which he had managed to save from his scanty allowance. They were then proceeding to the quarter-deck; but the captain, tired of their depredations, declared we should not again be plundered. He said, he was ashamed of the commissary's behaviour, saying, he used us worse than we should have been by a privateer or pirate. At last, towards the evening, we joyfully embarked, and got on board the cartel: our sensations, on meeting together once more, are not to be described. Soon after the captain came on board; and we got under weigh, as did the French squadron. We could not help looking after the Favourite: and could not persuade ourselves we were clear of the enemy till they were out of sight. During the time I was prisoner in my own ship, I could not help observing the amazing difference between her situation then and when manned by British sailors, in point of discipline and alacrity, as well as seamanship. They were very glad, when it blew a little fresher than ordinary, to get my boy to stand at the helm; so ignorant were they, in general, of naval tactics. Every thing of which they did not comprehend the use they threw overboard, without consulting their officer, to whom they shewed no respect. They dined on the quarter-deck, which is sacred to the officers in our service; and they spoke to their superiors as if they had been equals. Very few of them had any beds till they came on board; and they swarmed with vermin, which we of course could not help sharing with them. The gun-room was entirely deserted, as all the officers messed with the captain in the cabin. At the time we were taken, we had a great quantity of live stock (a very pleasing surprise for monsieur), and the greater part they divided among them. Such also was their voraciousness, that I was obliged to assist my new

mess-mates to hide some, as well as wine, butter, cheese, &c. or they would have left us entirely without these necessary articles. I had, however, no fault to find with the captain, excepting not allowing wine for the sick. As to myself, I had his confidence; and sat down to a good table with him, while my shipmates in the other vessels were almost starving. The only trouble I had was to settle little disputes between them and the lady: she thought she had a right to take her own things; a little bread and butter, for instance, between her meals. They thought the contrary: and simple as this was, it occasioned continual discord; the commissary running with complaints against her to the captain; she, at the same time, being continually peevish and cross, from the various losses they had sustained.

I must now continue my narrative from the Trio cartel. The French commodore gave us five days provision for 160 men to go to Sierra Leone. Besides the Favourite's crew, there were the Trio's, and Robert's of Liverpool; Hero's of Glasgow; Flora's from London; and Belle's from Greenock. From the calms about the Banana and Turtle Islands, we were detained eight days, and of course short of provision and water.

January 24th. Cape Mount bore E. S. E. distant five leagues. At five P. M. the commodore ordered all the British subjects into the Trio. We weighed and made sail, the wind W. S. W. to N. E. fine clear weather.

January 25th. Some of the sailors belonging to the merchantmen became mutinous; supposing, as they were in a cartel, no one had any command over them; the consequence was, that all hands were called, the captain read the articles of war to them, pointed out the ill consequences of want of order and regulation, and the necessity of subordination; otherwise the navigation of this small vessel, with so many men, would be dangerous, as the passage was long and tedious to England. He then impressed on each of the backs of the mutineers three sound dozen each, after which they were perfectly obedient to order.

January 27th. Wind variable, lat. 7° 30′. Light airs occasionally, and lying at anchor during part of the time. On mustering the company, we found in all 160 of us, officers included.

January 28th. Wind W. N. W. to N. N. W. land extending from N. E. to E. N. E. lat. 7° 46′ N. We anchored off Saint Anne's. At six A. M. weighed, but were obliged to be towed by our boats.

January 29th, 30th, 31st. Wind W. N. W. to N. N. E. lat.

as yesterday. Extreme of land N. E. seven or eight miles. Weighed and anchored, the Turtle Islands in sight.

Saturday, February 1st. Fearing the wind would fail, I was sent in the jolly-boat from the False Cape to Sierra Leone, with a letter to the governor to inform him of the loss of the Favourite. A breeze springing up, she arrived there before me, but could not get ashore until I had delivered the letter. We found at anchor here, the Anderson, who fired an evening gun, which made us mistake her for a man of war. The whole of the inhabitants were extremely sorry for us; I gave the men something to drink, and then delivered my letter; on which the governor politely asked me to his table. While I staid there, the brig came to an anchor off Free-town: and then the captain came on shore, and we all supped at Mrs. Small's, by whom we were most kindly treated, which was the more acceptable, as for some time we had been on short allowance.

Monday, February 3d. Light breezes and cloudy, wind still variable. Went on board the Anderson, and saw a Chimpanzee; his face is bald, as are his hands and feet; his arms are very long, and when he walks on all fours, he appears like the well-known beggar in London who has lost both his legs; his body is covered with long black hair, and he is continually clinging round any one who notices him. At night, when any of the female slaves leave a part of their clothes about, he hunts for them to make his bed. This was the first time I had been on board of a slave ship;-but I must declare, that the slaves all appeared happy; she was in excellent order, which redounded to the honour of the captain. There were also on board a young alligator, two porcupines, and a crown-bird. Captain D— sent for a small slave boy, named John Favourite, which was given him by a gentleman of Rio Ponjos; but the captain of the slave ship declared he would keep him for himself. When we were taken, the second captain of the Regulus thought of keeping the boy, and had his ears bored, put a necklace on him, and had a bed made up for him in his cabin; but the commander insisted on his returning him: not so with our wine. They took of private property from the captain, two pipes of Port, and several of Madeira; from myself a quarter-cask, and another from the first and second lieutenants, but had the *generosity* to restore the captain *six bottles*.

Tuesday, February 4th. Early in the morning I set off with Capt. Davie and the gentlemen of Bance's Island in their barge to that place. As we were rather late for the tide, we stopped at Tasso Island; there I saw another alligator rather longer than the one before spoken of, and a large species of eagle. This

island is covered with cotton, palms, and pine apples. A great number of the slaves here had ulcerated legs as well as the craw-craws. I saw a small thin girl, not more than twelve years of age, who had a very fine young child; there I also saw a beautiful little animal of the deer kind. It is common here, though Mr. Brown, the governor of Bance's Island, has prohibited their being shot. We refreshed ourselves with some bread, cheese, and porter, and then crossed over to Bance's Island; which, though very small, has a most delightful appearance at a little distance; it resembles a strong fort; they have a good battery, and the buildings are large and commodious, with a gallery to walk all round. The public dining room where they all meet, is of a considerable size. The present slave-yard is ill adapted, and the houses are mean and dirty, but there is a new one building on a new plan. The town is large in proportion to the island, and every thing is conducted in the most orderly manner; they have a furnace here for heating shot red hot, but there is one practice which must be considered as very obnoxious; I mean the burying of the dead on so small an island. I could discover an offensive effluvium from the burying grounds. It is to be hoped, that the governor or the merchants, to whom this duty belongs, will, for the future, order the bodies at Goree, to be sent to the Continent or Tasso, and not endanger the lives of such a number of persons, by so shocking a custom.

Every gentleman here has his black wife, and the usual mode of marrying is as follows: When a girl is marriageable, the mother looks out for a husband, who, if approved of, must send the following articles, viz. one fathom of cloth, a jar containing three gallons of spirits, and four or six hands of tobacco; they then bring the girl, and she pulls off her ping or boddice, puts on the cloth, and that moment commences a woman. Hence they have a common manner, when they mean to express themselves delicately respecting the loss of their virginity, of saying, he was the man who put a cloth on me. The ping is a narrow slip of cloth, three fingers in breadth, which only a virgin wears; yet with this simple covering, they are far more modest than the girls of Europe.

Near this island is another, named Bob's Island. To this place all the widows are removed, where they are taken great care of, and provided with every requisite of life. It may therefore be more properly termed Widow's Island. In the rainy season, there are always a large quantity of alligators among these islands; and at a boat-house, close to the fort, on Bance's Island, one came and took away a black boy in presence of a number of persons, who could render him no assistance. On the

first fall of his upper-jaw, the blood gushed out at the boy's nose, mouth, and eyes. The one I saw at Tasso, would make a spring at a stick, and if he missed it, his jaws gave a loud snap. The teeth are extremely sharp and pointed, and stand at some distance from each other. The captain held a stick to him with a brass ferule, which he marked with his teeth, and shook violently.

The large breasts of the black women, are, generally speaking, owing to their hard labour, as they always beat the rice, and do all kinds of drudgery; the men only hunting or making instruments of war. During the time I was here, the slaves worked extremely hard, beating rice for our passage, &c. One handsome girl, whose breasts, before she began, were round and prominent, in two or three days, by the continual jarring, began visibly to fall. She was conscious of this herself, and would frequently look at them, lift them up and sigh. From this circumstance, I have seen young women, whose breasts were entirely flabby, appearing only like a large pendulous piece of skin. It is therefore owing to their little nourishment and the hard labour which they endure, that we may ascribe the difference between the African and European women in this particular.

I have mentioned already, that the laws of adultery among them are very severe. A man was caught in bed with one of the king's wives, and Mr. B. was, in consequence, obliged to send him in the Anderson to be sold. As to the woman, she being the daughter of a king, was only punished by being sent home to her friends.

Every night the native men begin their dances, which are very laborious; they take hold of hands and dance about to the sound of their drum; while each pair, alternately, throw their right and left leg over the other, and when this is done, they then throw over the left and right. Another dance is something like that in Goree;—they have also an obscene dance, from the description of which, no satisfaction could be derived. These people, all of whose dress consists of a small piece of cloth round the waist, are very saving, and often return to their own country with great riches, but their king generally compels them to make over to him the best part, and if they hide it, and will not confess where, they are roasted over a slow fire. They carry their dead on a bier, with a fine piece of cloth or chintz over it. When they come to the ground they make a halt, place it in the earth head downward in a perpendicular direction, and then fill up the ground with stones, over which they place half of the canoe belonging to the deceased. During my stay at this island, I was sent for on board a brig by an American gentleman who was sick. From

his own chest I gave him nothing more than a simple cathartic, and retired. When I returned to Sierra Leone, I was not a little surprized at receiving the following letter:

Bance Island, February 8, 1806.

"MY DEAR SIR,

"Your departure being sudden and unexpected, I had no opportunity to take my leave. Permit me to request your acceptance of *ten dollars:* not as a fee worthy of your notice, but as an earnest of my respect for your superior abilities. Please to favour me with your address, and permit me to assure you, that it will ever give me a sensible pleasure to serve you to the utmost of my poor abilities. Wishing you an agreeable passage and a safe arrival to your native soil, I beg leave to subscribe myself, my dear Sir,

Most affectionately yours,

MARTIN BENSON."

I should not do justice to the merits of the governor, were I to pass over in silence his politeness and generosity towards us. He sent the following letter, inviting us to his table during our stay, which I will intrude on the reader; and, at the same time, sent us presents of wine, spirits, &c.

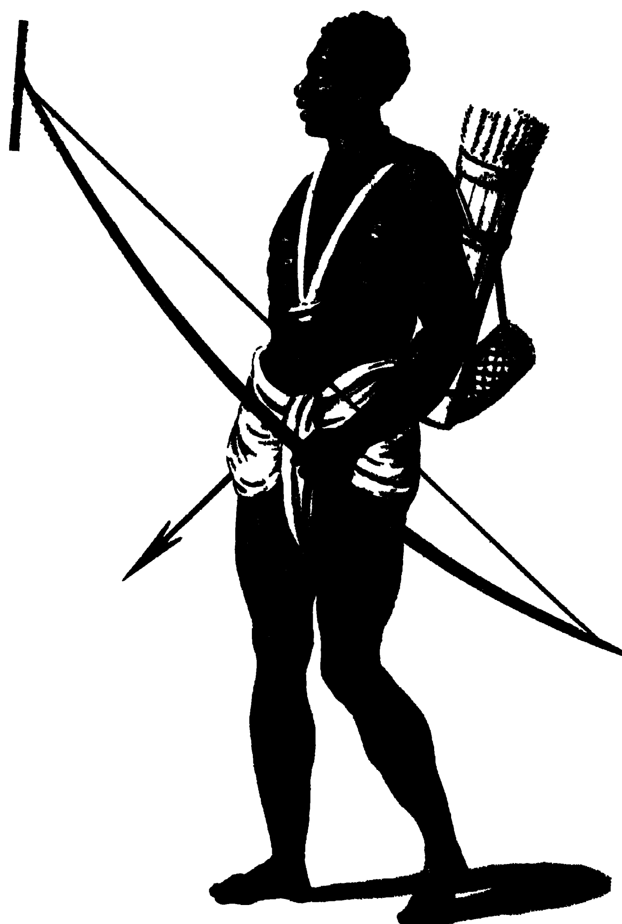
"*Fort Thornton, Feb.* 1, 1806.

"Acting Governor Ludlow presents compliments to the gun-room officers of his Majesty's late sloop Favourite, and hopes that under their present unfortunate circumstances, they will consider his table as their own daily, while obliged to remain there. It will be his greatest pleasure to lessen the difficulties of their situation in every other respect as far as the state of the colony will admit."

Free-town is laid out very regular; whatever wind may blow the inhabitants are sure to have no obstruction from it: the houses and huts are built of wood or mud, and well thatched with straw, projecting some distance from the wall, and raised above it to admit free air in the rainy season. This thatch is always renewed once a year, and this process, at the same time, destroys the white rat which harbours in it. Each house has a small garden at its back; containing orange plantations, paw paw, apples, pepper, ginger, &c. &c. but their larger plantations are at

some distance from the town. The pleasantest and most common nut here, and which is found in great quantities, is the ground nut, a pound of which is worth about twopence: they boil and dry them before they expose them for sale. There is a good hospital here; and while I remained it had only one surgeon, who, though he pays the greatest attention, is not able to do justice to the great number of inhabitants. As to the schools, I fear they will be of little utility, unless good masters with liberal salaries are sent out.

Most of the inhabitants are methodists; and on a Sunday not only the black men preach, but the women also. For the smallness of the place, there are more public houses by far, than in any town I ever saw in England. It has a mayor, alderman, sheriff, and common council, and is governed by the same laws as England. Over the stocks is the pillory, which is different from ours, in being placed horizontally. Their greatest enemies are the Timmanees; with whom they have had several wars. Their own people, the American blacks, rebelled some years ago: but were reduced by the accidental landing of the Maroons just in the critical moment. The latter are a brave set of men, who well deserve every encouragement of the settlers. Two of the ringleaders in this rebelliou were tried, condemned, and executed. So suddenly was the attack of the Timmanees, who at this time were to have been joined by the above mentioned rebels, that they had nearly carried the settlement, having actually got among the houses. Mr. Ludlow the acting governor, to whom we were much obliged both before and after our capture, related the following anecdote. One of king Tom's wives had a grisgris, made by one of their magicians: she was to hold two bottles of water in her hands; and was to dance in the front, and to sprinkle the water about: this charm was to damp our powder. She tried this experiment, until a shot broke her arm: when she let fall the bottles, and ran screaming away. After the action, on asking some of the prisoners what they thought of our manner of attack, they answered, "You don't fight like men, fire and have done, but you poke 'em, poke 'em," alluding to the charge with the bayonet. As to the American settlers, they have not nor ever will forget the shock they felt on the landing of the Maroons; their savage warlike appearance struck them with dismay: even the girls can still scarcely speak to each other with common civility. In the Maroon girl you evidently see the consciousness of freedom, while the unfortunate American, in her mind, feels yet the lash of an unfeeling master. The character of the latter is liberal and profuse, while the Maroon is saving even to parsimony: these may be called the permanent settlers of Sierra Leone.



A Warrior with poisoned [illegible]

Insects which give the Purple Dye, to Wool, &c.



Jemminee Wives.

An unfortunate Maroon woman lost her husband by the bursting of a shell; for some time a small pension was allowed, but of late it has been stopped: for what reason I could not learn. The governor ought to be particular in seeing the widows and children of those who fall in defence of the colony provided for, and not left to want and misery; subject to every insult without power of retribution. What a heart-felt satisfaction must it be to see at the widow's feast, the poor as well as the rich!

The following annual custom prevails here. The rich widows once a year meet and give a great dinner, in the field, with porter and wine, to the governors; each one cooking and providing a certain number of dishes. The feast ends with their usual favorite diversions of country dances, in which some of them excel; and the unfortunate Yarico I before mentioned is an instance.

All the natives I have yet seen have peculiar marks on their bodies, both men and women; the latter in general have very large ones on their shoulders, and sometimes on the abdomen, in the form of stars and other figures: these appear to be made with a sharp instrument, and the wounds kept open until an excrescence arises, which they suffer to skin over, thereby giving a prominence to each incision. In some of them, one side of the back is entirely covered with these marks; therefore the pain they must endure for this addition of beauty, as they deem it, must be very great. As to their hair, they are far more curious than any ladies in Europe, having it plaited in the most curious and pleasing forms; and to have this operation performed, they will lay patiently down during several hours; nor do they want combs to grace it. Their teeth are beautifully white; they constantly use a small bit of stick to clean them; and so much are they in the habit of keeping them so, that a Goree lady (all such ladies spring from the natives) in common conversation, is continually rubbing them. The palm-tree is here one of the greatest blessings, producing oil and wine: with the former they rub themselves all over; and it likewise serves them for sauce, as they eat it almost with every thing.—The wine I have before mentioned, is not at all ungrateful, and its deep yellow gives a rich appearance to the dish. They have one dish peculiar to them, as I believe all nations have: this they call palaver sauce; it is composed of fowls, stewed rice, palm oil, and Cayenne pepper, with which the whole is so highly seasoned, that few Europeans can swallow it. This dish the ladies frequently make for their husbands against their return.

The word bush is very common among them; indeed they are so partial to it, they use it on all occasions. If they want to

hide themselves, it is in the bush! If to perform the tender office of examining each other's heads, it is done in the bush! if wanting medicines, they take them in the bush! To sum up the whole of their character; that they are jealous is true, and that left to themselves they are a most hospitable, good-natured, harmless set of beings. As to converting them to Christianity, that I believe is a task not easily performed; for they are not to be divested of the superstitious rites in which they are brought up; one of the principal of which is, their belief in the magical effects of the red water; which I will illustrate by an anecdote. A poor girl in her native town, was suspected of witchcraft, which is here punished in the same manner as poisoning. If they plead not guilty, they are to drink a certain quantity of red water, the composition of which I could not learn. If they do not swell soon after, they are considered innocent; on the contrary, if they do, they are sure to die, and their relations are sold for slaves. This girl made her escape to Freetown; in consequence of which she was converted, and became free. Notwithstanding this, she frequently wished to return, and to undergo the trial of the red water; so strong was her former way of life impressed on her mind, which might perhaps be strengthened by a wish of being with her friends and countrymen.

I am extremely sorry to find the natives do not now, as heretofore, send their children to the Sierra Leone schools: this object might be promoted by allowing them to return when educated.

If a king or any other person goes to a factory, or slave-ship, and procures articles which he is not at that time able to pay for, he sends his wife, sister, or child, as a pawn, putting a tally round their necks; the child then runs among the slaves until exchanged; and it is an invariable custom never to take these pawns away; but should any accident occur, as with the Trio, they immediately send the pawns on shore. The captain of the Trio had a female pawn on board, when the French squadron appeared, and he sent her on shore to her friends. As he behaved with such honour, he can again return; but had he not, no Englishman would have been again allowed to trade. Should any other vessel come from that place, they will deliver to him the slave for the pawn. If a vessel takes off any slaves without paying for them, they will detain the captain of the next vessel which arrives, until the full debt is paid. At Tasso Island, I saw a great number of pawns with their tallies. In the annexed Plate the king in full court dress, followed by his wives, has a boy with this article round his neck, going to be pawned.

The slave-trade has, by numbers who have not considered the



A Negro King, full dressed in Monmouth Street Clouts with his wives & Children.

business with sufficient attention, been deemed a traffic barbarous and inhuman. To all appearance it certainly is so; but it should be considered they are slaves to those at the head of their own country; nay, multitudes of them born so. It is a fact, that by them they are barbarously used, and almost starved, and are in general rejoiced when they get on board as slaves to Europeans. The various reports of their barbarous treatment in our colonies, by those who have been there, are, except in a few instances, contradicted with undeniable evidence. Besides, if the English did not take them, which, it is to be regretted, they no longer dare to do, there are plenty of vessels from various nations who would monopolize the whole, and sell them at a much higher rate. Some kings, it is true, go to war for slaves; but this, I am apt to think, is, when they are saddled with debt. That there is kidnapping also, must be allowed. On the coast it frequently falls on the head of the kidnappers. A man will lay in wait until he can seize a boy or girl who is prime, that is, four feet four inches high; this he hurries down to a factor or ship, and sells. With the produce of his villainy, he goes into the country and purchases more slaves; these he sells again, and goes on trading until he brings a string of them. By this time, the negroes have perhaps found out who stole their child; they then lay in wait for him, seize him and all his newly acquired, slaves, and retaliate by selling the whole. Mr. Wilson declares he has frequently bought the slaves and the kidnapper in this way.

All the riches of the negro kings consist in slaves, over whom they have power of life and death. In the way of bargaining or common conversation, it is customary to say, it is worth so many slaves, or such a one owes me so many slaves. Thus, by the slave trade, thousands are taken from real and abject slavery, to a climate congenial to them, though a sigh may arise for the loss of their country, and this most certainly happens, but as frequently from a different cause. Indeed they cannot have an idea that you would use them so well, merely to change their masters, but often think, they are fattening to be eaten. To convince them of their mistake, when a slave dies, they are all called on deck to see him thrown overboard; and when once assured that we are not cannibals, their good humour returns, and they are known sometimes to express a wish for the ship to sail. I am certain the idea of the application of a whip, will, to many, cause a sigh; but this is, at least, as frequently used in their own country, while it is never applied in a well regulated ship, but *in terrorem*, as they are extremely apt to be sulky during the voyage, and will not eat.

The consequences of the abolition of the slave-trade, will, I fear,

be too soon apparent, unless the wisdom of parliament should induce them to repeal the bill. By its continuance, a principal nursery for our navy will be destroyed. The Americans and others will supply our colonies at an exorbitant price; and even then they will not take our produce, with which we are already overstocked almost to our ruin.

On the 10th of February we got under weigh for England, and the ship was immediately put upon short allowance of water. Sunday, the 16th, we were obliged to punish three men for stealing of water, it being now a crime of the most atrocious nature; and if not immediately stopped, might, in the end, be productive of the loss of the cartel. Nothing particular happened until the 20th, when such an immense shoal of porpoises swam round, that the sea appeared covered with them as far as our large glasses could reach; and soon a fin-back whale made his appearance, and swam some time under our bows. This was in lat. 9. 56. long. 19. 2. We were still on one quart of water a day.

March 2nd. Several flying fish flew on board. We let the people bathe, always lowering a boat down, and keeping a good look out.

March 6th. We fell in with H. M. S. Woolwich, bound to the East-Indies, who made us a present of some English corn beef and potatoes, a present to us highly acceptable, as also a supply of water. We sent six men in her, among which was our old steward; the captain of the Woolwich was at this time lying dead.

March 29th. Saw land about Cape Clear, N. E. by N. seven or eight miles; took on board a pilot, and came to anchor in Crook Haven. We had no sooner anchored, than the vessel was surrounded with boats, bartering for old clothes or rice. This sudden change from short allowance of salt provisions to fresh, I was fearful, would have produced some serious consequences, but I was happily disappointed. I thought the men would never have been satisfied. Milk, eggs, broiled fowls, &c. were all day long, in a state of requisition between decks; and though there was not room for the men to lay side by side, yet now they made room for fresh messmates, and the ship was crouded with young pigs, turkies, geese, ducks, &c. as well as lambs; the whole presenting such a scene, as it is impossible to describe; the cooks were at work all day long, and all these luxuries were independent of their fresh beef. Here one of our ladies, who had been with us all this war, was brought to bed of a fine girl: we pitied her situation; and, to add to the scene, one of our men having said on shore, that the lady wanted a nurse, a poor unfor-

tunate girl, about seventeen, came off to attend her; but this the captain and officers knew nothing of, until the ship was at sea for England. Here the mate and surgeon of the Trio deserted, when under weigh, it being rather calm. The captain had sent the boat a-head to tow, with two men and a boy, but instead of which, they pulled ashore and ran away. We had no fire arms nor any other boat, and were unable to prevent their escape.

On the 8th of April we came to anchor at Falmouth, with feelings which it would not be easy to describe, after the sufferings which, in so short a time, we had experienced. I believe the most dissolute man on board the cartel returned heartfelt thanks to Providence, for being once more restored in safety to his native land.

END OF SPILSBURY'S VOYAGE TO AFRICA.

INDEX

TO

SPILSBURY'S VOYAGE TO AFRICA.

ANALYSES

OF NEW

WORKS OF VOYAGES AND TRAVELS,

LATELY PUBLISHED IN LONDON.

A TOUR *to* SHEERAZ, *by the Route of Kazroon and Feerozabad; with various remarks on the Manners, Customs, Laws, Language, and Literature of the Persians. To which is added, a History of Persia, from the Death of Kureem Khan, to the Subversion of the Zund Dynasty. By* EDWARD SCOTT WARING, ESQ. *of the Bengal Civil Establishment.*—1 *vol.* 4*to. pp.* 330; *price* 2*l.* 2*s.* CADELL and DAVIES, 1807.

THE respectable author of this volume of Travels through an important part of the globe, with the present state of which we were before but little acquainted, informs us, that the reasons which induced him to visit Persia, were ill health and curiosity. He hopes the public will deem the latter to have been well directed, as he has spared no pains to establish the accuracy of his information, nor has he advanced any statement upon doubtful, or suspicious authority.

It appears, that the work before us was originally published in India, but the numerous errors of the press rendered it so defective, that he has been induced to reprint it in this country.

The work is divided into two parts, the first of which contains the description of Persia, with the manners and customs of the inhabitants, while the other is devoted to the language of the Persians, and the poetry of their authors. As the first

part is far more interesting than the latter, we shall be rather copious in our analysis of it.

Mr. Waring sailed for Bushire, in the gulf of Persia, on the 10th of April, 1802. The best season for performing the voyage is from the beginning of October to the middle of March; consequently our author suffered much from a severe wind called the Shimal, which blows from the North-West. It comes on suddenly, and blows with great violence for two days, during which no cloud is to be seen. There is another prevailing wind called the Shurquee, which is generally preceded by a heavy dew. The Shimal rendered the passage of our author through the gulf extremely tedious, insomuch that he did not reach Bushire till the 22d of May.

This town, he observes, is situate on a narrow neck of land, a very little above the level of the sea, and is frequently, from the rise of the tides, an island. The houses are mean, low, and small, being chiefly constructed with mud, or with a white and soft kind of stone, which adds very little to the respectability of their appearance. Bushire is surrounded by a wall, with a few bastions, which might possibly be a safeguard against the predatory incursions of horse. There are three Suraes, for the accommodation of merchants, out of repair, and old: indeed, the only building of any note belongs to Mehdee Ulee Khan, the British resident at this place. The Company have had a factory here for more than fifty years; but I do not believe their trade to have been particularly advantageous. The broad cloth worn by the Persians is imported from France by the way of Russia; and, notwithstanding the expence of land carriage, they procure it cheaper than that which they purchace from the East India Company *.

Bushire is built of the materials of Reeshire, a town four miles to the southward, and in the time of the Portuguese a place of considerable consequence. Pieces of cannon, and human images cut in stone, have been occasionally found among the ruins of this place. The Hindoos resident at Bushire purchase these stones at enormous prices, and, I have heard, are particularly careful in preventing a stranger from polluting them with his hands. If these images be really those of one of their gods, it would almost authorise the supposition, that the Hindoo religion formerly prevailed in Persia.

But we must recollect, says Mr. W., that Reeshire was

* Dr. Fryer mentions, that he bought cloth in Persia cheaper than it is sold in England. Travels into Persia, p. 261. French cloth is also brought into Persia by way of Constantinople.

formerly inhabited by a number of Portuguese, and that possibly these images may be the representative of some Christian saint. It is greatly to be regretted, that conjecture must frequently supply the place of fact, and that our scanty and discordant accounts, upon Eastern subjects, will only allow of a diffident and sceptical opinion. The different and inconsistent relations we receive of a particular place, compel us to distrust our own observations: and it frequently happens, that the more earnest we are in our enquiries, the farther does the truth appear to be removed.

The Hindoos live unmolested by the Persians, and are neither insulted nor oppressed by the government. This wonderful and extraordinary race of people are spread nearly over the face of the globe: Mr. Forster makes mention of a colony near the Caspian Sea. The attention of one of the most enlightened characters the last century produced, was occupied in an attempt to discover at what period, or from what country, the followers of Brahma came into India. The vulgar error, of their being the original inhabitants of India, vanished with those clouds of ignorance and prejudice which so shamefully obscured the writings of former times; but if evidence were still wanting, the Mysore country is said clearly to demonstrate, that at no very considerable distance of time, its inhabitants owned the sway, and followed the religion of Bood'h.

ANECDOTES AND CHARACTER OF THE GOVERNOR OF BUSHIRE.

After a curious digression on the religion of India, Mr. Waring gives the following account of the governor of Bushire:—

The present governor is Sheikh Nusir, the son of the celebrated Sheik Nusir, who supported the dignity and independence of his situation against the power of Kureem Khan. Bushire owes the little consequence it possesses to the efforts of this remarkable man, who, although perpetually engaged in war, carried on a very extensive trade with India and Muscat, the profits of which enabled him to keep up a large standing force. At the period of his death, he is said to have left his son two millions of money, three thousand camels, and six hundred brood mares.

This is doubtless an exaggerated account; it evinces, however, the public opinion of his enormous wealth. But the son gave himself little trouble to preserve the acquisitions of his father; and, in consequence, Lootf Ulee Khan deprived him of that wealth and power which he wanted the spirit to defend. On being advised to take into his service a body of

Georgians, who had been dismissed by A Moohummud, and who would have ensured the security of his property, he gave, as a reason for his refusal, that they drank rack, and where was he to provide them with intoxicating liquors?

A very considerable sum of specie is annually exported from Bushire to Bombay, Masulipatam, and Bengal, whence they bring in exchange *Guzerat Kincobs, chintz, long cloths, muslins*, &c. The king of Persia has lately endeavoured to put a stop to this large exportation of gold and silver, by offering a reward to whoever should weave cloth similar to the Madras long cloths; but the merchants cannot be supposed to interest themselves in an undertaking, which would convert a portion of their profits into another channel. From some cotton bushes near Bushire, they fabricate a kind of cloth nearly equal to the China nankeen. I took notice of some castor-oil shrubs, and found, upon enquiry, that although its medicinal qualities were known, the oil was only used for lamps.

A PERSIAN SUPPER.

As I brought bills of exchange upon two respectable merchants, and was recommended by the Bombay government to the attention of the British resident, I experienced every kind of civility and courtesy could require. Every one was eager to assist me, and I easily perceived, were ready and impatient to take advantage of my ignorance. I was invited to an entertainment given by Mihdee Ulee Khan to the principal inhabitants of Bushire; and, as it is descriptive of their manners, I shall give some account of it. About eight o'clock we began to assemble, and as each person entered the room he was saluted with the usual Moosulman compliment. Every thing was ordered in the highest style of Eastern luxury; the Kulcean prepared with rose-water; sweet coffee in golden cups; in short, there was nothing wanting which could contribute to the shew or ornament of the entertainment*. About ten, the supper (the principal meal with the Persians) was brought in on trays, one of which was placed before every two persons; then two pilaus, one of fowl, and the other of mutton. In the trays there were about eight dishes, some consisting of curds and cheese, and others of sour and sweet ingredients mixed together. During the time of eating, I remarked that they frequently drank out of two basons, which I conceived to contain soup; but which proved to be a kind of

* The Kulcean is constructed on the ame principles as the Indian Hookah. The Persians smoke pure tobacco, and never for more than two minutes at [illegible]. The *kulceani nypeech* is smoked for a continuance.

sherbet, supposed to promote digestion and, indeed, they have need of this drink, for they seldom appear satisfied until they have emptied their trays. The conversation both before and after supper was general; every one took his share in the discourse, and some enlivened it with the history of former kings, and remarks on the present government. This is by no means the case if the entertainment be given to a person of superior rank to the entertainer; rich cloths are spread before the door for him to walk upon, and which become the property of his servants; the master of the house seats himself at a great distance from him; if he speaks, the rest of the people speak also, if he is silent, a sullen silence is observed. A great man in Persia, instead of being received with welcome, is received with dread and apprehension, and his departure is anticipated with anxious expectation.

The Persians are firmly persuaded of the truth of judicial astrology, and seldom undertake any business without consulting their astrologers; the most lucrative profession in all Persia. It is useless to attempt convincing them of the fallacy of their belief, for reason seldom conquers prejudice, and in Persia its sway is omnipotent: neither the arguments nor the eloquence of Cicero would have any effect. The king of Persia, I heard, was told by his astrologers that the safety of his throne would be endangered if there was not a new king for a certain time. He immediately invested his eldest son with the insignia of royalty, and sent him on an expedition towards Khorasan. By doing this, he propitiated his malignant stars; and when the time was passed over, he resumed his imperial splendour.

THE MOSQUE AT BUSHIRE.

The mosque at Bushire is excessively mean; I have before remarked that little can be said in praise of any of its buildings; and I could not but smile at the observation of a sailor, who, on seeing the town at a distance, swore very bluntly that we were going on shore to a burying-ground: at a distance it has this appearance. The water here is excessively brackish, operating on a stranger like a dose of salts, and even this is procured ten miles from the town. The inhabitants of Bushire, and the neighbouring villages, appear to be a quiet inoffensive race of people, but are intolerably stupid. It is surprising to observe the number of blind people, and persons with sore eyes, in the different parts of the Dushtistan. I attribute this chiefly to the excessive heat and dryness of the air, which, by drying up the moisture of the eye, produces a running, which is increased by the fine particles of sand which are blown into the eye. How-

ever this may be, I think I may say, without exaggeration, that at least one third of the inhabitants of the Dushtistan have something the matter with their eyes*.

I found, says Mr. Waring, that it would be necessary for me to appear either in the character of a gentleman or a beggar; unfortunately I chose the former. As it may be of service to some future traveller, I shall give a short account of the means I followed to accomplish my journey. My attendants were ten in number; a jilodar, or head groom, two mihturs, or grooms, two pesh khidmuts, servants who prepare your kuleean, and attend your person, a cook, and four furash men, who pitch tents, and perform any thing you order. I may remark on the difference between the servants of Persia and India; the former never hesitate to obey you, the latter will seldom perform any thing but their immediate duty. In India it is necessary to have two men to one horse; in Persia one man will take much better care of seven!

The pesh khidmuts and jilodar are mounted on horses, the rest of your servants on mules. As it is the custom for your pesh khidmuts to accompany you on all occasions, it is requisite for them to have good clothes, and a respectable appearance; indeed, more depends on the appearance of your servants and equipage than on your own character and conduct. Your pesh khidmuts, beside your kuleean, should carry a mutaru (or leather skin) of water, and another of wine, and this you should be cautious not to forget, as water is seldom to be procured on your march. Some of your servants can in general sing, or rather chaunt, many of the odes of Hafiz and Sadee; at any rate, you should endeavour to get one who can, as it serves to beguile the tediousness of a long march by night.

It is expected and essentially requisite, should you want assistance, that you should make some kind of present to the head person of the town or village you stop at. The most acceptable presents are shawls, muslins, kincobs, pistols, watches, satins, velvets, chintz, knives, spying-glasses, &c.; and your present should be in proportion to the rank of the receiver, or the extent of your wants. You must be careful in not presenting any thing which is exclusively appropriated to the female dress, being the greatest affront you can possibly offer. A number of persons will be making you presents of fruit, &c. in the expectation of receiving a handsome reward; and should they be disappointed, you may

* The Dushtistan is the land below the hills, which form a barrier for the country of Fars.

rely on being regarded in a very contemptible light. It is therefore necessary for you to have a few pieces of qulum-kar (chintz), and coarse broad-cloth to give away to these needy beggars.

Since Major Malcolm's embassy to the court of Persia, the people of every village have been led to expect so much from European munificence and generosity, that you cannot avoid exceeding the bounds of moderation; the English traveller, however much he may lament this evil, cannot but feel gratified at an impression which reflects so much honour and credit on the British nation.

The success with which Major Malcolm's embassy is universally supposed to have terminated, may be in a great manner attributed to his transacting every thing himself; to his being capable of conversing alike with the peasant and the king; and to his rejecting the intervention of Persian or Indian agency. Where conciliation is necessary, or where we wish to inspire confidence, the intervention of natives must necessarily defeat our views; it cuts off all kind of intercourse with the inferior classes of people; it is a constant source of suspicion and distrust to those who are entrusted with the affairs of government, and who, of course, will leave no means untried to induce the agent to disclose the secrets of his master. It is to an observance of a contrary system that I would attribute the wonderful impression which has been made on the Persians in favour of the English character; an impression which bears honourable testimony to the merits of those into whose hands the embassy was committed, and which cannot fail of proving highly satisfactory to the British nation.

On the 7th of June Mr. Waring set off for Sheeraz, in company with a Qafilu, or caravan, consisting of twenty mules. We arrived, says he, at our Munzil-Gah (halting place) before day-break, the distance being four fursukh. I need hardly observe, that the fursukh is the ancient parasanga, and is, according to the Persians, twelve thousand paces, perhaps four miles and three quarters. Chughaduk, our Munzil-Gah, has obtained the rank of Hushm, from possessing a few sheep and fowls; as all villages which have neither cows, sheep, nor fowls, are denominated Dihs. I could not help observing the excellence of our mules, being far superior to any I had seen, and carrying a greater weight than I could have supposed it possible for the animal to carry; the regulated weight is 40 mum tubreez, or 280lbs. and the marches in Persia are from twenty to fifty miles.

Our road was tolerably good for the first four miles, but afterwards we had to cross an arm of the sea, which was almost a quicksand. The slightest deviation from the accustomed track, at particular seasons, is inevitable destruction; we contrived to

lose the road, but the mules, being left to themselves, soon found the direct path. The governor of Bushire has often intended to render this road safe and passable; he has, however, refrained, from a notion that it was an insurmountable barrier against an enemy; and that, although he were to overcome this difficulty, it would, at any rate, afford him sufficient time to run away. He has more than once proved the justness of his predictions. When Hoosun Qoolee Khan, the brother of the present king, rebelled, and came against Bushire, Sheikh Nasir was determined to signalize himself by a gallant defence of the town: a few pieces of cannon, dug out of the ruins at Reeshire, were filled nearly full of powder, and crammed up to the mouth with stones; these were fired as often as safety would admit for two days before the enemy could hear the report: this was to convince Hoosum Qoolee Khan that he was to expect a vigorous defence: the Sheikh's courage, however, left him on the approach of about fifty horsemen; and he precipitately fled on board a vessel which he had prepared for the purpose.

The method of collecting the revenue in this part of the country, and I believe wherever the land is not watered from wells, is of a very singular nature. A cultivator of land pays a rent for all the horses, asses, or oxen he may keep for ploughing: for the former twelve quoorosh, about twenty shillings a year, and for the latter six quoorosh or piastres. The land in the Gurmseer is the property of the govornment, who may call upon the cultivator for any delicacy or rarity he may possess, in addition to this regulated land rent*. The Sheikh of Bushire farms these rents from government, and for which he pays four thousand toomans, or as many guineas. This is supposed to be very low; but the presents which he is obliged to make to the governor of Sheraz, more than doubles that sum.

On the 9th our author arrived at Dalikee, a respectable village, protected by a fort tenable against horse; it was formerly under the government of Sheikh Nasir, who resigned it in favour of Wutee Moohummud Khan. In the evening, says he, I rode to some pits called Nufti Seeah, and found them to contain black naphtha. There were a number of pits; and the ground all about so tenacious, as to make it no easy matter for my horse to

* Very different opinions are entertained ef the nature of landed property in India. If two gentlemen, who resided many years in India, and whose industry was as conspicuous as their abilities were eminent, could not leave this subject beyond dispute, it surely is not likely to be determined by persons who labour under a variety of disadvantages. In Persia the matter is beyond dispute; land may be sold and purchased by every class of people.

extricate himself from it. It is used by the Persians, as we are told by Milton, it was in hell, for lamps, and occasionally is given to their camels. Our route was north-east, thermometer 104.

10th. The mules left our ground by ten, and reached Koonar Tukhtu (four fursukhs) by five in the morning. Our route this night lay over the hills, and the road was the whole way dangerously frightful. We had to pass several places, not above three feet broad, over deep and rocky precipices; the roar of the rushing waters, and the stupendous height of the mountains, presented a scene terrific and sublime. The ascent was frequently so steep, that the mules which had gained the summit appeared to be directly above our heads, and you involuntarily trembled lest they should fall and crush you with their weight. We were more than three hours ascending the Kohi Mullooh, or hill of Mullooh, the whole of which time the horses were their own guides; we contented ourselves with clinging to their manes, the best and only safe way of travelling over such bad and rocky ground. I often preferred walking; but my companion, who was neither young nor active, and who even here could not keep himself awake, rode, and fell four times. We crossed a tolerably broad and rapid stream at the bottom of one of the hills, over which a bridge has been erected, but not quite finished, by Hajee Moohummud Husan. Owing to the rapidity of the current, this stream was not passable in winter: but the public and liberal spirit of two merchants has rendered this part of the road free from all hazard or danger; and travellers are more indebted to the Hajee, and his nephew, Hajee Ubdool Humeed, than to any of the kings of Persia from Shah Ubas to A Moohummud.

INTERESTING SITUATION.

We found it advisable to procure sixteen musketeers as a guard, owing to the road having been lately infested by a banditti, who had plundered a caravan a few nights before. They could not have chosen a better place, as the narrowness of the road would not admit of more than one person passing at a time, and the hills on either side afforded them excellent lurking places to fire from with safety. Although we were more than thirty persons, armed with swords, matchlocks, or pistols, I am almost convinced that five resolute robbers might have plundered our caravan. However, we escaped all danger; and the romantic scenery around us, whenever we could contemplate it with safety, amply compensated for the fatigue, the hazards, and the difficulties we had encountered. Frequently we lost sight of the moon, and as often did we appear to be on a level with it.

Looking down from an immense height, we beheld its pale beams playing, as it were, amid the gurgling waters; the noise of tinkling bells, the cries of the muleteers, and the reverberated echoes of the matchlocks, (for we kept up an incessant firing,) was a scene so novel, and so unexpected, that I insensibly forgot the difficulties we had overcome, and the dangers we had to surmount. The sensations which I felt when the moon, as it often happened, burst from a black cloud, and shed the fulness of her lustre on a rugged hill, covered sometimes with the almond, or with many a waving shrub; or when her silver beams fell on a rapid torrent, as it rolled impetuous down many a height: these sensations convinced me that I had formed a feeble notion of the awful grandeur of nature. I must confess that I am unable to do justice to the sublimity of the views which presented themselves on every side; but so strongly are they impressed on my mind, that no time or distance will ever obliterate them from my recollection.

On the 11th Mr. Waring pursued his journey, and got to Surae, and halted till the evening of the 12th. This evening, says he, we quitted our ground at sun-set, that we might gain a pass resorted to by robbers. This hill is notorious for thieves: indeed, in a country infested with them, it would be surprising were it not, as a person well acquainted with the windings and paths of the mountains, might with impunity attack, and most probably defeat, a whole caravan. Two fursukhs from Kazroon are the ruins of a very large town, called Dires. The marks of its former splendour and magnificence are still discoverable; and the faint traces of mouldering walls and broken pillars, afford a melancholy, but impressive proof, of the injustice and oppression of the government. Its inhabitants abandoned their homes and houses in the time of Kureem Khan; some fled to Bushire, and others to the parts adjacent. A few scattered hovels still insult its former splendour; and the people preserve the singular custom of not permitting a Moordu-Sho (a washer of dead bodies,) either to inhabit or enter their village without being required. Whenever a person dies, they send to Kazroon for a Moordu-Sho; and the instant he has performed his duty, they drive him away with stones and sticks, conceiving that if they hold any intercourse with him, that they will soon themselves require his good offices.

On awaking this morning, I received an agreeable present of fruit, ice, and snow; the thermometer was then 104. I understand that ice and snow are sold all the year in the market at Kazroon, and are even occasionally conveyed to Bushire on mules. Our journey, for these last two days, has been strongly indicative of one of those violent convulsions of nature, which

now and then threaten a country with total annihilation. Mountains heaped on mountains, and stones piled on stones, almost realize the fable of the giants attempting to storm the imperial throne of Jupiter. The mountains are very irregular; and it is no uncommon thing to observe an immense hill three or four miles distant from a chain of mountains. The vallies which we passed appeared to be very fertile, many of them were cultivated with wheat and rice. Our munzil-gah was near a very excellent garden full of cypress and fruit-trees.

In the evening I rode to a fort, called the Fort of the Jews, and believed to have been possessed by them. How true this may be I shall not take upon myself to determine; it is now converted into a corn-field, and, from an Arabic inscription which I saw there, I would rather suppose it belonged to the faithful. I saw the remains of a canal, which was conducted from a hill about two or three miles from Kazroon, and which must have supplied the city with water. The method of conducting it is singular: pits, at the distance of two or three yards, are dug to an equal depth, the earth on each side hollowed out, and the centre is excavated to connect one pit with another.

Kazroon is a town of considerable extent; many parts of it are, however, in ruins, and the wall is in a decayed and falling state. The Dushistan is considered to extend, I believe, to Kazroon, though, properly speaking, it ends at the foot of the hills. I was desirous of visiting the baths, and requested permission of the owner, which was readily granted: but in the evening, as I was preparing to go into the town, I learnt that the people might possibly prevent my using the bath, from a notion that the *humam* would be contaminated by a christian, and that no purification could exempt them from pollution. This is only a prejudice of the vulgar, who conceive, that if you touch them, they are *nugis*, defiled; the better sort of people will eat with you, and exchange kulceans without any hesitation.

ACCOUNT OF ONE OF NADIR SHAH'S DESCENDANTS.

To-day, June 13th, says Mr. Waring, we halted. I was introduced to a most extraordinary person, a lineal descendant of Nadir Shah, who had been an independent governor of a district in Khorasan. He had experienced almost all the vicissitudes which could fall to the lot of man, and was, at this time, Meer Akhor, or head groom, to Mihdee Ulee Khan, on a salary of twenty piastres a month. He owed his misfortunes to the treachery of a friend, who had brought to his assistance a body of troops, but who attacked him in the night, and cut off his

only son. At two different periods he was confined in a well for two and then three years, and was indebted for his escape each time to the disturbances which distracted Khorasan. He has made some attempts to regain his country; and sometime ago endeavoured to persuade the merchants of Bushire to lend him twenty thousand piastres, on a promise of being repaid tenfold, should his enterprise succeed. The freedom of his language astonished me more than any thing, for neither the Persian government, nor the governor of Kazroon, escaped his censures, although there were many persons present who would doubtless repeat his conversation. I was glad to see him depart. He appeared to be very illiterate; his brother completely so: indeed both of them seemed better qualified for the superintendance of horses, than for the management of an extensive and populous district. But learning does not seem in the East a necessary qualification for government. Timoor, notwithstanding the assertions of Messrs. White and Davy, and the still stronger ones of a late writer, was undoubtedly an *illiterate barbarian*; and the memory of Kureem Khan labours under a charge of similar ignorance.

14th. We quitted our ground about nine, and arrived at a Surae, situated on the middle of the Peeru Zun, by four in the morning. Our march was five fursukhs. In ascending the hill called the Dokhtur, we were again indebted to Hajee Moohummud Husun's liberality for a safe and good road. Over the worst part he has cut a long and broad flight of steps out of the solid rock, and has built a parapet over a deep and dangerous precipice. To give some notion of the badness of the roads, I need only mention, that the hajee found the loss which he suffered annually from the mules falling, and being dashed to pieces at this place, was greater than the expence he would incur in making this part of the road void of all danger. We crossed a long and narrow bridge built over a marsh, and at a distance, on our right, saw a large lake. The Peeru Zun, or the hill called the Old Woman, is entirely covered with wild almond trees. Thermometer 98.

15th. Our march this night was very short, being only three fursukhs. We had to ascend the remaining part of the Peeru Zun, which was rather an arduous undertaking, as the loose stones, with which this hill is entirely covered, afforded no footing to our horses. On gaining the top of the hill, we beheld a sight which filled me with astonishment. It was a hill entirely on fire; and which I learnt, upon enquiry, is the method the Persians take for making charcoal. The sight was as unexpected as it was grand. To-day our encampment was in a plain of verdant grass, in which were about two hundred horses belonging

to the prince of Sheeraz: a stream intersects the meadow, which is the cause of the excessive verdure of this delightful spot.

Dusturjan is a very large town, surrounded by a good wall, and is accounted one of the most delightful places in Persia. Near the town is a cavern, where the people take refuge in time of danger; and its almost inaccessible situation affords them excellent security. My companion was robbed in the night of twenty pieces of chintz, and in the morning I found him almost distracted. I discovered that, to escape paying the duties, he had concealed them in some horse furniture. He endeavoured to excuse himself, by saying that the duties would not amount to a piastre; and on being told that the smallness of the sum made him the more culpable, he at length declared, that to pay duties was contrary to the tenets of his religion. I had the curiosity to investigate the truth of this assertion; and I cannot conceal my surprise at relating, that I found him to be right. Although Persia abounds with robbers, great precaution is taken against them. Rahdars, or guards, are stationed on the road, whose duty it is to afford protection from one rahdaree to another, and who levy a trifling duty on each mule carrying merchandize. The governor of a district is answerable for all the robberies committed in the country under his management; and, I believe, is obliged to make good the loss a merchant may have sustained. Thermometer 95.

16th. Our muleteer lost two mules, which occasioned some delay; we left our ground, however, by nine, and reached Saurae, built by a son of the late Wuzeer, by three in the morning, the distance being three fursukhs. The Surae, which affords excellent accommodation for travellers, is not finished according to the founder's intention; he fell a victim, with his father and whole family, to the king's suspicious jealousy before the work was entirely completed. In the four largest rooms are fire-places, and behind are stables, which would contain nearly a thousand mules. Our route was at the bottom of a hill, through a forest, said to abound with lions: we saw none. Thermometer 82.

17th. We left our ground at sun set, and reached the Bagh Chiragh (a garden so called) by three in the morning; the distance was seven fursukhs. The road, even so near to the former capital of Persia, was excessively bad, indeed nearly as rugged as the hills we had crossed. Our route was at the bottom of the hills, nearly east. As I was to be received by the son of Sheikh Nasir, and to be conducted to a house which had been prepared for me, I was obliged to remain encamped until the following day. In the morning (19th) I was met by the Sheikh's son, and accompanied him to his father's house, where I remained till eleven at night. Nearly the whole of this time I was under

the necessity of sitting according to the Persian custom; and the agony I suffered can only be conceived by those who have endured a similar penance.

My companion, whom I took with me to explain any customs, &c. I might not understand, was perpetually lecturing me on my method of sitting, and repeating the following verse, the only one I believe he knew:

> " Courtesy in a person of distinction is a virtue; it is the business of a beggar to be so."

Which, in the way he applied, meant that I was to place my legs so as to sit on my heels, the most respectful posture you can be in; to enforce this, he told me, that whenever the king relieved himself from this painful position, he cried out, " Goostakhee maf, pardon my presumption:" but why I could never understand.

RECEPTION OF AN HONORARY DRESS—DESCRIPTION OF SHEERAZ, &c.

The day after my arrival, says our author, the prince Chiragh Ulee Khan, and all the principal people, went out of the city to receive a khilaut, (an honorary dress) which had been sent by the king, along with the prince's mother and younger brother. I suppose about twenty thousand people attended this ceremony from necessity, or accompanied it from curiosity. The prince was met by his brother, and, after some compliments, alighted at a tent, and was invested with the honorary dress. The governors of districts then offered their congratulations on his having received so distinguished a mark of his sovereign's favour; after which the cavalcade set out on its return to the city. The reverence which the governors of provinces affected to entertain for the young princes was highly ridiculous; and the absurd praises of their beauty, their gracefulness, and excellent horsemanship, must have appeared fulsome even to a Persian. All the handicrafts-men were in select bodies, carrying with them small glass tubes filled with sugar, which, as the prince approached, they broke and scattered upon the ground. All the shops in the Bazar were shut upon this occasion, and the next day, in commemoration of the Urbyn, when the head of Husun was lodged in the same grave as his body.

Sheeraz, I am apt to believe, will disappoint those who have imagined it a populous and noble city. "It is worth seeing, but not worth going to see." The town is by no means so large as is reported; it is surrounded by a wall, tenable against cavalry, and has six gate-ways. Many of the streets are so narrow, that an

ass loaded with wood stops your way if you are on horseback, (I speak from experience); and the houses are generally mean and dirty. But we now see Sheeraz to great disadvantage, A Moohummud, the late king, having destroyed an excellent stone wall, with very strong bastions, which was deemed by the Persians almos impregnable, and several of the best houses in the place: in his time it was surrounded by a broad and deep ditch, which he filled up on destroying the fort.

Travellers, who visited Persia long before the ravages of time could have entirely defaced the marks of sumptuous edifices, speak neither of the extensive ruins nor splendid monuments of Sheeraz. Olearius, who was in Persia in the year 1615, says, that Sheeraz did not contain more than 10,000 houses, but that its ruins extended two miles. Herbert, who accompanied Sir Thomas Sherley into Persia in the year 1625, remarks, that the circumference was eight or nine miles; that there were fifteen mosques, one of which had two pillars as high as St. Paul's. Dr. Fryer speaks of Sheeraz as containing some fine markets. Thevenot informs us, that its circumference is two hours walk; and Tavernier calls it a mean dirty place, which was once surrounded by a wall of mud, then fallen down.

Mr. Waring thinks it is undeserving of the praises which have been so liberally lavished on it in the East, and so crudelously believed by many of the admirers of Oriental learning in the West.

The founder of this city, he observes, is unknown; some have conjectured Cyrus; the Persians say Jumshyd: and at this distance of time I despair of resolving the difficulty. Others have derived it from the word *sheer*, which signifies milk; and have suggested many other fanciful derivations, which it would be useless to insert. I should suppose the town to be about five miles in circumference; it took me a little more than an hour to walk my horse round it. They have here a glass-house and a foundery, both worth seeing. The bottoms which they blow, of glass, for the Kuleeans, have a curious appearance to a stranger; they are ornamented in the inside with representations of trees, flowers, &c. and sometimes with small medallions. When the glass is just blown, they fix them in the bottom with small pincers; and so neatly are the pieces joined together, as to escape observation. Some of the artificers are ingenious, able men; but their qualifications are actually misfortunes, as they are compelled to work for the principal people in the city without the smallest hope of being recompensed for their labour, or being repaid for the expences they have incurred. This was really the situation of a very able gun-smith, who made pistols nearly equal to those in Europe.

The Vakeel's bazar is a most noble work; it is built of brick, arched, and covered in like Exeter Change. It probably extends half a mile, and is, I should suppose, fifty feet wide. They have a story, that Kureem Khan riding through it soon after the work was completed, saw a nail driven into the wall, and detecting the offender, caused his head to be struck off. It has a grand appearance at night, when it is lighted up; and as every trade has a separate quarter, you know where to resort to for what you may require. This custom (common all over the East,) of keeping persons of two trades separate from each other, is attended with much inconvenience in large and populous cities, where you may be obliged to send a considerable distance for the most trifling article. Many of the other markets are very handsome, but none so magnificent as the Vakeel's.

The outside of the principal mosque is very handsome, and, like the generality of Eastern buildings, is ornamented with painted tiles with Arabic inscriptions. It is said that the stone above the door was so weighty, that it was found impossible to raise it, when the Vakeel, assisting the workmen, made them exert themselves so much, that they raised it immediately. Sheeraz is full of such kind of stories of the Vakeel, who is the only prince I never heard abused. His cruelties are lost in the remembrance of the obligations he conferred on the people of Sheeraz, and by a contrast with the enormities of his successors. The Mudrusus (colleges) are decaying fast; and the revenues, which are allotted for their support, are generally appropriated to other purposes. The squares before the governor's and prince's palaces are large; and the houses near it appear to be the best in the city.

At least a forth part of Sheeraz is entirely in ruins; the quarter where the Lacks resided, to the number of ten thousand, was destroyed by A Moohummud. They have a very popular, but I believe, a most unfounded story, concerning these people, who are said to meet once a year, with their families, to celebrate an abominable feast. It resembles the account given by Dr. Fryer of the feast of the Gubrs. I know not where he could have received his account, but all my enquiries (and the Mahomedans are as bigotted as the doctor) persuaded me of the falshood of his relation.

A few days after the prince's and queen's arrival at Sheeraz, the astrologers pronounced, that it would be at such a period a lucky hour for their making a public entrance into the city. They had hitherto resided at one of the gardens near Sheeraz: great preparation was made for the occasion; all the principal people had to go out of the town, as a mark of respect to the young prince; and their wives had to show the same attention

to the queen his mother. The cavalcade was conducted as before; the women were mounted on horses, which they rode like men, the most natural and safest seat for a lady.

Shortly after Mr. W's arrival, he was introduced by the Sheikh of Bushire to the governor, Chiragh Ulee Khan. He was very polite and civil; and, during the time our author was there, threw off a great deal of that supercilious and insulting condescension which the Persians of rank in general affect. The governors of the different subordinate districts stood before him, at a considerable distance, exposed to the sun, and appeared to be in continual alarm of giving offence. The room in which he sat was neither magnificent nor large; indeed the only circumstance which declared his rank, was the trembling looks of his visitors.

It is the custom in Persia to make a Pesh Kush (present) to any superior who may have assisted you either by his countenance or authority. And their rapacity and avarice are generally in proportion to the value of the favour they have conferred, or to the dignity of their situations. It was with difficulty, says Mr. W. I could satisfy the governor of Sheeraz; who, through the medium of the Sheikh of Bushire (as I afterwards discovered), informed me whether my presents were commensurate to his expectations. Unfortunately for me, he had at this time to make presents to the prince, the queen, and several of their principal attendants, which possibly might make him more rapacious than at any other period. I was obliged to part with many things I intended for myself; but *multa gemens.* It is surprising to what a degree of meanness the Persian noblemen will descend to upon these occasions. They generally contrive you shall know their wants, the presents they require, and the value of your gifts. Among themselves it is common to return a present because it is not sufficiently valuable; and the donor is then obliged to add a more sumptuous offering to excuse this heinous offence.

PERSIAN GARDENS AND RECREATIONS.

THE gardens about Sheeraz are much celebrated; but the striking uniformity of long walks and narrow alleys is sure to displease European taste. You may, perhaps, walk a quarter of a mile, and on either side not have a view of a few yards. Yet the Persians delight in visiting these gardens; any thing delights them; and a running stream almost makes them frantic. Nor is this to be wondered at; it is here that they relieve themselves from the anxieties and drudgery of business, and enjoy their Sohbuts. The day is passed in smoking, in the amusement of

fishing, or in listening to the odes of various poets: night frees them from restraint; if they drink, the glass circulates without apprehension; nor do the ruby lips of the accomplished yielding beauty hesitate to sip the sparkling liquor of Sheeraz. I believe, says Mr. W. this to be the utmost extent of a Persian's desire of happiness, the sublimest notion he can form of human enjoyment.

Near a small village in the vicinity of Sheeraz, is a very curious Chushmu, or canal full of fish, which flows from the hill, apparently through an excavated channel. Every traveller speaks of this curious building; you descend by a flight of seventy steps to the water; there are recesses for you to sit in, where you may smoke, and enjoy a very different climate to that of Sheeraz.

The prince's garden, in the city, I thought superior to any that grace the entrance into Sheeraz; indeed he has robbed all the other gardens of their choicest trees to improve his own. It may be worth while to remark, says Mr. W. that the Abi-Roknabad is a contemptible little stream, and is not, after it has been joined by many other streams which flow from the hills, at any place six feet broad. Such consequence can poets give to trifling subjects! I entered Sheeraz with a determination to be pleased; there is a degree of enthusiasm which you feel on visiting a place you have long known at a distance, that ensures a favourable reception to every thing you may behold. You recognize objects with the cordiality of an old acquaintance; and although every thing is novel, you are not indebted to tiresome explanations for a knowledge of their minutest beauties. Under such a prepossession I entered Sheeraz; but whether my expectations were originally too high I cannot determine; I was, however, disappointed.

PERSIAN METHOD OF QUARTERING THEIR TROOPS AND SERVANTS.

While at Sheeraz, says Mr. W., I was witness to a scene which appears conformable to the customs of Persia. A few days after the prince's arrival, the troops which had accompanied him from Tuhran, and his servants, were directed to provide themselves with houses in the city. They accordingly divided themselves into parties of eight or ten, and whenever they determined on a house, turned out its possessor. My neighbour, an unfortunate Sy,yud *, was so unlucky as to have a good house. Not content with driving the man, his wife, and family

* A Sy,yud is descended from the prophet. The Persians will not admit the claims of the Sy,yuds of India.

into the streets, they seized on the little furniture he had, and treated his frequent appeals to Ali with shameful irreverence. He went and made a complaint to the governor; but all the consolation he got was, that he would soon have his house again.

CURIOUS CEREMONY.

About the middle of this month the Persians celebrated the death of the Calif Omar. They erected a large platform, on which they fixed an image, disfigured and deformed as much as possible. Addressing themselves to the image they began to revile it for having supplanted Ali, the lawful successor of Moohummud; at length, having exhausted all their expressions of abuse, they suddenly attacked the image with stones and sticks, until they had shattered it into pieces. The inside was hollow, and full of sweet-meats, which were greedily devoured by the mob who attended the ceremony.

The Arabs, who are Soones, cannot refrain from shewing their displeasure at this absurd custom, taxing the Sheeas with worshipping Ali instead of venerating the prophet. This is almost true of the poor people; with them Ali is every thing; they conceive that his name cannot be invoked in vain. I was told, says Mr. W., by a Persian, that he once saw a lion, but that he cried out the name of Ali, and the lion ran away! Their oaths are in the name of Ali; and, instead of looking for assistance from God, "Uleemudud!" Assistance, O Ali! is the usual prayer. But the higher order of Persians make a manifest difference between Ali, the Wuzeer and son-in-law of the prophet, and Moohummud, the prophet of God. They maintain that he was the only lawful successor of the prophet; but I never heard them assert, and I have conversed with them repeatedly upon this subject, that Ali was equal to the divine lawgiver.

PERSIAN BUILDINGS, BATHS, &c.

Mr. W. gives the following account of the edifices in Persia: The houses inhabited by persons of rank in Persia are built with some degree of taste and convenience. The entrance to them is very bad; instead of finding a broad and handsome gateway, you probably have to creep through a small door, not five feet high. Their houses are surrounded by a high wall, so that their view is terminated by the extent of their ground, which is not, however, to be regretted in a city. On passing the door, through a narrow passage, you enter a spacious court-yard, at the top of which, and opposite the deewan khanu, is a jet d'eau; and in the middle, and sometimes on both sides, are dureeachus, canals which play like fountains.

The deewan khanu is a very large room, the floor is covered with a rich carpet, and handsome numuds (felts), and the sash windows, which take up one entire side of the rooms are glazed with very small pieces of stained glass, and which form representations of the sun and stars.

If the deewan khanu is large, there are usually two fire-places, ornamented with paintings or plate glass. On each side of this room there is a small one, but which does not appear to be ever used. It is impossible to form any notion of the extent of their buildings, as their private and sleeping apartments are concealed from the sight of man. The stair-cases in Persia are broad and handsome, and by no means like those in India, where you are obliged to grope your way through a large and narrow flight of steps to the most magnificent apartments. Their houses are terraced, for the purpose of sleeping on in the warm weather; a practice invariably observed by the Persians during the summer months. This is thought to be very prejudical to health: I followed their example; and, although the dews, particularly at Bushire, are very heavy, I did not suffer in the least from them.

The houses in Sheeraz are built of brick; but, as the mortar they use is exceedingly bad, they are obliged to cover the face of the building with plaister of mud, chopped straw, and cow dung. The appearance which this gives often makes you suspect that the building is only of mud.

The baths in Persia are very magnificent, and you are admitted to the convenience of them for a trifling sum, at most about two pence. They are in common use by every description of persons, and often afford a large fund of merriment to the unmarried persons who frequent them. The baths are open to the women as well as the men; five days are allotted to the latter, and only two to the former.

The first room you enter is the place where you undress, smoke, talk, and hear the news of the day. The next room is the bath, the floor of which is marble stone, &c., and which is heated by means of the flues which communicate with the fire that boils the water. The operation of bathing takes up nearly an hour, and dyeing the beard, the hands, and feet as long a time. All the Persians dye their beards black, although it is naturally of that colour, to the great indignation and contempt of the Turks. The Persians, from a principle of cleanliness, either shave or burn away all the hair on their bodies. The composition they use for this purpose is a certain proportion of quick lime and orpiment mixed together. It is a very dangerous mixture, for if you do not wash it away as the hair begins to fall, you are often burned in a most dreadful manner. The fragrant earth of roses (gile gool) is commonly used in Persian baths. As a number of persons

are in the bath at one time, you pass part of your time in talking and smoking, and sometimes sleeping. The Persians delight in using the bath, and have a saying, that "No man should visit a foreign country, where there is not a magistrate, a physician, and a bath."

ARTISANS—PAINTERS—PHYSICIANS.

Many of the artisans in Sheeraz, Mr. W. thinks, are very ingenious, particularly in all kinds of enamel work, which greatly excels that in Europe*. It is really surprising to see the lustre, and at the same time the mellowness of their colours, and the wonderful accuracy of the smallest figures. The Kuleeans are often highly enamelled, which makes them very expensive, a handsome one costing nearly fifty guineas. They work likewise very well in gold and silver, and in making ornaments for bridles, saddles, &c.

The swords made in Sheeraz are manufactured from steel, which they purchase in cakes at Hydrabad, and which is brought out of the Rajah of Berar's country, and also from Amedabad. One of these cakes is to be purchased for five shillings; at Bushire for about a guinea. They each make one sword, and it rests entirely on chance how it may turn out. If they are full of Jouhur (damask) they are very valuable; but it is said that much depends on the skill of the artist.

I cannot say much of the painters of Persia, observes our author; they have some little knowledge of light and shade, but know nothing of perspective. The portrait painters, I have heard, take likenesses with very great exactness. Those who paint landscapes, &c. generally study some daub sent out from England, or perhaps one from China, and these they look upon as master-pieces. They give the preference to our figures, but say that the colouring of the Chinese is much superior. The vivid glare of a Chinese drawing, bears about the same proportion to an English landscape, as the colouring of a Flemish painting does to the mellow richness of the Italian school.

It is no uncommon thing, in a Persian painting, to see a man nearly as tall as a mountain; or, in their representation of a battle, a line of guns, on which are formed a line of infantry, over whom is another of cavalry. I have also heard of a picture, which described the commencement of an action, and in another part the defeat of the enemy.

The physicians are infinitely worse than the painters, and

* They can enamel only on gold.

their means of doing harm are unfortunately much greater. Their system of practice is derived from the Greeks, and has descended to them with very little alteration. According to their theory, things are either hot or cold in such degrees, and the only difficulty they have to resolve is, whether the disease proceeds from too much heat or too much cold. China root with them is almost a sovereign remedy against all complaints; I have known them give it for violent colds, and for diseases which result from too free an intercourse among the sexes. When they administer it, the patient is confined to a room, where the smallest breath of air is to be carefully shut out, and the poor man not only suffers from his complaint, but also from intense heat.

The Mahometan religion will not allow of dissection, so that they are deprived of the means of acquiring knowledge from the discoveries of anatomy. Tavernier, I think, mentions that they give horse flesh for the cholic: I have seen them try nearly as curious an experiment. A poor man was violently afflicted with the heart burn, and instead of prescribing an internal medicine, they heaped a great quantity of ice and snow on his breast; which, they said, was an effectual cure.

METHOD OF PASSING TIME IN PERSIA.

The Persians, says Mr. W., very often complain of a want of time, but which I could only account for, by applying the common remark, that the most indolent are usually the forwardest to repine at a deficiency of leisure. A man of rank in Persia generally rises before the sun, he says his prayers, and then enters his Deewan Khanu; his Kuleean is brought him, perhaps some fruit: and here it is that he expects his visitors and dependants. He is probably engaged with them till nine o'clock; listening to the reports of the morning, settling disputes, and arranging domestic concerns. It is now time for him to visit the prince or the governor; and if he is likely to be detained there beyond mid-day, preparations are made for conveying his Chast (dinner). He pays his obeisance, and takes precaution to remain sufficiently long in the presence of the person he visits to attract his observation. His Kuleean always accompanies him; and when he thinks he can retire unnoticed, he ragales himself with smoking. At noon the governor probably retires, which is a signal for all those who are in attendants to depart. When he returns home, the Chast is brought, and eaten with a good appetite. The mid-day prayers are to be said, after which he retires to sleep till three o'clock. He may again have to attend the Duri Khoona; if

not, he pays visits; or, if he is too high a personage, he remains at home to receive them. He has to perform the Numazi usur, or afternoon prayers.

When it becomes dark, the carpets are spread in the open air, and with either his friends or dependants he prepares to pass the night. The Kulcean supplies the intervals of silence; and, if he can afford it, a set of Georgian slaves exert themselves for his amusement. The evening prayer is now to be said; this does not interrupt the harmony of the evening, for as one performs it another gets up to supply his place. The business of saying prayers appears to be a necessary and irksome task, and they get rid of it with the utmost expedition. In Persia it seems to be an established custom for every person to perform his five daily prayers; this is an observance which is but little attended to in India. The Numaz is a ready excuse for the absence or idleness of a servant. About ten the Shoom (supper) is brought, and the hour of eleven usually closes the eventful day.

The merchants, instead of visiting the governor, visit the Caravansera, where they have usually shops. Here they expose their merchandize for sale, form their speculations, and transact all their concerns. By renting a room at a Caravansera, they not only avoid all kind of interruption when at home, but are also able to purchase goods to large amounts, by walking from one merchant's apartments to another's. If they are too poor to sleep, they remain until evening; and their day is always closed, like their superiors, with an enormous supper. Another prayer remains to be said about the middle of the night, which, except by a few, is, I believe, mostly forgotten.

OF THE AMUSEMENTS IN PERSIA.

With what profound contempt, observes our author, does a Moosulman look upon the qualification of being able to sing, play, or dance! He gravely twists his beard, and probably ejaculates a prayer of thanks that he was born a gentleman. This accounts for the serious and taciturn character of a Moosulman. Ignorance frequently limits his conversation within narrow bounds; and a habit of silence renders speaking a disagreeable and irksome task. A learned Moohammedan gentleman is a rare character; indeed men of rank think it beneath them to know any thing but their own consequence.

This is not, however, much the case with the Persians, who are generally affable and courteous men, possessing a variety of anecdote, and considerable information. It is the custom with them to converse upon literary subjects, and repeat a variety of verses before supper, which enables them to acquire a stock of superficial knowledge with little or no trouble. And, perhaps,

it may be thought that their evenings are spent to more advantage, and more rationally, than if they had been taken up by a game of cards, which interests the passions without informing the mind. The extent of their memory is really astonishing; they will repeat almost any ode you may mention, and yet I believe they read less than any description of people.

Many of the great people keep sets of Georgian boys, who are instructed to sing, to play on various instruments, and perform feats of activity. The Persian songs are very sweet and pathetic; and the music which accompanied their voices I thought to be very good. Their songs are in praise of wine and beauty, mixed with frequent complaints of the cruelty of their mistresses.

The Arabic songs are sung in parts, and much quicker than the Persian time. There are two men at Sheeraz who are considered to be very superior players on an instrument very like a violin; I heard them, and admired them much, but could form no judgment on their performance. These men, and the dancers, drink wine in enormous quantities, and that too publicly.

Although the Persian music is so greatly superior to that of India, their dances are as much inferior, being nothing more than an exhibition of the most indecent and disgusting movements and gestures. The dances in India are admirably calculated to set off an elegant figure to the highest advantage; and, notwithstanding the warm and animated descriptions which have been given of the indelicacy and voluptuousness of Eastern dancers, I must confess that many of them appear to me wholly unobjectionable *.

The most beautiful women in Persia are devoted to the profession of dancing; the transparency of their shift, which is the only covering they use to conceal their persons, the exquisite symmetry of their forms, their apparent agitation, and the licentiousness of their verses, are so many incentives to a passion which requires more philosophy than the Persians possess to restrain.

After the dancers come another description of people, if possible of more infamous morals. They are called Lootees, a kind of buffoon; and, as I learnt, have free access to the prince and governor, whom they amuse by a variety of indecent anecdotes

* People often court before they are shocked by the indecency of these dancers. I shall incur, says he, the reproach of singularity, but all the movements and attitudes of the Indian dancers strike me as being infinitely more graceful, and far less indecent than those in a German waltz.——[Our readers need not be told, the German waltz still continues the fashionable dance amongst the upper classes of society in this metropolis.]

and stories, which they relate, or invent, of the inhabitants of Sheeraz. Both the prince and governor keep a set of these wretches, who are allowed to take the greatest liberties with the most respectable characters; and who are obliged, in their own defence, to make them presents to ensure their forbearance, and to get rid of their importunity. They perform feats of activity and sleights of hand; but their principal means of subsistence is on the contributions they levy on strangers. They appear to be a privileged people; and, I believe, the reason why they are so often entertained in the houses of the great, arises from a dread lest they should exert the influence they are supposed to possess against them. Aga Ruza often had them; but why I could never discover.

Another amusement, among those who can afford it, is listening to a Shah Namu Khoon, a person who repeats and acts various passages of Ferdousee's epic poem called the Shah Namu. This is an amusement of a very superior kind, and one which a stranger is sure to delight in. They act the different descriptions of the poet with great spirit, particularly the account of the battle between Roostum, the hero of the poem, and Sohrab.

The game of back-gammon is common among the Persians; they know little of the game of chess. The priests hold persons who play, particularly if it is for money, in little estimation; and, I fancy, most conscientiously believe, that they will suffer in a future world for these acts of impiety. They have horse-races at Sheeraz, but I was not there at the proper season. From description I learnt, that the horses start at least at the distance of fifteen miles, and pursue a direct course to the post. No care is taken to level the ground; and, as it very often happens that more than twenty horses start together, there are frequent accidents. Purses of gold are given to the owners of the first, second, and third horses. They take great pains in training their horses, which they do for a much longer time than I believe is practised in Europe.

The military men are constantly playing at jureed-bazee, which is throwing a dart three cubits long at a horseman when they are at full gallop. The person at whom it is thrown either catches it in his hand, or throwing himself under the horse's belly, allows it to fly over him. This they perform very expertly; and which is by no means easy, when we recollect that the horse is going nearly at his speed. The jureed comes with sufficient force to break an arm. They also amuse themselves with riding full speed, turning round on their saddles, and firing a small carbine they carry; or in throwing the jureed on the ground, and catching it as it rebounds. The Persians appear

very bad horsemen to Europeans; one thing is evident, that they must ruin a horse's mouth in the course of a month.

DRESS OF THE PERSIANS.

The dress of the Persians is admirably calculated either for a cold or hot climate. Their limbs are under no restraint, and their clothes may be put on or thrown off in five minutes. The Persians are generally too poor to be fashionable; their dress, therefore, seldom varies, except in the colour of the robes. The Qajjars, however, preside over fashion; and every thing which is supposed to be neat or elegant, is called Qujuree or à la Qajjar. Their clothes may be easily described. The Zeer Jamus are very light trowsers made of silk, those worn in the hot weather sometimes of flax; the Peerahun, or shirt, comes over the trowsers, and then the Urkhaliq, which is made of a Masulipatam chintz, or fine shawls. The outside robe, or Quba, is made of various kind of cloths, some of which are very magnificent and expensive; the Kolah, or cap, is made of the skin of the sheep of Tartary, which is very fine, and beautifully black. The merchants are prohibited wearing either scarlet or crimson cloths, and also using silver or gold buttons to their robes. This may not possibly amount to a prohibition, but as it is never done, it is attended with the same effect. The wearing of silks is interdicted by the Moosulman law, but they avoid this by mixing a very little cotton with them: a large quantity of this kind of cloth (Gurmasoot) is imported into Persia from Guzerat*.

The Persians neither resemble those of old, nor their neighbours the Indians, in effeminacy of dress. The king, I believe, is the only person in the empire who wears any kind of jewels; and he only does so on state occasions. They greatly ridicule the fondness the Indians have for female ornaments; and they relate a story of one who was travelling in Persia, whom the Rahdars took for a woman, and would not be convinced to the contrary, until they had taken him to the Hakim. The pompous and high sounding titles of India are likewise a fund of amusement to them; for, excepting the dignity of Ihtimad ood doulu, which is given to their prime minister, and the hereditary honour of Khan, there are no other marks of distinction among them.

Although the Persians bathe so often (which is rather a luxurious enjoyment than an act of cleanliness,) they are a very

* As the Mahometans object to wearing silk on account of its being an excrement, I wonder (says Mr. W.) they do not also object to the wearing of pearls." But fashion will ever subdue the ordinances of religion.

dirty people. They very rarely change their garments, and seldom before it is dangerous to come near them. The Persian who accompanied me slept in his clothes until we reached Kazroon, although it was the hottest season of the year; and I believe then was only induced to change his dress at my recommendation. It is thought nothing in Persia to wear a shirt a month, or a pair of trowsers half a year.

A Persian soldier, armed cap-à-pie, is of all figures the most ridiculous. It is really laughable to see how they encumber themselves with weapons of defence: their horses groan under the weight of their arms. These consist of a pair of pistols in their holsters, a single one slung in their waist, a carbine, or a long Turkish gun, a sword, a dagger, and an immense long spear; for all these fire-arms they have separate ram-rods tied about their persons, powder-horns for loading, others for priming, and a variety of cartouch-boxes, filled with different sized cartridges. If they are advancing towards you, they may be heard a long way off. I should really suppose that their saddle and arms would weigh about eighty pounds, an enormous addition to the horse's burthen. Yet they consider themselves as light-armed troops, ridiculing the Turkish cavalry, who, they say, can take care of little else than their big boots and cap. The arms of the Persians are very good, particularly their swords, which are highly prized by the Turks. They are full of Jouhur, or what is called damask; which, however, does not express the meaning of the word, for the Jouhur is inherent in the steel. Tavernier says that none but Golconda steel can be damasked; but in this he is mistaken, as the Khorasan swords are more valuable than any others, the blade often alone costing twenty or thirty guineas.

The dress of the Persians is very expensive, frequently amounting to sixty or one hundred guineas; but which, of course, must be in proportion to their capacity to bear this expence. The poor people wear no cap, and very little clothes; when the cold weather comes on, they make dresses out of sheep skins, &c.

OF THE DRESSES AND MORALS OF THE WOMEN OF PERSIA.

The curiosity of the females, who lived in the adjoining house to mine, says the author, afforded me frequent opportunities of not only seeing, but also of conversing with them. And what may appear strange, after the accounts we have of Eastern jealousy, this was usually in the presence of their husbands, who did not evince the least repugnance to my seeing their

wives. My being an European probably entitled me to this indulgence.

The women of Persia, when at home, do not encumber themselves with many clothes, nor are they very attentive to the whiteness ef their garments. A Peerahun and a pair of Zeer Jamus is the whole of their dress; the trowsers are made of thick velvet, and their shift either of muslin, silk, or gauze. Their legs appear literally to be tied up in two sacks, and the Peerahun is but *concealment visible* to the rest of their persons. This is their summer apparel; in the winter they wear garments made of shawls, silks stuffed with cotton, and, if they can afford it, cloaks made of sable.

The Persian women, like the Indian, are totally devoid of delicacy; their language is often gross and disgusting, nor do they feel less hesitation in expressing themselves before men, than they would before their female associates. Their terms of abuse or reproach are indelicate to the utmost degree. I will not disgust the reader by noticing any of them; but I may safely aver, that it is not possible for language to express, or the imagination to conceive, more indecent or grosser images.

When they leave the house, they put on a cloak, which descends from the head to their feet, and their faces are concealed with *Oriental scrupulosity*. The veil which they wear is sometimes worked like a net, or else two holes are made in the cloak for their eyes. It is curious to see a number of tall and elegant formed figures walking in the streets, and presenting nothing to your view but a pair of sparkling black eyes, which seem to enjoy the curiosity they excite. The veil appears to be essential to their virtue; for as long as they can conceal their face, they care not how much they expose the rest of their person. The women in Persia are the only people who wear jewels or use perfumes; and this is a privilege they take much delight in.

The Persians differ as much from us in their notions of beauty, as they do in those of taste. A large, soft, and languishing black eye, with them constitutes the perfection of beauty; and which, they say, diffuses an amorous softness over the whole countenance, infinitely superior to the piercing and ardent glance of majestic beauty. It is chiefly on this account that the women use the powder of antimony, which, although it adds to the vivacity of the eye, throws a kind of voluptuous languor over it, which makes it appear (if I may use the expression) dissolving in bliss.

Many of the women of Sheeraz are as fair as those of Europe, but confinement robs them of that lovely bloom so

becoming and so essential to female beauty. The Persian women have a curious custom of making their eye-brows meet; and, if this charm be denied them, they paint the forehead with a kind of preparation made for that purpose.

It is not an observance in Persia, as in India, not to marry a widow. After a certain time of mourning, a woman marries again, and is treated by her husband with the same distinction as is shown to his other wives.

The licentiousness of the troops at Sheeraz is prevented by their finding houses ready to receive them; and an indiscriminate plunder is averted by a compliance with the terms of the conqueror. In a despotic monarchy, the division of the city into wards is of wonderful utility; it allows a tyrant, who captures a place, to proceed on a systematic plan of plunder; and the inhabitants of the city suffer much less than those in similar cases have done in Europe.

There is often a degree of weight attached to the representations of the Kud Khodas, which serves as a strong restraint on the oppression of a governor. In the event of their suffering greatly from the rapacity or tyranny of the Hakim, they sign a petition, representing the causes of complaint, and praying for redress. It is seldom that the king refuses to grant their request. They are the mediators for the poor people; and despots have the sense to know, that oppression, carried beyond a certain extent, can be but of short duration.

In all the little trifling disputes which occur among neighbours, the Kud Khoda exerts his influence to bring them to an amicable termination, and frequently with good success. If a husband and wife disagree, he endeavours to effect a reconciliation by remonstrating with the husband, and through the medium of a Kud Banoo (a kind of governess), with the wife. In short, it is his business to be a peace-maker, and to exert himself for the good of the community over which he presides.

POLICE OF SHEERAZ.

The police of Sheeraz it appears, is admirably regulated; I hardly think, says Mr. W., it possible for the middling classes of people to harbour any design against the government, which should not come to the immediate notice of the governor. The Darogha, or superintendant of the Bazars, holds his office from government; it is his duty to settle the disputes that may occur in the markets, and to hear the complaints of the people of the Bazar. If a shopkeeper refuses to execute, or violates his agreement, you make your complaint to the Darogha, who obliges him to perform it; or, if he should prove that he is totally unable, he grants him a certain time for its performance. The

humanity of the Moosulman law grants a merchant an opportunity of recovering himself from unforeseen misfortunes. But if the person complained against is of an infamous character, a fine is imposed on him, and the Darogha orders him either to be punished or put in confinement.

The Darogha of the Bazar likewise superintends the morals of the people; and, if he detects any of them drinking wine, or in the society of courtezans, he compels them to purchase his connivance at no small expence.

I remember Aga Ruza's receiving fifty toomans (guineas) from an unfortunate Armenian, who was caught in the house of a prostitute; and he thought he conferred a favour on him, at allowing him to escape at so easy a rate. He has a large establishment under him, who are employed in preserving the peace of the markets, and in apprehending persons whom they detect acting contrary to the orders of the Darogha.

This appointment is considered to be very lucrative; for, in addition to the presents and bribes he is in the habit of receiving, the people of the Bazar furnish him with every thing he requires, that they may ensure his protection and favour.

The appointment of Meer Usus, or Uhdas, greatly resembles that of Darogha of the Bazar; the former is superintendant of the police during the day, the latter at night. It is his office to preserve the peace of the city, to take up persons who may be out of their houses at improper hours, and to prevent robberies. He has a number of people under him for this purpose, who patrole the streets, and keep watch on the tops of the houses. Each shopkeeper in the Bazar contributes about two or three-pence a month to defray the expences of this establishment. If a housekeeper is robbed, the Meer Usus, or Kucheek-chee-bashee (the head of the watch), is accountable for the robbery, and is obliged either to produce the property stolen, or pay the amount. This rarely happens, for the Meer Usus is generally connected with all the thieves in the city, and can answer for their obedience to his orders. They rob, therefore, in places not under his protection; and, as it is commonly supposed, he participates in their plunder, they are connected with each other by a common interest *.

* It is very well known, that the best method to secure your property, in many parts of India, is to employ a thief to guard it. Thieving in the East is an honourable calling; they pay a certain sum monthly for permission to follow their profession; and in all native camps there is a Bazar which goes by the name of the thieving-market.

The Mohtusib is, I believe, subject to the orders of the Darogha of the Bazar; it is his business to regulate the prices of every article which is sold in the Bazar, and to see that the weights are of the proper standard. This duty is usually performed once a week; and if he convicts any person of using false weights, the punishment is often death.

Besides these officers, there are others who are stationed at the gates of the city, to prevent the inhabitants of any consequence from leaving the city without the governor's permission. These appointments are doubtless obnoxious to the grossest bribery; but, notwithstanding the evils which result from this system of corruption, they are at least equal to similar institutions in any European country.—People have, in general, been more clamorous against the laws and ordinances of despotic monarchies, which, they conceive, like the source of a poisoned river, must necessarily infect all its branches; but with what propriety I shall leave those to determine who are acquainted with other states, where property is secured by the payment of a monthly tax of three-pence; and where merchandise is conveyed to the remotest parts of the empire without the smallest risk. It may be said, that in despotic monarchies, not only property, but life, depends upon the will of one man; and that where the latter is uncertain, there can be little satisfaction in the enjoyment of the former. This is a maxim which may be disputed; for we have no reason to suppose that the life of either a soldier or a sailor is any ways more uncomfortable than that of a merchant, remote from the probability or chance of dangers.

Men of rank or enterprise, who expose themselves by holding responsible situations to imminent hazard, gratify their ambition at the risk of their lives; but they are aware of this, and as they court the danger which it would have been easy for them to avoid, they can have no reason to complain if they fail in the pursuit. They can with no more justice lament their fate, than a minister of state can his being impeached. Far be it from me to become an advocate in favour of a despotic monarchy; yet there is, I think, some reason to doubt the relations we have of the wretchedness and misery of those who live under, and are ruled by the laws of an arbitrary government.

THE LAWS OF PERSIA.

As the Persians are the followers of Ali, the son-in-law of the prophet, their system of laws is not burthened with

the numerous traditions and commentaries of the Soonees. The dissention between Aboo Jafir and Huneefu, two very celebrated lawyers, laid the foundation of that difference which at present pervades the two systems of Mahometan jurisprudence: but the acrimony of religious controversy had, long before this dispute, prepared the minds of the two sects for a final separation. It will be here sufficient to observe, that their differences are frequently founded upon the observance of trivial forms, or the practice of peculiar customs. A zealous Shee-a most conscientiously believes, that a Soonee will be damned for crossing his hands on his breast, when he is saying his prayers, instead of letting them fall by his side, agreeably to the practice of the followers of Ali.

The Persians are certainly greatly prejudiced in favour of their own laws, particularly those who have been initiated into the mysteries of our courts of justice. They cannot conceive the necessity of deferring to pass an immediate judgment on a cause which must be either just or unjust; little imagining that a preparatory study of many years is requisite to enable their counsel to form an opinion on the merits of their case. But although they deprecate this delay, they willingly acknowledge the superior wisdom and justice which directs the decisions of our courts; and break out in lavish commendations of the scrupulous regard which is shewn to the claims of the meanest individual.

The distribution of justice in Persia is committed to the hands of the Sheikh Ool Islam (head priest), who is the judge of criminal and civil law; and to the governor, who is the Hakimi Oorf, or judge of common law. The former is directed in his decisions by the Shura, a name the Koran receives when applied to judicial proceedings, and to the Hudees, or traditions of the prophet. It is the duty of the Hakimi Oorf to see the decisions of the civil magistrate carried into effect.

The Moosulman law is founded on the principle of the *lex talionis;* that life is requited with life; or, if the kin of the deceased agree, may be commuted by the payment of a fixed sum; and of wounds, in the same manner. In the event of a person receiving a wound, and, according to the law of retaliation, his inflicting a similar one on the body of the aggressor, from which he should afterwards die, he is considered to have been guilty of murder, and is delivered over to the relations of the deceased. But this [illegible] extraordinary circumstance which possibly may not [illegible] occurred.

The Hakimi Oorf executes the decisions of the civil magistrate; but a latitude is left him to inflict what punishments he thinks proper. The civil magistrates, in all the cities of Persia, are the servants of the king, totally independent of the governor, who seldom hesitates to acknowledge their authority, or to comply with their judgments. Various kinds of disputes, robberies, &c. are cognizable by the Hakimi Oorf, who punishes or pardons as he thinks proper; at the same time it is expected that he should regulate his decisions according to established usage. The quarrels and disputes which occur among the troops, are decided by the commandant; murders or assaults by the Sheikh Ool Islam of the city.

No witness is ever sworn; he says, "I give evidence;" neither is there any *prescribed* punishment for wilful perjury. A man of rank enjoys a number of privileges which are denied the poorer classes. No servant can complain against him, nor can a tradesman recover his money, should he refuse to discharge his debts. This is rather agreeably to what has probably been practised for ages, than that it is founded on any law. On the contrary, the Mohammedan laws embrace every description of offenders, and shew no more favour to the richest, than they do to the poorest individual. This distinction is the result of despotism, is generated by it, and must exist as long as this form of government endures.

A Mooslim is allowed to divorce his wife without assigning the smallest causes of complaint; whereas it is necessary for the woman to substantiate ill usage, and a variety of other circumstances, before she can procure a separation. They part in this way three times; after which, I believe, it is considered improper, though not unlawful, for them to have any further connection. After the third time, she must be married and be divorced before her former husband can remarry her.

Marriages are easily concluded in Persia; you may, according to the Mooslim law, be married for an hour, a day, or a month. You draw out a contract, specifying the time; this you take to the priest, who recognises the deed, and allows its validity. Some prayers are, I believe, read; the priests receives a present; and should you be inclined to renew your engagement, this too is allowed. This kind of union is considered to be ittle inferior to marriage; and is a plan generally adopted by those who are over scrupulous, and of tender faith.

Justice, according to every thing I could hear, says our author, is but badly administered in Persia; a bribe, I believe, is the most expeditious method of securing redress, and even then it would depend on your having presented a larger sum than the person you complained against. The Sheikh ool Islam at Sheeraz was universally considered to be a just and upright magistrate; but, I fear, this was a remarkable instance of virtue. The Persians, though they are quarrelsome, are by no means letigious; it seldom happens that any, but those who can afford it, suffer by the iniquity of their judges. Poor people can have but few causes of complaint; ill usage, being wounded, or one of their relations being put to death. I have already noticed the punishments for the two latter; the former is seldom redressed.

OF THE TRADE OF PERSIA.

Persia is a country which has very little inland trade; it has few navigable rivers; neither does it produce many things in sufficient abundance to allow of exportation. Small quantities of wheat, rice, barley, dates, and almonds, are exported from the country about Bushire to Muscat, and to ports in the gulf. There are manufactories of silk at Kashan and Yezd; but they do not fabricate more than supplies the consumption of the country. The cloths, however, of Isfahan, Kashan, and Yezd, are exported from Persia into Russia, whence they bring in return broad cloths, velvets, satins, and cutlery.

The situation of Yezd makes it the emporium for all the trade of Persia; coarse purpets are sent there in large quantities, also to the Ousbeg Tartars, and to the people of Khorasan; the merchant makes his returns in silk, carpets, felts, and the shawls of Cashmire. There are many cities in Persia which supply the adjacent towns with the produce of their manufactories; at Kirman they make shawls, which are worn by the poor people, and are sent all over Persia; but, speaking generally, they rely almost entirely on foreigners for furnishing them with articles of dress and luxury. Persia produces large quantities of gums and drugs, particularly assa fœtida, which is in great demand in India. The Americans have lately sent one or two ships to Bushire and Bussora to take in a cargo of drugs; but, I believe, they were greatly disappointed, for the haste they were in did not permit of the merchants procuring supplies from the inland country.

Pearls of every description are sent in quantities to India, where they are esteemed superior to those of Ceylon. Chests of wine and rose-water are likewise sent there, but the number is very inconsiderable. Tavernier mentions, that 4125 tons of wine were annually made at Sheeraz*; but this is by no means the case at present, for every man in Persia manufactures his own wine, and the exportation of it to foreign counties must be very trifling. The most advantageous trade for the merchants is probably in horses; of which numbers are sent by every vessel to the different ports in India.

The merchants of Persia are a shrewd, sensible, and thrifty class of people, willing to undergo any hardships if they have a prospect of making money. Many of them visit India; others send agents to manage their concerns, particularly to Massulipatam, to superintend the manufacture of chintz. They often undertake long journies, frequently to Cashmire, where they supply themselves with shawls. Besides the danger of this journey, they can seldom hope to receive the returns for their money before the expiration of three years; from which it is easy to form some notion of their profits, and of the present state of the trade in Persia. The trade of Persia is comparatively of very little advantage to the state, it adds but little to the revenue, and affords employment to a small number of muleteers. For there is a vast difference in the trade of a country, where the stock of a merchant is changed twice or oftener a year, and where it is not changed more than once in one, two, and sometimes three years. Many of the Arabs and Persians, instead of employing their capitals in such hazardous and uncertain speculations, have invested part of it in building ships, which they hire out upon freight. Those which visit Bushire and Bussora, are loaded by the owners with horses; and the freight which they get in treasure, &c. makes this a very profitable concern.

CUSTOMS, TAXES, &c.

The taxes and customs of Persia are divided under a number of separate heads, and are let out by government to the highest renter. The duty on goods imported into Persia, amounts, at Bushire, to about five per cent.; for although it is nominally much more, yet, as the goods are passed much below the value, it seldom exceeds this

sum*. I have already noticed that between Bushire and Sheeraz there are nine Rahdarees: but the duty which they levy does not, in the whole, amount to half a piastre per cent. At Sheeraz the caravans are stopped at the custom-house, where the goods are examined and valued, and upon which a duty of two and a half per cent. is levied. Here there is infinite trouble; for it is the business of the custom-master to over-rate, and the interest of the merchant to undervalue his merchandize as much as possible. This altercation is usually terminated by a bribe; and this is probably the only additional duty imposed on the merchant's property.

Formerly there used to be great disputes about passing bales of shawls; but the king, to prevent the impositions which were usually practised, has ordered that each bale is to pay according to its weight, and not to its supposed value. A caravan going to any of the cities in Irak, from Bushire, must pay the duties at Sheeraz; if it passes Ispahan, at that city; and, in short, at every city it may pass through where duties are levied. Probably by the time a caravan reaches the banks of the Caspian Sea, the merchants may have paid thirty per cent. on their goods.

A monthly tax is imposed upon every shopkeeper; and, as far as I could learn, no distinction is made between those who have much or little business. The sum is very trifling, and all the merchants are exempted from paying it. But the description of people who pay the heaviest tax to government, are the female dancers, and the votaries of pleasure. They exercise their professions under the immediate patronage of the governor; their names, ages, &c. are carefully registered, and if one should die or marry, another instantly supplies her place†. They are divided into classes, agreeably to their merits, and the estimation they are held in; each class inhabit separate streets, so that you may descend from the *door Toomunees* to the Pooli Seeahs, without the chance of making mistakes.

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* The Sheikh of Bushire, in addition to the customs, takes one piece of chintz from every bale imported into Persia. This amounts to about five thousand piastres.

† This is a long established custom. See Tavernier's Account of the Kings.

OF THE MILITARY FORCE OF PERSIA.

All the troops in Persia are the immediate servants of the king. Some of the principal Khans are *Sahibi taefus*, which signifies, that they belong to particular tribes, of which they are considered to be the head. These tribes are usually in the king's service; but these chiefs are not feudatories, all of them being regularly paid, and liable to be dismissed at the discretion of government. These troops are generally quartered in the district to which they belong; but to insure their obedience to the king's commands, either their chief or his son is usually kept at court.

The military force of Persia consists chiefly of cavalry; and it is only when they are going against a fort that they make use of infantry. The troops are clothed, furnished with horses, arms, &c. at the expence of the king: and the pay which they receive is from ten to fifteen Toomans a year; in addition to this, they are supplied with *Suroosat*, an allowance of barley and straw for their horses, and wheat, rice, and butter for themselves. They receive also something under the head of inam, a present; but this, I believe, says Mr. W., to be very uncertain. This pay, however, is very great; for when we consider the value of money in Persia (which I look upon to be four or five times greater than in England), and the supplies which they receive, it will appear that their yearly pay amounts to fifty or sixty guineas.

This force is divided into regiments of one thousand men, commanded by a Membashee; then into hundreds, over whom is a Yoozbashee; and then into tens, under an Oonbashee; these officers receive regular pay from the king. The Khan commands the whole; and it depends upon the will of the king to what number it shall amount. Whenever a body of men is enlisted into the king's service, their own names, and that of their father's, and their ages, &c. are written down in a general muster-roll. Should any one of them die, information is immediately given to the officer who keeps the rolls; and it would be with extreme difficulty, and much hazard, that a chief could keep a smaller number of men than his prescribed quota. If he dismissed any of the original number, he would be instantly detected, by their making a complaint to the king; and if he delayed filling up the vacancies caused by deaths, the Umbardar, or officer who supplies the troops with provisions, would discover the imposition. Nor can the commander keep back any of their pay, for it would be immediately known to the troops, who would either depose him, or forward a representation to the king.

The troops are paid once a year, sometimes every three months; but as they are supplied with most of the things they require, and are furnished with houses when abroad, they do not suffer much

from the length of their arrears. I can hardly say any thing of their discipline, for there were but a very small number at Sheeraz on whom I could form any judgment. Those that were there appeared to be wholly undisciplined, seldom going through any other manœuvre than charging in a promiscuous heap, and halting in detached bodies of four or five, often at the distance of many yards, in every direction from each other. They then amused themselves with skirmishing with each other; but the manœuvre they commonly practised, was galloping full speed, stopping their horses with a sudden jerk, which nearly threw them backwards, then turning round on their saddle, and discharging their carbine at their supposed adversary.

If we were to attend to the natural prejudices of the Persians, we should entertain no unfavourable opinion of the valour and discipline of their troops; but if we estimate their courage by the resistance which they make against victorious troops, or by the losses they sustain, I fear that they will greatly resemble the armies of the Italian states, who fought whole days without losing a single man.

As the infantry are seldom employed in any kind of service, they are, I suppose, much worse than the Persian cavalry. There was an instance some time ago at Bushire which may serve as a specimen of their proficiency in military affairs. A salute was to be fired, and as the guns were not shotted, they conceived that they might discharge them without any danger to the people who were crouded about them. They fired the guns, and several persons were killed on the spot.

The infantry are generally employed at sieges, where it is their business to fire off a piece of cannon once an hour or so; and as long as they hit the wall, they are considered to be well qualified for effecting a breach. If there are infantry and guns, a body of bildars (pioneers) accompanies the army; but as I have before remarked, the services of the infantry are seldom required.

In drawing out the lines of their camp, posting centries, and sending out picquets, they imitate the armies of European states; their camp, however, generally forms a circle. The Persians have in general been successful in their wars against the Turks, and in their irruptions into India; and, in consequence, they are impressed with very ridiculous notions of the superiority of their arms. They conceive it impossible for infantry to resist their charge; if it be like what I saw them practise, nothing could be more easy; but, happily for them, they are not likely to be opposed to the steady discipline and determined bravery of European troops.

When the king puts himself at the head of his army, the different Sur-kurdus (chieftains) are ordered to assemble their troops; and the king, having pledges in his hands for the fidelity of his

soldiers, is certain of having an army of fifty or sixty thousand men in a few days. Besides these troops, there is another body called Gholam Shahees (slaves of the king), and who are considered to be the choicest troops of the empire. They have charge of the king's person, receive greater pay, and are clothed in a more expensive manner than the regular cavalry.

These may be about twenty thousand; but the flower of this corps is formed into a body of about four thousand, who are distinguished by the excessive richness of their dress, and the insolence of their behaviour.

The length of the Persian marches is surprising; they think nothing of forty or fifty miles a day; and it is a circumstance well known, that they have, on urgent occasions, marched at the rate of seventy miles for three days together. They march, of course, without baggage; but the usual rate that caravans travel in Persia is not less than thirty-five miles a day.

REVENUES OF PERSIA.

It is extremely difficult, says Mr. Waring, for a traveller to inform himself perfectly of the revenues of a country, but particularly of a country like Persia, where the method of collection is both in kind and in money, and where the revenues are not regularly realized. You can only get information from a few, and those few are seldom willing to give it. I shall therefore briefly enumerate the different kinds of lands they have in Persia, and the methods they take for realizing the rents and taxes.

There are two grand divisions of land in Persia; the one called *Shahee*, the other *Urbabee*. The former is land belonging to the king, the latter the *property* of the subject. One-eighth of the lands in Fars and Irak is probably possessed by the king, the remainder by his subjects. The produce of these lands are subject to two divisions, the one called *Nuqd*, and the other *Jinsee*; or, in other words, the former yielding produce for manufacture, as cotton, silk, &c. and the latter crops of grain.

Those who cultivate land belonging to the king, either *Nuqd* or *Jinsee*, pay a rent of half the produce, besides the deduction which is made on account of seed; the king, however, supplies cattle for drawing water, and digs wells at his own expence. This method of collecting the rent is of long standing; and, in fact, the cultivator does not now pay either a *rent* or *tax* agreeably to the actual produce of the lands, but according to the produce of the land at the establishment of this regulation. The king does not always call upon those who cultivate his land to pay their rents yearly; it sometimes remains in the cultivator's hands until troops are quartered in their neighbourhood, and they have then to pay their rents at the requisition of the Quloentur. In

the event of a general drought, some allowance is made to the husbandmen; but this depends chiefly on interest and favour.

The Urbabee land is held, in general, by some person of consequence, who cultivates it for himself. He furnishes seed, cattle to plough and draw water, and, after deducting the quantity advanced for seed, he assigns a fifth part of the produce to the cultivators, and a tenth part is the *tax* paid to government. If the land be *Nuqd*, a fifth part is the *tax* imposed by government. Should a labouring man cultivate his own land, he merely pays a tax to government, and appropriates the remainder to himself. The taxes on the *Nuqd* land are, I believe, paid always in kind; I have heard, however, from one person, that they were sometimes paid in specie. Since the king furnishes his troops with the various grains which are the produce of Persia, it is probably more advantageous for him to receive this part of his revenue in kind. Indeed, if we consider the little internal trade of Persia, and the very heavy drains which their foreign trade must make on the current specie of the country, it would appear almost impracticable for the king to realize his rents and taxes in any other manner.

As the greatest part of the land in Persia is watered by artificial means, its value, of course, depends upon the abundance or scarcity of this necessary article. Land that is well watered, sells for about twelve pounds a jureeb, and decreases in value to two*. The cultivators of land who have more water than they require, dispose of it at great advantage; a good well, with plenty of cattle and men, will water about eight or ten jureebs of land in the twenty-four hours.

As far as I could ascertain, land situated on the banks of a river pays no greater tax to government than that which is watered by artificial means. If a person occupies a portion of waste land, which he brings into a state of cultivation, and which has no claimant, he enjoys an exemption from the taxes for a certain period, and is at full liberty to bequeath it to his children, *or to dispose of it in any way he may think proper*.

But land watered naturally, as in Dushistan, may be considered as the property of the king, which any one may cultivate on paying the fixed rent to government on horses, mules, &c. some parts of it are, however, personal property. The soldiers of the state who cultivate land, are exempted from all taxes, but in the event of their being called upon service, they are obliged to abandon their crops to the superintendance of their friends.

Although the Urbabee land in Persia is certainly personal pro-

* A jureeb of land is one hundred square cubits.

perty, yet, by the institutions of the empire, the proprietor is not permitted to let his land remain uncultivated; or, in other words, he is obliged to pay the same annual tax to government as if his lands had been under a state of cultivation. But as it is the mutual interest of the proprietor, and of government, that his lands should be as productive as possible, this is a case which must rarely occur.

The *Moostoufee* is the keeper of a register, containing a statistical account of the value, the produce, and the annual amount of the taxes of the lands committed to his management. It is his business also to keep a regular account of the receipts and disbursements made on account of government. The Quloontur is another officer of government, whose duty it is to furnish the troops with provisions, by giving an order on the Umbardar, or keeper of the royal granaries, which is countersigned by the Moostoufee. In the various parts of Persia, there are royal granaries established for receiving the rents and taxes of government, which are entrusted to the management of an Umbardar. The Hakim, who is invested with a general controul over these officers, enforces the claims of government, either by punishing or confining the cultivators. These officers have, of course, a number of subordinate ones under them, who are dispersed among the different villages within the circuit of their authority, and make reports of all occurrences to their immediate superiors.

OF THE PERSIAN GOVERNMENT.

The government of Persia is well known to be despotic. The will of the king is under no controul from the laws of the empire, nor (as is said to be the case in Turkey) is his power under any restraint from the dominion of Mooslim priests. His rule is, therefore, as arbitrary as it is possible for it to be; and perhaps Persia is the only country where the baneful effects of despotism are not checked by the influence of some other body in the state. But although the king governs with uncontrolled authority, he would incur much hazard were he to attempt imposing a trifling additional tax on his subjects, however salutary and beneficial it might be for the peace of his country. He might confiscate the property of his nobles, or depopulate whole districts in safety, and with applause; but the imposition of a tax would risk the existence of his government. He has full power to assume the whole; but they deny him the liberty of taking a part of their property.

Yet, notwithstanding the sufferings of the persons who live under a despotic monarchy, I have not, says Mr. W., the smallest notion that one half of the inhabitants in Persia have the least desire for a change in their government. The nobles would na-

turally support the authority of their sovereign; and the military, who enjoy a share in the plenitude of his power, would be unanimous in favour of despotism. The affections of such people are centered wholly in themselves; if neither they nor their immediate relations are sufferers, they contemplate the miseries of their neighbours and countrymen with indifference, apathy, and composure.

In Persia the very dregs of the people live in the hopes of being able to make others as unhappy as themselves; and, instead of endeavouring to improve their condition in life (for how long may they enjoy it?) they content themselves with fruitlessly repining at their adverse fates, and at the blindness of their superiors in not discovering their merits. Happy it is for them that they are predestinarians!

I have repeatedly seen the *servants* of the prince's dependents enter a village, and seize on whatever they required, without making the smallest remuneration to the inhabitants. If the villages evinced the least reluctance, they were threatened with the bastinado, the usual recompense a poor man in Persia receives from his superior, so secure are the people of being oppressed only by one person. It therefore appears to me that you not only suffer all the dread and apprehension of a despotic monarchy, but also the violence and oppression of a lawless democracy.

It may be perhaps owing to this circumstance, that we find despotic governments so fertile in rebellions; the lower classes of people are always intent on preferment, and, as they can lose but little from want of success, they have every thing to hope for if their chieftain succeeds. None of them think of redress; nor do they expect, in the event of their placing their commander on the throne, that they will be more equitably ruled, or more mildly governed. It is the hope of advancement which influences them to flock to the standard of rebellion; it is this which insures their fidelity, and stimulates them to exertion. But if the advantages on the adverse side be greater, they feel no compunction in deserting their chieftain in the midst of his enemies.

The predominating principle in a despotic monarchy, is to inspire the governed with a due sense of the precariousness of their situations, and an humble submission to the will of their superiors. And as the government is assured of the weakness of the people, it allows them, without apprehension, the licence of murmur, and the freedom of complaint. Indeed the people of Persia are allowed to canvass the measures of government with much greater liberty than would be admitted of under a limited monarchy.

It may be worth our while to notice the precaution which the

present king has taken to ensure the permanency of his government.

When Hajee Ibrahim, the deceased minister, had advanced him to the throne, he of course held the appointment of Wuzeer; but the king, to counteract the power of this high office, conferred similar dignities on two other persons, who were looked upon as the second and third ministers of state. The authority, therefore, of Wuzeer of the empire was divided amongst three persons; and although Hajee Ibrahim undoubtedly enjoyed by far the greater share of influence, yet when the king found it politic to make away with his benefactor, he had formed a party who readily undertook the execution of his wishes. He has observed the same system of policy in all the cities of his empire. The governors of districts may be considered as the civil officers of the state; they have no authority over the troops, but the commanders, in cases of exigence or alarm, are subject to their requisitions. The commandant of the citadel is another independent authority, so that the office of Beglerbeg of Fars, which was formerly committed to the charge of one person, is now divided among a considerable number; and, as it is impossible for so many opposite interests to coalesce, the king is sure to be informed of whatever may be done contrary to his orders. His government has only been disturbed by two rebellions; and Mr. W. is of opinion, that by this system of counteracting the power and authority of his ministers and officers of state, his reign will be of longer duration than is usually the case in despotic monarchies.

ACCOUNT OF THE KING OF PERSIA.

The present king of Persia ascended the throne under a variety of advantages which rarely occur in a country where the only claim to sovereignty depends upon the sword. At the time of his uncle's decease he was at Sheeraz; upon this event he advanced towards Tuhran, and was fortunate enough to gain possession of this important place. It was at this place where all the treasure of the empire was deposited, and the families of all the principal officers of the realm. He by this means secured the affections of the soldiery, and the fidelity of all the principal officers in the state. Hajee Ibrahim, the most considerable and respectable person in the empire, declared himself in his favour; and it was chiefly owing to his exertion and influence, that the king met with so little resistance in the accomplishment of his wishes.

Futih Ulee Shah, the present king, is about seven and twenty years of age; he is a Qajjar, an inconsiderable tribe in the neighbourhood of Tuhran, and of no repute before the accession of

A Moohummud Khan to the throne of Persia. Indeed, during the reign of Kureem Khan they were in general disrepute, nothing being more common than the people of the Bazar refusing to sell them any article, on the plea that they had nothing fit for a Qajjar sufficiently bad and vile. But now, owing to the very great partiality the king evinces for his tribe, they have become the most considerable people in the kingdom; and the name of Qajjar is detested and feared in every part of the empire of Persia. All the responsible trusts are conferred upon them: and the present governor of Isphahan, and of the district of Irak, was elevated from his former situation of a seller of greens, to his present station, merely because he was a Qajjar.

The manners of the king are said to be very dignified, though at the same time very affable and prepossessing; and he is allowed to possess all the exterior accomplishments of a Persian. In his person he is superior to most men; and the immense length of his beard (a gift highly valued by the Persians), is a perpetual theme of discourse and admiration*. He has been engaged in no military enterprise, and in consequence of this the public opinion deny him the only Persian virtue, courage. His annual expeditions towards Khorasan are made with the view of engaging the attention of his subjects, and accustoming his troops to the fatigues of actual service, but without the smallest design of attempting the reduction of that province. The greatest blemish in his character, is the murder of Hajee Ibrahim, who regarded him as a son, and who had evinced for him the affection of a father. It is said that the minister used to take greater liberties than the extent of his services allowed: but I know of no excuse which can palliate such barbarous inhumanity.

The court of Tuhran is said (by those who have had many opportunities of judging), to be very magnificent and splendid, and in every respect becoming the sovereign of an extensive and flourishing empire. When the king receives any one in state, his sons, who are very numerous†, stand in a line from the throne; his ministers and officers of state behind them; and in the avenues are perhaps more than two thousand Gholami Shahees sumptuously clothed. The master of the ceremonies introduces the stranger; and every thing is conducted with the greatest decency and solemnity. Permission of being seated in the presence of the king is only granted to ambassadors and envoys of foreign

* The original volume contains an interesting portrait of this bearded monarch. Ed.

† His family amounts to above fifty, several of whom were born on the same day.

states, and to, I believe, the Sheik Ool Islam, as the chief priest of the Mooslim religion. The king sometimes wears his regalia, and by allowing the rays of the sun to fall upon him, I have heard it was impossible to behold him with any degree of steadiness. His jewels are supposed to be superior to any potentate's in the world; indeed it would be surprising were it otherwise, as he has possessed himself of all the valuable jewels in his empire.

The king has now reigned above seven years; and were it possible to form an opinion of the duration of a despotic government, he has every prospect of reigning for a much longer period. His brother, Hoosun Qoolee Khan, who twice threw off his allegiance, is now in a place of sanctuary, which, I believe, the king respects more on account of the entreaties of his mother, than from any reverence he entertains for the place itself*. He is, however, guarded with the strictest vigilance, and it is almost impossible for him to effect his escape.

The king's eldest son (Mihr Ulee Khan) is an enterprising young man, much esteemed by the soldiers and military officers; and as his illegitimacy deprives him of all hopes of peaceably succeeding his father, it is difficult to say what the intrigues of discontented noblemen might not excite him to attempt. He has frequently declared to the king his father, that the sword should either secure or deprive him of the throne; and that it was his determination to overcome the obstacles which were placed in his way. Such is the situation of princes in a despotism, that it is the only means they have of preserving their lives; and in the event of the king's death, Persia will again be deluged in blood; for as the princes are the governors of various districts in the empire, they have each the means of asserting their claims to the throne.

The king of Persia has revived a taste for literature, so scandalously neglected by his predecessors. He is himself a man of considerable taste and erudition, and is also a tolerable poet.

The governor of Kashan was indebted for his appointment to his being an excellent poet. On his sending the king a present of one of his compositions, he expressed greater satisfaction at the gift, than at the sumptuous offering of Chiragh Ulee Khan, which amounted to some thousand pounds. He would, however, be sorry to have all his governors poets, and all their presentations poems. It is a great thing for him to have pa-

* I learnt, says Mr. W., on my last visit to Bushire, that his mother was dead; she was mother to both the brothers, and was excessively fond of her youngest son. By all accounts she was a woman of considerable ability, and was highly respected by all classes of people.

tropised one man of genius; it is seldom they are so well rewarded.

The sum of the present king's reign may be given in a few words. If he has not achieved any of the great actions which have distinguished the reign of his more illustrious predecessors, he must at least be allowed the negative virtue of having done little harm; a virtue infinitely superior to the ferocious conquests of Tamerlane, and the victorious massacres of the inhuman Nadir Shah.

CHARACTER OF THE PERSIANS.

According to our author, the people of Sheeraz are supposed to be the most accomplished of the Persians; the name of Sheerazee stamps some degree of credit on the possessor, while that of Isfuhanee is expressive of deceit, cunning, and fraud; and this seems to be the common and established opinion. The people of Sheeraz appeared to me mean and obsequious to their superiors, and to their equals, if they had a prospect of advantage; but invariably arrogant and brutal in their behaviour towards their inferiors: always boasting of some action they never performed, and delighted with flattery, although they are aware of the imposition. I have repeatedly, says Mr. W., heard them compliment a person, either in his hearing, or in the presence of some one who would convey this adulation to his ears; and the instant that he has departed, their praises have turned into abuse, and they have, with malicious pleasure, exposed the character they not a moment before praised with fervent civility. Indeed, so loth are the Persians to admire any thing from which they can derive no advantage, as to confine themselves, in their expressions of admiration, to Bud neest, "It is not bad;" but if the property be their own, no words or description could do justice to its excellencies.

Their expressions of esteem or compliment are conceived in the most fulsome terms. "Your presence has made all Persia a garden: Persia i sunworthy of your acceptance." As an instance of this, I recollect the Sheikh, at Bushire, remonstrating against the rapacity of Chiragh Ulee Khan, the governor of Sheeraz, when he was informed of the arrival of his principal secretary. He began by enquiring after the governor's health; and when he was told that he had quitted the city, he readily observed, that now Sheeraz was worthless (Pooli seeah nu mee urzud), that it had lost the only ornament it possessed. Many more instances might be given, for they are perpetually occurring, but one is sufficient.

The military men in Persia are constantly boasting of the feats of their prowess, although it is probable that they were never in

an action in their lives, or engaged in any expedition of the least danger. They cannot be denied, however, the virtue of courage, or at least of impetuous fury, for the lower orders frequently engage themselves in quarrels, which are often attended with bloodshed, and which they might have avoided with propriety. It is surprising how apt the military men (particularly those who come from the northern parts of Persia), are to quarrel; and upon the least provocation they resort to the sword. Their friends probably join in the fray; and it possibly may happen that two or three persons lose their lives before the dispute can be determined.

The better order of people, in Persia, are divided into two classes, the military and officers of state, and the merchants. The former, who receive a certain annual sum, which they are accustomed to expend, are excessively liberal, and rarely think of amassing any wealth for their posterity. The merchants, however, are always intent upon gain, it is the only subject which occupies their thoughts; and such is the ascendancy their penurious habits have gained over them, that they cannot forego an opportunity of the slightest advantage, though attended with disgrace and infamy. They have in general made their fortunes on the slightest foundation; and the consequence is, that their penury has proportioned itself to their prosperity. The military men are rapacious, and will be guilty of excessive meanness in their pursuit after money; but whatever malpractices they may be guilty of, and I believe they are guilty of many, it is never with a view of retaining their acquisitions.

It must be confessed that the Persians are pleasing and entertaining companions; but not the least reliance is to be placed on their words or most solemn protestations. You should always, therefore, be on your guard against their insidious offers; and to be so, it is necessary to distrust all their declarations. The manners of the Persians are formed, in a great degree, on the principles of Lord Chesterfield; they conceive it their duty to please: and to effect this, they forget all sentiments of honour and good faith. They are excellent companions, but detestable characters.

The Persians have but a faint notion of gratitude, for they cannot conceive that any one should *be guilty* of an act of generosity without some sinister motive. They reason upon their own feelings; and as they are conscious that they never perform any action but with a view to their own immediate advantage, they naturally infer that these motives operate with similar effect upon every other individual. Philosophers have held it for a maxim, that the most notorious liar utters a hundred truths for every falsehood. This is not the case in Persia; they are unacquainted

with the *beauty* of *truth*, and only think of it when it is likely to advance their interests. They involve themselves, like the spider, in a net of the flimsiest materials; but which neither offers commencement nor end to the eye of investigation.

The generality of Persians are sunk in the lowest state of profligacy and infamy; and they seldom hesitate alluding to crimes which are abhorred and detested in every civilized country in the universe.

On the 31st of July I left Sheeraz on my return to Bushire. By the advice of the muleteer, and wishing to travel by a new route, I was induced to take the road by Feerozabad. This route is circuitous, and consequently not frequented by the caravans. We reached Doulutabad by one in the morning; our Munzil-Gah was in a westerly direction from Sheeraz, distant five fursukhs, and near a small village surrounded by a number of excellent gardens. Thermometer 86. August 1st. Our route this evening was nearly south, and our encampment five fursukhs from our last Munzil-Gah. We found shelter in the ruins of a Surae, half a mile from Kuwur. The night was disagreeably cold; and I could not refrain from reflecting, that I had to prepare myself for the dust and heat of the Gurmseer. Thermometer 94. 2d. As you approach the hills, the road becomes stony, rugged, and dangerous; this circumstance obliged us to hasten our march, that we might make some progress before night. It was with much difficulty, and not before I lost two horses, that we arrived at Khajue, five fursukhs. I cannot determine our route; it was probably south-west. 3d. The road to Dihbur was infamous; in many places we believed it to be passable, because we found it to be so. Dihbur is a small village, one fursukh from Feerozabad. Feerozabad was formerly a city of considerable repute, and famous for the profligacy of its inhabitants. You will hardly find a house that has not a jar of wine in it; and in the evening the people resort to the terrace, where they drink wine without the smallest degree of scruple, and entertain themselves with the singers and public dancers of the town, who are represented to be excessively beautiful. Here are a number of tombs, gardens, and buildings worth seeing; the circumference of the city is equal to Sheeraz, but the houses are falling into decay. I cannot determine the site of Feerozabad, but it is certainly placed in D'Anville's map too much to the southward. The country all about is very fertile; the finest rice in Persia is said to grow in the environs of this city—south-west. Thermometer 100. 4th. We encamped near a spring, amidst the hills, five fursukhs from Dihbur: the heat to-day was intense; and though we did not reach our ground till near day-break, I found

it impossible to sleep after sun-rise. Thermometer 106, 10 south-west. 5th. Our next stage was Burmih, the distance four fursukhs. Excepting this insignificant village of about twenty hovels, there is not a single habitation on the road for the distance of nineteen fursukhs, or ninety miles. Nor does this lamentable depopulation arise from badness of soil; on the contrary, it would, in many places, make abundant returns to the hand of industry. But under a despotic government poverty is a blessing, and misery a source of consolation. Thermometer 105, south. 6th. To-day we encamped near a spring of brackish water, five fursukhs from our former Munzil-Gah. The road nothing better, and the heat almost insupportable. Thermometer 110, south-west. 7th. We reached Bishgoon by three in the morning. These five fursukhs were over a road worse, if possible, than the one of the preceding night. Our Munzil-Gah was unfortunately in a plain of stones, which rendered the heat more intense than ever. This part of the country is infested with a tribe of robbers, called Mominsinees, who rarely allow a caravan to pass without plundering it of one or two mules. We saw some strange people at a distance, and the fears of our muleteer determined them to be a body of this banditti: they however allowed us to pass without interruption.

During our night marches (but particularly this night), I have remarked, says Mr. W., that about two hours before the dawn of day there has been every appearance of day-break; the horizon has become quite light, and in the space of a short time has been succeeded by impenetrable darkness. I shall not attempt to account for this phenomenon, whether it may be owing to rising exhalations, or any other cause, but it is what I have observed very often, not only in Persia, but also in India. The Persians have two mornings, the *Soobhi Kazim* and the *Soobhi Sadiq*, the false and the real day-break. They account for this phenomenon in a most whimsical manner. They say, that as the sun rises from behind the Kohi Qaf (Mount Caucasus), it passes a hole perforated through the mountain, and that darting its rays through it, it is the cause of the *Soobhi Kazim*, or this temporary appearance of day-break. As it ascends the earth is again veiled in darkness, until the sun rises above the mountain, and brings with it the *Soobhi Sadiq*, or real morning.

To-day we left our Munzil-Gah at three, to pass the hills before we were benighted. I certainly did not expect to meet with worse roads in Persia than those we had passed; but the roads, like its inhabitants, surpass each other. The men were often obliged to take off the loads from the mules, that they might not be crushed to pieces in case of their falling; notwithstanding this precaution, two of our mules fell from a considerable height, but

the water below being very deep, they fortunately escaped injury. Some disaster befel us every hundred yards; and it was not until we had been nine hours amidst the hills, that we extricated ourselves from our difficulties. We at length, and at two in the morning, reached Uhrum, six fursukhs from our former encampment. Thermometer 114.

In the evening I went to a stream which I had been recommended to bathe in, and which had brought me out of my way. I found the water to be excessively hot; so much so, that I could scarcely bear it. By the direction of the person who attends this place, I was to cover myself up in the warmest manner possible on coming out of the water: this brought on a profuse perspiration; and after some time, I went through this ceremony a second, and then a third time. This water is supposed to be a sovereign remedy against all disorders; and were I to mention the number of cures it is known to have performed, I should be taxed with childish credulity and absurd weakness. The water raised the thermometer to 140. 9th. Ulee Chungee is distant three fursukhs, and, in comparison with Bushire, is remarkable for its coolness, and for the sweetness of its water. The country all about is a plain of sand, and the eye is but seldom relieved by a cluster of date trees. At this season (August) you see whole families leaving their homes to take possession of the date trees they have purchased. Here they remain all the fair season; the branches of the tree protecting them from the sun, and affording them the conveniences of a house.

Bahmunee is five fursukhs from Ulee Chungee, and about one mile from Reeshire.

The Portuguese and Dutch who formerly resided at Reeshire, had their houses of pleasure at this place. I remained encamped here a fortnight, preferring it greatly to Bushire, as an infinitely cooler and healthier situation. There are a number of gardens about this place, particularly of vines, which are sunk in wells, and which bear fruit about the end of June. Bahmunee from Bushire is about one fursukh.

OF THE HUNTING OF THE PERSIANS.

Many of the Persians, and particularly the Arabs on the coast and Gurmseer, pass much of their time in hunting. The country abounds with antelopes, foxes, and hares, and their greyhounds, if not so swift as those in Europe, are more savage. They have brought their hawks to a great degree of docility, particularly one class, which they call the Churkh, and which is trained to catch antelopes. The Churkh resembles the Byree on the Coromandel coast, is nearly of the same size, but appears to be stronger. It is hunted with in this manner. When a herd of deer is dis-

covered, one is separated from the rest by the dogs, and the bird being let loose, almost immediately pounces upon it, flapping its wings over the eyes of the antelope. The animal endeavours to rid itself of the Churkh, by beating its head against the ground; but as the bird is perched on the upper part of its head, this attempt is of no avail. As the antelope stops the instant the churkh pounces on it, the dogs soon come up to secure their prey. One of these birds will kill two, seldom three, antelopes in a day. This manner of catching deer affords much amusement; it is much superior to the Cheeta-hunting in India.

The churkh is reared with infinite pains and trouble; if it has not been well attended to by the Meer Shikal, and has not taken the usual medicines, it becomes lazy, and often flies away. You may hunt with this bird singly, or with another. There are other kind of hawks for catching partridges, quails, pigeons, &c.

The wild ass is seldom hunted, owing to its very great speed; whenever it is, horses are stationed in places where it is most likely to run; and by continually changing your horses, you sometimes overtake this surprisingly fleet animal. In the mountainous parts of Persia they have the wild sheep and goat, both of them delicious food.

The Persians delight in keeping fighting rams; I think I never witnessed a more bloody or more cruel conflict than two of these furious animals engaging with each other. On these occasions the passions of the Persians are worked up to the highest pitch; and it often happens that a quarrel among the men succeeds a battle between the beasts.

OF THE HORSES OF ARABIA AND PERSIA.

The horses of Arabia and Persia, says our author, are considered to be superior to those of any country; and we may attribute the great improvement of our breed in England, to the introduction of Arabian stallions. Their spirit, docility, and vivacity is remarkable, and is only equalled by the gentleness and mildness of their tempers. It is very well known that the Arabs pay the minutest attention to their breed of horses, register their foal's pedigree, and will not purchase a horse who has not a certificate of his geneology.

Nujd, the largest province in Arabia, and belonging to the Wuhabee, produces the finest and most valuable breed of horses. Their breeds are very numerous.

The Arabian horses of Bagdad are of little repute or value; these are in general the horses which are exported to India: they cost from seventy to two hundred piastres (six and fifteen pounds).

Whenever a colt is foaled, the Arabs immediately bend its tail, which effectually answers the purpose of nicking; and to make

its ears incline a little towards each other, they pass a small string through each of them, and which continues fastened for eight or ten days.

The horses of the Dushistan, or the low land beneath the Persian mountains, are reckoned more violent and headstrong than the breeds from which they are descended. Their heads are usually larger; indeed there is a difference in the whole of their appearance.

The horses of Eeran are strong, active, and tractable; much larger than the Arab, but inferior in spirit. The Persians have a proverb among them, "that an Arab, if wounded, will still face danger, but that an *Eeranee* is always endeavouring to avoid it."

The horses of Khorasan are clumsy, heavy, dull animals, possessing great strength, and capable of travelling immense distances. The cavalry of Persia are either mounted upon these horses, or the Toorkumance; I had formerly occasion to notice the length of their marches. The breeds of the following persons are most in repute: *Eesa Khan* of *Turboodee*, *Moomish Khan Koord*, *Ulee Khan Koord*, *Ubdoola Khan*.

It is an erroneous opinion that horses are not allowed to be exported from Persia, or that they are of enormous prices. On the contrary, horses are very cheap, the best seldom selling for more than forty pounds; and it is very well known that horses are brought from Persia to India in the greatest abundance. The Qujurs have a proverb among themselves, that with a sword of three *Tomans*, and a horse of thirty, they are superior to any troops in the world.

ACCOUNT OF THE DATE TREE.

The date tree is one of the greatest curiosities in nature. The sexual difference in this tree is more strongly marked than in any other; indeed, so strong as not to escape the eye of a common observer. About the month of March and April, the Arabs begin to impregnate the female plant with the male, and were they to omit doing this the fruit would be abortive. It has been supposed that the leaves of the male tree being scattered about the female, is sufficient to answer every purpose; but this is by no means the case, the female plant must be impregnated, or else will not produce ripe fruit. There are usually about two males in a plantation of fifty date trees, which are reckoned sufficient to fructify this number of trees. The Arabs take great pains in the cultivation of the male palm, and, as it never produces fruit, all their endeavours are directed to enable it to impregnate as great a number of trees as possible.

The Arabs and Persians seem to have been long acquainted with the difference of the sexes in the vegetable world. The

date tree is a tender and delicate plant. If it remains for any time immersed in water, it quickly withers and dies; and, instead of shooting forth a number of sprouts like other trees, if you cut off its head it perishes immediately. Neither will it bear fruit from the graft of its *genus*, it must be impregnated by its own species. There are a number o ate t ees in various parts of India; none of them bear fruit; and it is not to be doubted that the only reason for this, is their not being impregnated by the male tree.

ACCOUNT OF THE DUM.

The Persians, Mr. Waring observes, arrogate to themselves the power of resisting the force of animal poisons. This virtue is not participated in common; it is the reward of fasting and meditation, but which may however be conferred on whomever the person endowed with this gift may think proper. It is called *Dum,* because whenever they extend this favour, they breathe on a piece of sugar, or any thing else, and bid the person swallow it. The Persians impose a firm reliance on this gift; so much so, that it is the usual practice, when the wheat is ripe for cutting, for a number of peasants to flock into Sheeraz, to acquire this antidote against noxious animals from a celebrated man called Sheikh Ghuffoor.

On this extraordinary subject our author makes the following observations: Without incurring the stigma of credulity, or of using a *traveller's privilege,* I trust I may be allowed to relate what fell under my own observation. I had a servant, called Ulee Beg, who possessed this gift of the Dum, and the stories they told me of him I invariably treated with the greatest ridicule. Mr. Bruce, who is now at Bushire, told me, that he saw him catch two snakes, one of which bit him so violently, as to leave some of its teeth in the wound. This was easily reconciled, the snake was not poisonous; indeed, I believe none of them are at Bushire. Some time after I was at Sheeraz, a very large scorpion was found under my bed; Ulee Beg was called, and he certainly took up the scorpion without the smallest hesitation. I saw the animal strike his sting repeatedly in the man's flesh, and he persisted that he felt no pain. I asked the other servants to do the same, but they refused, and the next morning, when I examined the man's hand, there was not the smallest sign of its having been stung. The sting of a scorpion is said to give exquisite torture; I have seen it swell the part to an enormous size. How the man escaped feeling any inconvenience it is impossible for me to guess, as I am confident he had no time to make any preparations, nor did he make use of any antidote against the effects of the sting of the scorpion.

At the same time it would be truly ridiculous to assign the same cause for this escape as is most conscientiously believed by the Persians.

This man now lives at Bushire; and should any person, visiting that place, wish to ascertain the veracity of this account, I have no hesitation in supposing, that he will allow him to procure any kind of scorpion he may think proper, and that he will allow himself to be stung by it.

OF THE WUHABEES.

As the incursions of these people in India frequently take place, they have required a degree of importance which must give interest to the particulars we shall relate of them. Their religion and history are briefly as follow: The founder of this religion, Ubdool Wuhab, was a native of Ujunu, a town in the province of Ool Urud; some have been of opinion that Moola Moohummud, the son of Ubdool Wuhab, was the first person who promulgated doctrines subversive of the Moosulman faith; however this may be, it is certain that one or other of these persons was the founder of the religion of the Wuhabees, and the name inclines me to believe Ubdool Wuhab.

Both these persons were great travellers; they studied under the principal Moohummedan doctors at Bussora and at Bagdad, and afterwards went to Damascus, where Ubdool Wuhab first began to avow his religious principles. The priests were alarmed at the tendency of his doctrines; he was obliged to fly from this city; and on his arrival at Mousul, he publicly supported the purity, excellence, and orthodoxy of his tenets. After a short stay at Mousul, he returned to his own country, and had soon the good fortune to convert the governor of his native town, and many of the principal Sheikhs. It is alleged that Moolla Moohummud received the sister of his protector in marriage, and that soon after he had the ingratitude to murder his benefactor, affirming, that he was an oppressor and a tyrant, and that his love of justice would not allow him to overlook such detestable crimes, even in a beloved relation. This story, says Mr. Waring, does not appear to me to be worthy of credit: I notice it as I have made mention of Moolla Moohummud, but it was probably the invention of some bigoted and rancorous Moosulman, willing to describe the character of this religious innovator in the blackest colours.

Ubdool Wuhab was regarded by his new proselytes in the light of an independent lawgiver; and he prudently exerted his authority to compose the differences existing among his converts, and by this means put himself at the head of the most powerful party in Nujd. His religious furor induced him not only to

propagate his opinions by argument and persuasion, but also with all that intolerant zeal and holy cruelty which marked the rise and progress of Mahometanism. Ubdool Wuhab greatly extended his conquests, and in a short time gained possession of nearly the whole of Ool Urud.

On his death, Ubdool Uzeez succeeded him, and continued to follow the same measures for conciliating the Arab Sheikhs as had been pursued by his father. This new religion, which had sprung up in the midst of Arabia, excited the attention, and roused the indignation of the orthodox Sheikhs, who could not bear the notion of the Wuhabees ridiculing with contempt the legends and tales which they so conscientiously believed.

The Wuhabees are accused of professing the following belief:—"That there is one just and wise God; that all those persons called prophets are only to be considered as just and virtuous men, and that there never existed an inspired work nor an inspired writer." Ubdool Wuhab, however, thought it necessary to impose some religious observances on his followers, and has interdicted the use of tobacco, opium, and coffee; indeed I have met with many Moosulmans who have thought it contrary to their religion to smoke.

Among a number of the civil ordinances of the Wuhabees, are the following:—It is illegal to levy duties on goods the property of a Moosulman; on species, the Zukat, or two and a half per cent.; land watered naturally to pay ten per cent.; artificially five per cent.; the revenues of conquered countries to belong to the community; the revenues to be divided into five parts, one to be given to the general treasury, the rest to be kept where collected, to be allotted for the good of the community, for travellers, and charitable purposes; a Moosulman who deviates from the precepts of the Koran to be treated as an infidel; the destruction of magnificent tombs a necessary act of devotion."

The extensive depredations of these reforming Arabs at length excited the resentment of the Pasha of Bagdad, who sent a formidable force against them, under the command of the Sheikh of Moontufij, who had distinguished himself some years before by the capture of Bussora. This force penetrated as far as Lahsar, which is at no great distance from Dury-yu, the capital of the Wuhabees. The fort of Lahsar was taken, and the Sheikh of Moontufij was resolved on destroying the capital of the infidels. Ubdool Uzeez saw no way of averting the impending blow, but by employing the enthusiasm of his followers against his enemy; he accordingly selected a favourite slave, and promised him eternal happiness if he succeeded in destroying the object of his fears.

The tent of an Arab is opened to every one: the slave, who was armed, according to the custom of his country, with a sword and a spear, found an easy entrance. He immediately asked for the Sheikh of Moontufij, who happening to be present, called him towards him. The slave had ascertained his object, and he instantly ran the Sheikh through the body with a spear, crying out, "that the Wuhabee had promised him heaven." It is needless to add, that he fell a victim to his bigotry. Bin Saoud, the son of Ubdool Uzeez, had been posted with some troops near the enemy, and on perceiving the confusion which prevailed among them, on the loss of their chief, attacked them, and made an indiscriminate havock among them.

Thus ended the first expedition against the Wuhabees, which gave rise to another, infinitely more calamitous and disgraceful to the Turks.

The Pasha of Bagdad exerted all his means to wipe off his former disgrace, and sent down to Bussora an army of about twenty thousand men, well supplied with every possible necessary. These troops, like the former, penetrated to Lahsar, and remained encamped there some months. Ubdool Uzeez, who continued at Dury-yu, bribed two of the principal commanders to withdraw with their troops. The next morning Bin Saoud attacked the remaining force, gained an easy victory over them, plundered them of their baggage, and took a number of them prisoners.

Since this, I believe, says Mr. Waring, they have not been attacked by the Turks, though the Persians are determining every year to unite themselves with the Pasha of Bagdad, and uproot this dangerous heresy.

The Shureef of Mecca, about nine years ago, undertook an expedition against Ubdool Uzeez, and arrived within a short distance of Dury-yu. Ubdool Uzeez resorted to his usual measures for defeating an enemy. He sent to the Shureef, begging to know his wishes, and expressing a hope that he might be left in quiet possession of his capital. A present for Pooli Quwuh, or expences for coffee, accompanied this message; and he likewise declared his readiness to send out his son as a proof of his good intentions. This was accordingly done, and a communication established between the Shureef's camp and Dury-yu.

As soon as the projects of Ubdool Uzeez were ripe for execution, he wrote to his son to prepare himself the next day for attacking the Shureef's camp. This service was to be performed at twelve o'clock, a time of the day when all the Arabs are asleep, or lying down to rest. When Ubdool Uzeez approached, with his people, the Shuref would not credit the

report, and ordered the persons who brought him the accounts to be beat and confined. Bin Saoud and his attendants, who had never been disarmed, on seeing the approach of Ubdool Uzeez, instantly attacked the unsuspicious Arabs, who were immediately routed and put to flight. The Shureef fled on the first alarm, and effected his escape with great difficulty, leaving his camp and baggage a prize to Ubdool Uzeez.

Ubdool Uzeez has lately gained over the Utoobees to this cause, who are the most powerful of the Arab states on the Arabian coast, and has acquired, in consequence, a command over the navigation of the gulf of Persia.

The Utoobees were lately waging a war with the Persians and people of Bussora: during my stay at Bushire they kept that place in continual alarm. The Imam of Muscat, who had the command of the forces, besieged the Sheikh in his capital, and seized on the island of Bahrein; but in the end the Utoobees were victorious, and the Imam obliged to conclude a peace. A party of the Wuhabees last year (1802) attacked Kurbulu, celebrated among the Persians as being the burial place of the sons of Ali, destroyed the tombs, and plundered the town and pilgrims. I met several of the people who had been there at that period, and they all agreed in complaining most bitterly of the cruelty of the reformers.

It must be recollected, that the destruction of the holy sepulchres would alone be considered as an enormous act of impiety and cruelty; I am led to think this the more probable, as some Armenians, who had fallen in with a party of Wuhabees, gave me a very favourable account of their honesty and humanity. The wars, however, between the Utoobees and Persians were barbarously savage; it was a constant practice of both parties to murder every person they took prisoner.

The force of the Wuhabees is very considerable, probably eighty or ninety thousand; and as their expeditions are conducted with great celerity and secrecy, they keep all the neighbouring countries in perpetual apprehension. When I was at Bassora, the people were in expectation of being attacked. The infirmities of Ubdool Uzeez, who is more than eighty years old, have obliged him to relinquish the command of his armies to his son, who is represented to be a bold and enterprizing young man.

Whenever an expedition is undertaken, the chiefs are directed to be at a certain place by such a time; and it is so contrived, that a large body shall meet at a particular spot without knowing the design of their leader. This force is generally mounted on camels, and their arms are chiefly a sword and a spear. They

have few guns or matchlocks; those which they have are very bad.

These were the people who lately attacked and plundered Tyeef, Mecca, and Medina. They have, in consequence, violated the sacred law which forbids armed men approaching within a certain distance of the temple.

They have thus destroyed the foundation stone of Mahometanism; and this mighty fabric, which at one period bade defiance to all Europe, falls, on the first attack, at the feet of an Arab reformer. The event may make a great change in the Muhammedan world; for it appears to me almost certain, that the pilgrimages to Mecca have had nearly as great an effect in supporting this religion, as the first victories and conquests of Muhammed.

At my last visit to Bushire, says our author, (1804), I heard the intelligence of Ubdool Uzeez having been assassinated, it was supposed, by an inhabitant of Kurbulu, whose family had been murdered, and house destroyed, when that place was taken by the Wuhabees. The Wuhabees are now a considerable people, sufficiently powerful to resist the divided efforts of the Turks, whose power in Arabia must decrease in proportion to the aggrandizement of this roving race of reformers.

PERSIAN MODE OF COUNTING TIME.

The Persians have no method of counting time with any degree of exactness in Persia. Their day is divided into three spaces; from sun-rise to noon, from noon to three o'clock (Usur), and from that time to sun-set. In answer to any enquiries you may make, they will reply, that it is so many hours after sun-rise, or so many to noon: their computation of time is therefore excessively erroneous. The Moouzzen, who acquaints the people from the top of the mosque that it is noon, generally guesses when the sun has crossed the meridian by the length of the shadows, or by the sun's shining on a certain spot at that particular time, so that his mode of computation must be liable to a number of accidents; and I have often remarked, says Mr. W. that it has been one before they have made it twelve o'clock.

The Persians compute their time by lunar months: and, instead of reckoning their days from noon to noon, or, according to the vulgar method, from midnight to midnight, they count them from sun-set to sun-set; so that our Thursday night is, according to them, Friday night. They delight in our watches, particularly if they get them for nothing; their curiosity, however, soon spoils them, and if this were not the case, their perverse

mode of counting time renders the best watch of little service.

I have seen some of their almanacks, or rather ephemeris', full of predictions of lucky and unlucky hours, but otherwise perfectly correct. The common people of Persia are totally ignorant of any space of time beyond a month, and that they are enabled to estimate by the various changes of the moon. If you enquire how old they are, they reply, I don't know; and they could no more tell you whether they were thirty or forty, than they could solve a problem in Euclid. The seasons may possible give them some slight notion of a longer space of time, but it will be confused and indistinct.

OF THE COINS IN PERSIA.

Mr. Waring is of opinion that few of the coins which are current in Persia are coined in that empire; those of the most general circulation are the Qooroosh, or Peastre of the Turks, and the Mujjur, or Dutch ducat. The consequence of this want of standard coins of the empire, and the introduction in their stead of foreign coins, is a constant fluctuation in their value: so much so, that it is impossible to form a notion of the value of the gold coins for any length of time. Indeed monies which are current in one city, will probably not pass at the next; and, excepting the Qooroosh and the Tooman, I know of no coin, says he, which you can receive but to considerable disadvantage.

The currents coins in Persia are the following; besides which are a number of others, not however so common or so generally received.

PERSIAN COINS.

2	Pooli Secah, (a small copper coin)	1	Gaz.
10	Gaz - - - -	1	Shahee (small silver coin).
2	Shahee - - - -	1	Moohummudee.
5½	Moohummudies - - -	1	Qooroosh (Turkish).
10	Qooroosh - - - -	1	Tooman (gold coin).
4	Ditto - - - -	1	Kureem Khanee (do.).
1	Qooroosh ¼ - - -	1	Nadir Shahee.
14.	Guz - - - -	1	Teflecsee.

FOREIGN COINS.

Dutch Ducat. - - -	6	Piasters.
Doo Bootee Venetian - -	6½	Ditto.
Fundookhee (Turkish) - -	4	Ditto.
Zur Muhbooh (Egyptian) - -	3	Ditto.
German Crown - - -	2½	Ditto.
Reeal - - - - -	2¼	
Real - - - - -	33	Moohummudies
Quarter Peastre		

It may appear extraordinary, observes our author, that the coins of other kingdoms should be the prevailing coin in the empire of Persia. The coins of Europe are not only introduced into Persia by the way of Constantinople, but also by that of Russia, whence large sums of money are brought to purchase various articles of merchandize, particularly silk, shawls, &c. Specie to a large amount is likewise brought from Constantinople to purchase skins, cloths, tobacco, and various articles of luxury. But notwithstanding this great importation of specie into Persia, I much doubt whether it equals the large sums which are annually exported to the different ports of India.

On the 7th of September Mr. Waring embarked on board the Panther, one of the Company's cruizers, for Bassora. With a fair wind this passage may be performed in two or three days; but as the north-west winds prevail at every season of the year, it is usually from six to twelve days. At Khargh (Carrick, an island which formerly belonged to the Dutch, and is now dependant upon the Sheikh of Bushire) vessels take in their pilots for Bassora. The pilotage is the only revenue which the Sheikh derives from this island, as it furnishes little within itself but sweet water.

The pilots, he observes, are so ignorant, that they account themselves particularly fortunate if they carry up a vessel without running her aground. It is surprising that the captains of ships are not permitted to be their own pilots, as it would be difficult for them to be guilty of greater mistakes, or be more ignorant of this navigation, than the Arab pilots.

The Carrick pilots are afraid to take advantage of a fair wind; instead of making directly for the bar, they skirt along the shore uncertain of their situation, and depending upon their boat for information. If, instead of keeping the Persian shore in sight, they made the island of Peliche, the entrance into the river would be free from hazard or danger; and by being so much farther to the westward, the north-west winds would be more favourable.

The land near the mouth of the river is a very little above the surface of the water. The first object which strikes your eye is a few straggling date trees, and which at a distance appear to be a fleet of boats. But the instant you enter the river, a new scene presents itself to your attention; the verdure of the banks, the impenetrable forests of date trees, and the sweetness of the river water, make you doubt of being only a day's sale from Bushire. The banks are here and there cultivated with rice, but the date tree appears to engage the whole attention of the Arab peasant.

Our author arrived at Bassora on the 14th.

ACCOUNT OF THE CITY OF BASSORA.

Busra, or Bassora, is said to have been founded by Omar, the second Calif. Old Busra is about ten miles west of the present city, and perhaps two from Zobeir, which Niebuhr does not distinguish as two distinct places. The ruins of this ancient city may be traced for two miles; and the inhabitants of Zobeir, even at this time, supply themselves with bricks for building their houses. Near to this is the famous dry canal which joins the Euphrates, with the Khor Abdoollah: a work which to the moderns must appear vast and mighty, but of little labour or expence in comparison with the wonderful and gigantic labours of that extraordinary age.

The present city is surrounded by a mud wall of no strength, though, strange to say, it resisted the attacks of a Persian army for more than eleven months. The circumference of the town, I should suppose, says Mr. W. to be about six miles; but the houses which I had an opportunity of seeing, were greatly inferior to those at Sheeraz. The streets are bad and narrow; and in the wet weather it is impossible to walk, and dangerous to ride. The Bazars are extensive and well supplied. Here is a catholic church under the management of the head vicar, who resides at Bagdad. The various sects of Christians, who are dispersed over the East, are in general treated with much modesity and forbearance than their conduct usually deserves. The Armenians, in particular, whenever they have an opportunity, never fail to evince the rancour and hatred they entertain for their Mooslim governors; and I am sorry to say, that they too often give just occasion for the severity and oppression of their rulers. Living so long under subjection, they have forgot all their primitive virtues, exchanging them for the vices of their masters. Their manners are either basely servile, or wantonly insolent; for I have always observed, that when they could appear in their real character, they invariably inflicted the same indignities upon others, as they might have been exposed to themselves. The generality of eastern Christians are full of complaints of the hardships and misery of their situation, forgetting, at the same time, that they are often the sole cause of their own misfortunes. The Christians in Persia, and at Bassora, are admitted to the free exercise of their religion; they have churches, and their priests regularly perform the service without the smallest molestation or insult. This is an indulgence which would be denied Mooslims in many Christian countries; an indulgence, however, which, notwithstanding their prejudice and bigotry, they freely grant to all descriptions of Christians, who are much more inveterate

against each other, than the Turks or Persians are against the followers of the gospel.

Bassora is a town of considerable commercial importance; it carries on a very extensive trade with India, and is the channel which supplies the Ottoman empire with the manufactures of our eastern possessions. Large quantities of cloths and chintz are annually exported from Bengal and Masulipatam to this place, which are conveyed to Bagdad, Aleppo, Constantinople, and even to the Mediterranean shore. A trade is likewise kept up with Europe; and I was surprised to learn, that even lace, needles, and cutlery were imported into India by the way of Bassora. The ports in the gulf depend upon Bassora for dates, and I believe also receive supplies of wheat and rice. Horses are also sent from hence in large numbers, chiefly by Mr. Manesty, who employs some ships for this purpose.

A turkish Admiral is stationed here with eight or nine vessels; but he wisely never quits the river, as his ships are too old and crazy to encounter the least bad weather: he is appointed by the Pacha of Bagdad This office used formerly to be conferred on persons appointed by the Ottoman Porte; but this, and that of Moosuleem and Duftudar, is now in the gift of the Pacha of Bagdad. Bassora is admirably supplied with all kinds of fruits, such as apples, grapes, peaches, nectarines, pomegranates, &c. and the cabbages and other vegetables are equal to any I have seen in England. The climate, however, of Bassora is extremely bad, the winter months are bleak and rainy, and the hot season is almost insupportable. That of Bushire is infinitely preferable; for although the air is not so sharp or cold, the rains are neither so heavy nor so frequent.

Mr. Waring left Bassora on the 5th of October, to return to India, and get to Bushire on the 7th, whence he sailed for Bombay, intending to touch at Muscat. He makes the following remarks on the Arabs of the Persian Gulf and neighbouring coast.

Niebuhr,* speaking of the Arabs on the coast, maintains that they are independent of the Persian government; but in this he is mistaken, as the Sheikhs never think of withholding their revenues, but when they conceive they can do it with impunity. It is true that, on the extremity of the coast of Laristan, the revenue is seldom realized; but this is owing to a want of power to enforce the just claims of government. The Imam of Muscat farms the revenues of Gambaroon, Hoormooz, &c. and his am-

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* Vol. ii. p. 137.

bassador paid two thousand Toomans into the treasury of Sheeraz whilst I was in that city. It is difficult to determine when the Arabs established themselves upon the coast; they have not intermarried with the Persians, conceiving themselves greatly superior on account of their orthodoxy and Arab descent. Mun Urubum, I am an Arab, is a common boast among them; their claims to superiority may arise from their feeding on dates and salt fish, a food which they participate in common with their cattle, and their independence to their miserable and wretched condition. This applies only to the people of Laristan.

The striking resemblance of the Arabs on the coast, and the Ichthyophagi of Arrian, did not escape the observation of Niebuhr. They certainly do not differ in their modes of life from that which is described to us by the ancients; but it will be difficult to reconcile us to the supposition of their being the same people as those known to the Greeks. Allowing that we can resolve the difficulty of their being Soonees instead of Sheeas, as the Persians, whose belief they would most probably adopt, I cannot account for their language, with all the improvements which followed the introduction of Muhammedanism; similarity of situation must produce similarity of manners; and where nothing but fish is produced, the people must necessarily be fish-eaters.

In the roads of Bushire is the wreck of one of Nadir Shah's ships, which was destroyed by the seamen, who had received no wages for more than a year, and who thought that this was the only remedy left them to procure their discharge. There are two roads at Bushire, the inner and outer; no vessel of considerable burden can go into the former, and the latter is about five miles from the town

The heights of Halelu are reckoned a capital landmark by seamen, by the bearings of which they know their distance from Bushire. I am at a loss to account for the reason of this hill being called Halelu, its proper name is Khoormooj, and Halelu is low ground to the south-east.

Cape Verdistan (Burdistan) is another land mark which ships generally look out for in their passage up the gulf; there is a dangerous shoal, which extends a considerable way to sea, and you are lucky if you pass by this place without meeting a gale of wind. Here they manufacture an excellent kind of cloth, which is much worn by the Arabs. Congon (Kungoon) is a large and populous town. drives a very considerable trade with the gulf, and also with the inland country.* Between this and Tæhire

* The Portuguese had once a considerable settlement here. See Gemelli Careri, Churchill's Collection.

(Tabiree) there is another town of some note called Toombuck, also the village of Shilee (Sheeloo) Burg and Ynat.

Following the coast, we come to Also (Uslo), and thence to Naban (Nabon,) where there is a town of note, and a considerable river. The Portuguese had formerly a settlement here.* The gulf now becomes much narrower, and the eye is gratified with the sight of numerous islands, and with the view of the Arabian shore. The Arabian shore, however, presents but few objects to attract our notice; it is generally rugged, barren, and skirted with stupendous mountains.

We now come to Shevoo, and to the island of Sheik Shaib, called also by D'Anville, Busheab. Ila (Ilu) is a small village, opposite Inderabia (Hindurabee). Sheik Shaib is one of the largest islands in the gulf, is inhabited, and supplies itself with dates. On the coast we find the village of Nachelo (Nukhelo), which belongs to the Sheikh of the island of Sheik Shaib. You have here a view of Charrack (Charug) hills, which was one of the ancient boundaries of Karmania. From Keish you sometimes make the island of Nobflure (Fuloor), and see likewise that of Polior. Surdy (Sooree) is an island at no great distance, nearly east of Fooloor, and appears at first sight like a two-masted vessel. From Charug to Kank (Koonoog) we meet with the fishing towns of Husheenu Moghan (Mogo of Niebuhr), Mooloo Shibas, and Lunkur. To this place the inhabitants are of the Bine Hoolee Tribe.

Mr. Waring concludes this part of his work with a deserved eulogium on the accuracy of Dr. Vincent's "Voyage of Nearchus."

Having accompanied our author from the commencement to the close of his excursion, and laid before our readers ample specimens of the information he has collected, we shall close our account of his publication, by recommending it as deserving of the notice of all who have an interest in that part of the Asiatic continent, to which it relates. There are two other divisions in the volume; one containing a copious account of, and comments on the Persian language; and the other, a history of the empire of Persia, from the death of Kureun Khan. These form the greatest portion of the work; but being foreign to our purpose, we have only to mention them as additional recommendations of the volume from which we have already made such a variety of interesting extracts.

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* See Ives.

END OF WARING'S TOUR.

Travels *in the year* 1806 *from* **Italy** *to* **England**, *through the* **Tyrol, Styria, Bohemia, Gallicia, Poland**, *and* **Livonia**; *containing the Particulars of the Liberation of* **Mrs. Spencer Smith** *from the* **French** *Police, and of her subsequent Flight through the Countries abovementioned: effected and written by the* **Marquis de Salvo**, *Member of the Academy of Sciences and Literature of* **Turin**.— 1 *vol.* 12*mo. pp.* 296; *price* 7*s.* **Phillips, London.**

THE British public, who ever take a lively interest in whatever is connected with the relief of a female from misfortunes and tyranny, have for some time been acquainted with the brutal outrage committed towards Mrs. Spencer Smith, the official character of whose husband ought to have obtained for her a proper degree of personal respect and security in every civilized nation. But Buonaparte, who has not hesitated to violate every principle of honour and morality to gratify his miserable passion of national animosity, endeavoured to add this lady, already sinking under disease, to the list of the victims of his despotic domination. The manner, however, in which she was rescued from his minions, forms the subject of the interesting narrative which we are about to analyse.

The Marquis de Salvo has proved himself not merely a character worthy of the most refined periods of chivalry, but also an interesting traveller. He observes in his Preface, that he had ever been accustomed to write down the observations which he made on countries through which he passed, but with no other view than to recollect those circumstances which might otherwise escape his memory. Thus his narrative possesses a double interest, as it not only contains the account of the adventures which he underwent to effect the escape of the lovely female, for whom (apparently from the most honourable and disinterested motives,) he had encountered the greatest personal risk, but also a concise and pleasing description of the countries through which he passed, in his rapid excursion. The latter part of the narrative being that which is adapted for our purpose, we shall touch as briefly as possible on the events connected with the escape of Mrs. Smith; though these are often so intimately blended with the migratory observations, as to render their total abstraction inappropriate:—indeed the facts relative to the extraordinary escape form the greatest portion, by far, of the volume.

THE peace of Presburgh, says the Marquis, occasioned the blockade of Venice to be raised; but as the French troops directed towards Naples refused a free passage to every person not subject to French control, this unpleasant state of continued war prevented me from continuing my journey homeward. I was desirous to undertake any practicable way of reaching Leghorn, where I could have easily found a conveyance for Sicily; unfortunately however I was seized at this period with a long and dangerous illness which greatly reduced my strength, nor did I begin to recover till the early part of February. About the middle of January, 1806, the French force under General Lauriston entered Venice, and established a new government there. This change in the political system of a city which for several years had enjoyed a perfect tranquillity, offered a most interesting instance of the vicissitudes to which even states are subject. The most unbounded licence was granted to all games of hazard; and this opened the way to the utter ruin of the fortunes of a people who, idle by nature and education, willingly indulged themselves in such pursuits during those hours which before were passed in coffee-houses, where the Venetians loiter away most of their time. The *banks* at the public gaming-rooms, in every corner, became the medium of speculation which occupied all the attention of the Venetians. In every street the gayest masks were seen at all hours of the day, according to ancient custom; and the people, absorbed in their diversions, were blind to the measures of a government intent on extinguishing that remnant of independance and peace which was the sole vestige of their ancient greatness. None of those who boast their noble lineage by the exhibition of splendid portraits of the former rulers of the Adriatic, none of the proud offspring of doges and senators, shewed the least desire to oppose their new masters. I observed that, of all people, the Venetians bore subjugation with the greatest indifference: it even seemed to be congenial to them:—they knew better how to discuss principles of legislation, than practically to govern.

This alteration of affairs however did not lead me to apprehend any obstacle to my departure, and I therefore desired a passport for Sicily. I was asked what was my native country; and when I had answered this question, the minister of the police said that it was necessary to consult the government on this point. The arrival of *prince* Eugene de Beauharnois retarded an answer to my demand. The Venetians on this occasion were busily occupied in preparing festivals of a nature quite unknown to the inhabitants of the *terra firma*. Ambitious to display an Asiatic pomp on their circumambient waters, they afforded to this new *prince* an opportunity for forming a judgment of their character.

I waited till a more regular form was given to the tribunal of the police, before I renewed my application for the passport; and at last, after insisting on an answer, and on knowing the cause of such delay, I was told that I could not with safety depart for Sicily with a French pass, till the fate of my country was decided.

In this condition, every object which had hitherto been so extremely interesting to me, changed its aspect. During my residence in the city of Venice, I had hitherto availed myself of all the amusements offered to a young traveller; but now living under the dominion of the enemies of my king and country, I found that any longer stay would be insupportable. Every communication also between Sicily and the continent being interdicted, I was deprived of the happiness of corresponding with my family. The society of the Venetians was entirely directed to gaming-tables and lotteries, to which I always had an antipathy: such pastimes were disgusting to me.

Being thus undetermined on what to resolve, I was quite unhappy: I felt a desire to quit Venice; but the obstacles to doing this in the manner I wished, increased my anxiety. The inactive state to which I was reduced, rendered me a burden to myself, and I lingered away my time in torpid apathy. The prospect of my fate seemed gloomy: vigour forsook my mind, and my heart was depressed by the heaviest presentiments of futurity.

On my first arrival at Venice from Vienna, I had the pleasure of forming an acquaintance with the Countess Attems. This lady, who was daughter to Baron Herbert (the emperor's minister at the Ottoman Porte), lived at Venice with her husband. To a cultivated mind, and a love of the arts, she united an amiableness of character of which I soon experienced the advantage; as she did me the honour of admitting me to her company. I had heard much of the acquired and personal accomplishments of Mrs. Spencer Smith, sister to the countess; but during the whole time that I had lived in that city (five months) I had not had an opportunity of becoming acquainted with her.

Mrs. Smith, being obliged to abandon the severer climates of England and Germany, had come to Venice, where she had at this period resided above a twelvemonth. The very strict regimen which she followed for the recovery of her health, prevented her from frequenting the society of the Venetians; and when the French entered, being anxious to avail herself still further of the pure air of Italy (which was judged the most effectual remedy towards her re-establishment), she requested to be informed by General Lauriston, whether she could flatter herself with being granted permission to stay at Venice in secu-

rity, and without having to fear subjection to the measures of a hostile power. The general, in reply, not only assured her of her personal safety, and promised that she should have nothing to apprehend in the way of arrest, or orders to depart, but supplied her with a passport to enable her to quit Venice whenever she pleased. Such promises and assurances could not leave any doubt in the mind of Mrs. Smith, nor cause her to hesitate a moment in resolving to protract her stay, together with that of her two infant children, Sidney and Edward.

It was at the theatre of San Samuel, that I had the honour of being presented to Mrs. Smith, by her sister; and two months elapsed before I saw her again. The inclemency of winter now fled at the approach of spring; mild and serene days succeeded those of frost and snow; and Mrs. Smith, no longer fearful of the pernicious influence of the atmosphere on her weak constitution, began to visit her sister. That young lady's versatility of talent shone conspicuously in every pursuit; she happily added to a correct knowledge of several languages, a most lively imagination; and to her natural disposition, which was extremely pleasant, she joined a vast degree of refined wit. Her sister's parties of course grew still more agreeable and interesting by such an acquisition.

In the mean time, my situation was far from being satisfactory: the time passed away, but I continued to remain uncertain of my destiny. The dull monotony into which Venice had fallen, oppressed my spirits to a degree that made me weary of an existence which appeared to promise no future source of felicity: though I spent many of my hours in the company of Baron Villetti (a friend of the Countess Attems) and Mrs. Smith; availing myself of the society of these ladies, and occasionally exercising myself with them in the fine arts, particularly music, for the purpose of obtaining a respite from melancholy and anxiety. I felt however the want of some stimulus to rouse me from the torpor that gained upon me; and waited impatiently for such a favourable turn of fate, in order to recover my wonted spirit of activity. But it was not long before I experienced this impulse, in the project of relieving from the cruel fangs of the enemy an innocent victim, and two children, doomed to pass their days in captivity, or perhaps to see their mother fall a sacrifice even in her indisposed state. My resolution was soon fixed; it could not have been otherwise, when such objects appeared before a man of feeling. It pointed out to me at once both the path for flying from the enemy, and for arriving at the territory of a friendly sovereign. My heart glow- [illegible]e thought of being able to render an essential service to [illegible]idual belonging to the British nation.

Though Mrs. Smith had received the French general's word of honour for her security, and a promise that no molestation whatever should be offered to her during her stay at Venice; though she was provided with a passport to be used whenever she might choose to depart, and was now residing at Venice under the confidence which she had placed in the French general's promise; she received, on the 10th of April, an order to appear before the police. On her attending according to the summons, she was declared to be under arrest as a French prisoner; and received an order to depart within a week for the city of Bassano, the place fixed upon by the government for her to remain at. She demanded to know the reason for which she was thus treated; and was answered: " Your country, and your name." Now her native country was *not England*; and as to her *name*, the assurances which she had received, and the passport granted to her, under the same name, ought to have served as ample securities against any such conduct. Arguments of this kind however, could have no weight with subordinate officers, who only executed the commands of their superiors.

Still I flattered myself that these considerations, if represented to Monsieur Lagarde (who presided over the police), might prevent him from putting his orders into effect; but neither these, nor the friendly interference of many persons of the first influence, were sufficient to produce the smallest favourable alteration. Mrs. Smith herself applied personally to Monsieur Lagarde; and expressed her astonishment at being declared a prisoner of war as an Englishwoman, though her birth-place was Constantinople, and that of her parents was Vienna: besides that no pretext of this sort could reasonably deprive her of liberty in opposition to general Lauriston's word of honour, and his passport, upon the security of which she had formed the resolution to remain at Venice after the entrance of the French troops into that city. She added that, placing the firmest confidence in these promises, she never could have been induced to suspect the possibility of such a breach of faith, which was even an act of violence. She little imagined that the permission to remain unmolested, could be altered into a subsequent arrest that declared her a prisoner; thus changing a liberal and friendly favour into a means for the better surprising her with an armed force, and exposing her to hostile treatment. All these arguments were advanced in vain to this man, who had received positive directions for his conduct in this respect. He answered that her arrest was amply justified by the name alone of *Smith*, of which she could not divest herself; and her being the sister-in-law of sir Sidney, and wife of Mr. Spencer Smith, placed her

in a situation that precluded any mitigation of the order of imprisonment.

In the mean time Lagarde, unwilling to acquaint her with the fate which was really determined upon for her, pretended to permit her to choose any city to reside in except Venice ; alleging that the chief motive for sending her away from a maritime place arose from a desire in the government, that no suspicion might take place of her holding a correspondence with the English. Thus those intrepid warriors who brave the thunder of heaven itself; who sneer at the coalesced efforts of united nations however powerful; are afraid of allowing an Englishwoman to reside at a sea-port town, as she might give intelligence to their brave enemy, the only one capable of effectually opposing them!

Mrs. Smith confided in the minister's offer to mitigate her fate so far as to permit her to continue to enjoy the benefit of that climate at no great distance from Venice, which would facilitate the pleasure of seeing her sister frequently. In compliance with her request, she was allowed ten days before her departure, for the purpose of arranging her concerns, and fixing on the place of her future residence. She went with me to visit the neighbouring towns; and having fixed on Padua for her abode, she let the police know this, that her passport might be made for that place: but the next day, instead of receiving it, she met a soldier in her apartments, who came to announce that by order of the government he was placed there to guard her person wherever she went; and that he was answerable for her during her stay at Venice. This naturally excited her suspicions as to what might ensue; and she in consequence again solicited the police for the passport, six days having expired of the ten. Far from refusing it, they promised to let her have it immediately; and this, in a measure, eased her mind.

This arrest of her person roused the curiosity of the Venetians; and on its being mentioned in several French circles, the real destiny of Mrs. Smith was discovered by the undisguised hints of some of the French officers. I was one evening at the gaming-saloons of the Phenix theatre, the great resort of people of fashion, when a female friend of mine, a Venetian ex-noble, asked me whether I had heard of the unhappy fate reserved for Mrs. Smith. I answered, that I knew she was to reside at Padua in future, agreeably to the will of the French government; but my friend mysteriously replied, that Lagarde had received instructions to send her to Valenciennes. I shuddered at the intelligence, and considered for some hours whether I ought to inform Mrs. Smith of it or not; however, imagining that though

it might cause a disagreeable surprise, it would prepare her against the immediate consternation that such an event would produce if abrubtly intimidated, I resolved on letting her know what I had heard. Countess Attems also discovered something similar; but the police continuing to promise the passport to Padua for the next day with certainty, we were led to believe the report to be unfounded. The next day passed however without bringing any passport; and in the evening, while we were at the house of Madame Attems, extremely uneasy on account of this delay, and anxious to know what would happen, (as on such occasions people exert their sagacity in conjecture and consultation), we brought forward all our stock of information and hypothesis, and discussed the measures to be adopted in every event. But about ten o'clock that night, the arrival of a serjeant, accompanied by three *gend'armes*, dissipated our suspense: he arrested the person of Mrs. Spencer Smith, in the name of the '*Emperor of the French*; and conducted her with him, followed by the other soldiers, to her lodgings. She there received orders not to quit her chamber; for the inforcement of which the *gend'armes* were posted outside the door.

The most infamous assassin or traitor could not have been more rigidly watched, or surrounded by stricter guards, than was this unhappy lady. If she had conspired against the French government, it would have been impossible to persecute her with more acrimony; considering her distressed situation, borne down as she was by an illness that menaced her life. The confidence which she had placed in the enemy's promise of security was her only fault; no stain of culpability appeared even to the French, except her connection with a name synonimous of patriotic attachment. This proceeding could not fail to rouse the feelings of every person, however disinterested, and inspire horror at seeing such treatment offered to a young and delicate female. When we reflect on the commiseration arising at the sight of even the guilty when brought to punishment, what must our sentiments be, on beholding the innocent and helpless victim, dragged to the altar of revenge! We should surely endeavour to snatch it from its persecutors.

I now for the first time found myself agitated by a tumult of the most vehement feelings, affecting my soul far beyond the usual sentiments of sorrow or compassion. My imagination at times was inflamed in a degree that gave me the keenest anguish; and I shrunk with horror at the condition of a lady, who far from her husband, her mother, and her other friends, was left destitute of even a hope of relief. A desire of rendering myself serviceable to her, filled my bosom.

The precise reason of all this rigour, however, was still un-

known; and as two days yet remained before her departure from Venice was to take place, Mrs. Smith requested leave to speak with the minister, that she might receive further information respecting her fate. Lagarde granted this, for no other end than to shew her *prince* Eugene's order, in the name of *the Emperor*; which specified, that within forty-eight hours she must depart from Venice, to be sent a prisoner of war to the fortress of Valenciennes, under the escort of *gensd'armes*. Every argument or entreaty in her behalf was entirely useless: the will of those who imposed such orders was not to be appealed from. Sentiments of pity too were out of the question; and the natural difficulty arising from her imparied state of health, seemed only to stimulate Monsieur Lagarde towards accelerating the execution of his commission.

It was ten o'clock in the morning, when Mrs. Smith, having thus learnt the real state of things, returned to her apartments: where the sister and brother-in-law, with two friends more, besides myself, waited; and who were the only persons that appeared to condole with her in her present afflicting situation. At this distressing moment, I felt myself quite oppressed by a variety of sensations: unable to endure such a scene any longer, I left the room, and ran to shut myself in my own, where I could reflect on the best means to be adopted for affording her my assistance; with more coolness, and without being distracted by the sight of their tears and affliction.

As a loyal subject of the monarch by whose government and laws I was preserved, and my property secured, I was bound to quit a place under the control of the enemies of my country; nor was I then insensible how much it was indebted to the protection and alliance of England.

Having reflected, I firmly resolved on endeavouring to rescue her. In this I could perceive no insurmountable difficulty, nor bring myself to calculate the dangers: my determination precluded all susceptibility of fear; and I believed that fortitude and perseverance (if necessary) would ensure success. I thought the best method to adopt was, a secret flight. I ran to Mrs. Smith about six in the evening, to communicate my projects to her, availing myself of the moments when we could not be overheard, for this purpose. "Madam," said I, "sensible as I am of the unhappy situation and the distress that await you, and conscious of my duty to assist in whatever I am able any individual belonging to the British nation, I offer you all the help that is in my power. Flight alone can save you: I will prepare and undertake it; you shall second me, and follow my steps." On hearing these words, she looked at me with astonishment. For-

getful of her actual situation, she reproved me for even thinking of thus exposing my life and liberty.

After much argument I assured her that death is at a greater distance from the man who does not fear it, than most people imagine; and finally that my desire could no longer suffer to be rejected or even opposed. This language, pronounced with a force of emphasis arising from the sentiments by which I was animated, reduced her to the necessity of resisting me no longer: I availed myself of the moment, for obtaining her word of honour to second me; and insisted on her keeping the secret to herself. These preliminaries being agreed upon, I commenced my plan by saving the children; for as they had not been placed under the immediate vigilance of the government, I supposed they might be easily carried off from Venice. I made no secret of this to the countess or her friends; and the same night it was settled that the following day, under pretence of going to hear mass with their preceptor at the next church, they were to come to a certain spot where I was to wait with a gondola, to convey them to Mestre, the nearest city on the Terra-firma. From this place they were to be sent post, without delay, to Gratz; where the countess Strazzoldo, another sister of Mrs. Smith, resided. At seven o'clock in the morning, the children were with me. Ignorant of their destiny, they asked me more than once why their mother did not come with them; and why the soldiers were about the house; when they were to see mamma again, and why they left her behind now. At every step their words drew tears from my eyes; reflecting how uncertain the period was when they were again to meet her—perhaps never. At eleven o'clock, Elmaurer (the preceptor) had not returned from preparing the things for the journey, and the boat for Mestre. During this interval I conceived the idea of offering a most agreeable sight to a mother who must have thought her children gone several hours before, but this must take place unknown to the guards. For that purpose I wrote her a note in the form of a bill of exchange, and told the servant to inform the centinels that it was sent to her by the banker on money affairs: it was to desire her to come to a certain window, under which I should pass with the boys in a gondola. The servant succeeded in giving her the paper: and I at some distance saw her at the window. I advanced with the gondola, and ordered the gondolier to stop at a certain place; and then pointed to the boys, whom I desired not to speak a word. This excited all the violence of a mother's feeling, at beholding her darling children going from her. I perceived that she wept bitterly, and seemed much agitated; and a sort of convulsive transport under which she appeared to labour, made me apprehend other consequences than

might serve to betray us. I therefore directed the boatman to go on, thus breaking off this affecting scene; and we proceeded to Mestre, from which place the children set off in a post chaise to Gratz with their preceptor.

Only twenty-four hours now remained of the time which Mrs. Smith had been allowed to stay at Venice. The state of that city, and its position, rendered her escape totally impossible: it being situated in a body of water five miles broad at the narrowest part; and after reaching the land, a space of above a hundred miles was to be travelled before we could get out of the French dominions, so that we should have been much exposed to detention. To get away by sea to Trieste was equally difficult, as we were subject to the punctual visit of the guards posted at every outlet; and it would have been necessary to secure a large boat, the master and sailors of which must in some degree know the secret. In short, such were the obstacles, that it would have been folly to attempt any thing at the time; and we therefore resolved on availing ourselves of the first opportunity during the journey, before we should reach the Alps.

It was necessary that I should accompany Mrs. Smith on the road. Nothing could be more reasonable, than her demand that a friend might be permitted to travel with her; it being very improper that a lady should undertake so long a journey in the company only of *gensd'armes*, without having any person to converse with. Monsieur Lagarde, who made some inquiries on the subject, agreed to Mrs Smith's demand without delay; and gave me at the same time a passport for Milan, to take also a servant; but as I did not wish any person with me, which might in some measure obstruct my plans, I sent my servant to Bologna immediately with orders to wait for me there, (with some of my effects) for about a week.

At eight o'clock in the evening we left Venice, which had been so agreeable to me before, but was now grown quite odious. The calm surface of the water, and the serene sky, seemed favourable omens for us. I could not refrain from often turning my eyes on the stupendous edifices of that rich and magnificent city, from whence I was departing perhaps never to return. I called to mind the happiness which I had enjoyed during my stay there; and from my dubious anticipations of futurity, my imagination fluctuated to the recollection of the charming amusements of Venice, embellished by the peculiar hilarity and civility of the inhabitants. This is, in my opinion, by far the most gay and splendid city of Italy. Its prospect, as it retired from my sight, left on my mind an impression of attachment which can never be obliterated.

Countess Atems, her husband, the prince Parr, and baron Villetti, accompanied Mrs. Smith in their gondolas as far as Fusina, the first landing-place, five miles from Venice; but the approach of night obliged them to return. The amiable countess could not resolve on finally leaving her sister, or abandoning her a victim to the sufferings that now gathered round her. They embraced each other: a thousand kisses, and promises of eternal affection were interchanged: they vowed to live under the same roof, in whatever place Mrs. Smith should be taken to. Tears were a welcome resource, sighs were necessary: the instant that should again unite them was their only consolation, and that of parting was the most poignant of their torments I embraced my friend Villetti; but the soldiers losing patience at this lengthened scene of distress, ordered our gondoliers to put off; and we proceeded on our way to Padua, in the deepest affliction.

We sailed up the Brenta till mid-night; but when we had reached Dolo, an impetuous north-west gale, accompanied by heavy showers, stopped the course of our gondola. The locks which from time to time occur in this river being shut, we were obliged to wait in our frail bark, exposed to the violence of the storm, till day-light appeared. As we could not proceed by water to Padua, we engaged a *vettura* (or carriage), into which we had to admit two soldiers, under whose care Mrs. Smith was left: two more followed us on horseback.

She had received no directions to present herself to the colonel of the *chasseurs*, and therefore on our arrival at Padua, drove to the Paris hotel, where she remained with her maid to take some rest after the fatigue of her journey, while I went to the colonel to inform him that I was with Mrs. Smith. Count Ghizzalo, the commandant of the *gend'armerie*, offended that this prisoner had not come to him herself immediately, with that tribute of submission which he arrogantly expected, ordered me to tell Mrs. Smith to wait on him before she engaged any apartment at the inn; but altering his mind, he condescended to let her remain where she was. He asked me for what purpose I was with the prisoner; and when he understood that my intention was to continue the journey in her company as far as Milan, he said that I should not be allowed to follow her farther than Padua; as no person was permitted to be with prisoners under the vigilance of government. "Return to Mrs. Smith," said he, "and in an hour I shall do myself the pleasure of calling on her."

I went instantly to acquaint her with this obstacle, which threatened to prevent the accomplishment of our plan; and advised her to write to Monsieur Lagarde, begging that he would

be pleased to authorise the commandant to let me continue with her. Count Ghizzalo came to Mrs. Smith soon afterwards: he expressed his dissatisfaction at her neglecting to appear before him; and then informed her that he could not permit her to go forward in company with a man whom he knew nothing of, and who might in some measure embarrass the custody of her person; that he would not suffer it, as the strictest care was ordered to be taken of her. Mrs. Smith answered, "This person, whom you know nothing of, must go with me to Milan, according to the orders of the government itself, which will be fully confirmed, if you write to the minister of the police at Venice." Ghizzalo, contrary to his wish, was obliged to consult the government, and wait for an answer, which detained us two days at Padua.

At last the permission of the police of Venice arrived; and we proceeded on the 27th of April, accompanied by three *gend'armes*, who were to continue all the journey with us. The colonel himself accompanied us as far as Vicenza, and returned to Padua the next day.

One *gend'arme* sat with us in the carriage, and the two others followed on horseback. The fellow in the carriage wished to occupy my attention with the history of his crimes, which he recited as noble trophies of his revenge. He appeared certain of persuading me that revenge was suited to the character of a man of feeling: that to plunge his steel into the body of whoever refused to agree to his desire, was an act worthy of every lofty mind: that his fellow-creature gasping his last from wounds inflicted by him, was the most pleasing spectacle to him; as it afforded him a proof of his own strength, and of the other's weakness: that the sight of blood and carnage was so habitual to him, that he could not remain long without enjoying it. A legacy, he continued, which his brother had disputed with him, had kindled in his bosom the desire of murdering that brother; and he expressed with the greatest energy how useful it would be to humanity, if he were only permitted to put to death all priests and monks. But while this wretch, who thirsted for human blood, continued his blustering thus, I sat deeply engaged in reflecting on the means of baffling his vigilance; and all this stupid bravado directed of course to me, I smiled at in silent contempt. As we entered Verona in the evening, he pointed to a spot where he said he once murdered his comrade; but regardless of all this, I determined that in this very city I would attempt Mrs. Smith's escape.

I considered this to be the fittest place, as I flattered myself with the assistance of some friends whom I expected to meet here according to appointment; but I was unfortunately deceiv-

ed, for they had set out the same morning for Milan. I had still the hope of receiving the aid of one of my most intimate Venetian friends, who was at this time to come to his country-house (which was only two posts from Verona), on purpose to help me. I had imparted the secret to him, and desired him to meet me at a certain place in Verona that night. We had agreed that Mrs. Smith, on first escaping, was to take shelter in his seat, and to remain concealed there for a short time; whence, in the disguise of a country dress, she could have easily reached the imperial dominions by secret paths, as they are at no great distance from Verona. To settle our measures still better, I wrote him a few lines, and sent it by express, desiring to receive an answer as quickly as possible. I told him to repair to Verona; where, in the most solitary place, he would find me exactly at midnight, as he was already informed.

I went punctually to the spot; and there did I stand, amidst the ruins of the ancient amphitheatre, during a heavy shower of rain, even previous to the appointed hour. At length twelve o'clock struck; yet the awful silence still continued: nor could I hear the step of any one approaching. After waiting some time in vain, I ran to the post-house to inquire for the young man by whom I expected the answer: but on passing by the Piazza dell Erbe, a man came up to me, and stopped me, without speaking a word. I instantly presented a loaded pistol at him, which caused him to take to his heels; but not a syllable was uttered on either side. I could not imagine what this meant. The man had not yet returned with an answer, and I thought of returning to the amphitheatre, in hopes that he might be waiting there; but it was to no purpose. Two o'clock in the morning had struck, when, tired of looking for him, I returned to the inn; desirous to ease Mrs. Smith's mind from the agitation and suspense in which she naturally was, by acquainting her with my ill success: but her room was surrounded by the *gend'armes*, and I was denied admission to her at such an hour.

The same day, before I went to see her, I tried again to learn something of the messenger whom I so anxiously expected. He at last arrived with the letter from my friend; in which, after the usual silly compliments, he expressed the impossibility of his coming to Verona, on account of business that kept him at home. This weak man, resembling, both in character and principles, the generality of the inhabitants of that country, was terrified at the thought of incurring the smallest risk of personal danger, or exposing his interest, for the purpose of lending aid to the unhappy, and participating in the glorious claims of friendship.

I did not wish, however, that Mrs. Smith should remain ignorant of the truth, and therefore I went to shew her the letter

She expressed her fear that no other means could be devised for escaping; but when I communicated to her the stratagem which was to be effected that evening, she recovered her hopes again.

I had marked a cave that was near the Adige, as the place in which we were to hide ourselves, after absconding, during the night; and had prepared a small postchaise for our departure in the morning early; but the gend'armes told us that they wished to proceed on the journey, as no more than two days repose was granted.

That day Mrs. Smith was ill with a slight fever, and I went in search of a physician to testify the lady's state of health, and thus prevent her from being forced to continue travelling for the day. Doctor Dalbene, after visiting Mrs. Smith, attested on paper the nature of her complaint, which procured us the delay of another day. The conversation of this man was of great use to us, as it prevented us from attempting any thing at Verona, since we should have been inevitably stopped at the gates. I never disclosed any part of the secret to doctor Dalbene in the course of my inquiries: yet he informed us that this being a *place d'armes*, or fortified city, the gates were closed every night till sun-rise; and he also informed us of the extreme caution that was used with regard to the passports of every person leaving the city. When I had first planned our flight by the assistance of my friend, I had overlooked this essential point: and now, perceiving the impossibility of success, I renounced every idea of attempting any further step at Verona; so we departed for Brescia on the first of May.

On the road, I observed the various aspects of the country between Verona and Brescia: and when we drew near Peschiera, I stepped out of the carriage, on pretence of drawing a sketch of the view of the lake di Garde; but in reality for the purpose of obtaining information respecting the different interior roads thereabout, as I conjectured that from thence to the confines of the Tyrol the distance was inconsiderable. I made several inquiries on this subject, and discovered the different roads: I found that Peschiera was so situated as to oblige us to pass Brescia on our way to Riva, the nearest village to the Tyrolese confines. I continued my way on foot; inquiring which was the nearest place to Brescia, and the most convenient for passing the lake; and was in general answered Salò, it being the least distant from Brescia and nearest to the Tyrol. Thus instructed, I returned to the carriage; and shewed Mrs. Smith, in presence of the soldier, my drawing of the fortress of Peschiera, and of the adjoining hill by which it was shaded.

Count Attems had promised to overtake us at Milan, and go with Mrs. Smith to Valenciennes. This gentleman, however,

came up with us a little before we reached Brescia, having obtained leave from colonial Ghizzola to follow Mrs. Smith. We were cautious in keeping our secret from count Attems; as we reflected on the danger of his person, the tranquillity of his family, and the probable confiscation of his property by the government: but at the same time we intended to prevent his situation from being such as might raise suspicions of his concern in the plot.

The same day (the first of May,) we entered Brescia; where I had irrevocably determined to execute Mrs. Smith's deliverance (it being the nearest place to a neutral territory), and to fly from the dominions of the new *king of Italy*. For this purpose, before engaging the inn at which she was to rest the two days allowed, I ran to examine the windows of the different inns, and see of what height they were from the ground; but they all resembled each other so much in construction and elevation, that we remained at the one at which we had stopped with the *gend'armes*. A room was appointed for Mrs. Smith, fifty feet from the ground; the *gend'armes* took the room adjoining to her's, leaving the corresponding door half open, according to their custom; count Attems had the room beyond the soldiery, so that all secret communication between him and his sister-in-law was precluded; and I contented myself with a mean apartment in another part of the house.

The lateness of the hour at which we arrived, and the presence of the count, who had brought many letters for Mrs. Smith, prevented me from concerting with her the measures to be adopted. I wished to visit Salò, and examine its position and police; and also to obtain information of the rules observed at the gates of Brescia in passing. For this purpose, and while the police of Brescia yet remained ignorant of my arrival with Mrs. Smith, I went early the next morning to get my passport signed for the Tyrol. I wished to have it done for Vienna; but this was impossible, as it had been made out for Milan at Venice. From the police I hastened to observe the outlets of the city, and discover the easiest way of getting away; but, to my sorrow, I could see no other passage than through the gates, which were all strongly guarded. I next set about providing a light carriage, in order to be always furnished with a vehicle; and also obtaining horses, so that we might be able to avoid waiting at the post-houses, where we might possibly be in danger of being surprised. I was not able to find either the horses or carriage so soon as I wanted them; however, as I never allowed any accident to depress me, or destroy my determinations, I considered them as only useful, but by no means indispensible. I employed the short remaining part of the morning (before the *gend'armes*

were likely to look after me), in obtaining a bill of health at the office, which would be necessary on entering another country. I next went in search of a man's dress for the disguise of Mrs. Smith. All this I accomplished before ten o'clock in the forenoon; when I went to see her, and found her alone. I shewed her the passport signed for Trent, and the bill of health; and told her that I had in my possession the clothes with which she was to disguise herself as a man. On my producing these to her, she was at once forcibly struck with the dangers that were to be encountered: and the idea of attempting a task so extremely arduous, threw her for the first time into an apparent alarm, leaving her no resource but the mere desire of obtaining liberty.

Being fixed in my resolution, I availed myself of the hour while the soldiers were at the door, to settle with her all that was to be prepared and attempted. I told her that I should go during the night to reconnoitre the environs of Brescia and the town of Salò; that I would examine whatever obstacles might occur likely to occasion a surprise on our outset; and that I would acquaint her, and at least prevent every suspicion: that I would investigate the impediments likely to happen in the Tyrol, and endeavour to counteract them: in short, that I would collect all the information possible respecting the places through which we were to pass, ensure our passage through the gates of Brescia, fix on each station, and contrive infallible measures for eluding the vigilance of every ferocious Argus, however attentive.

She thought she perceived the will of Providence in my determination to save her: and regarded me as the friend who was to break her chains; and to guide her to a husband, to her children, and relatives. She therefore confided herself to my care; she agreed to follow up all my steps; and overcome, as far as she was able, every impediment. I could not however depart from her, and go away alone, without acquainting the *gend'armes*, to whose vigilance I was in some degree entrusted, with instructions, stating that I was to accompany her to Milan.

Nothing was more easy to obtain than the soldiers' permission to leave her, as a stranger's presence incommoded them; besides the incessant watch they kept over him, the orders of the government relative to the lady being extremely rigid in every respect. On quitting Mrs. Smith, I told the guards that my affairs prevented me from continuing any longer in the company of this woman: that the slow manner in which she travelled, staying so long at every place, greatly retarded my journey; that I had to go to Paris with all possible dispatch: and besides (flattering them by apparent confidence), I assured them that it was disagreeable to me to continue any longer with a prisoner; nor did

I like to expose my conduct to the stigma of being the friend of a woman whose arrest was demanded by *the Emperor of the French.* I added, that for this last reason in particular, I did not wish to go to Milan with her, and desired that very evening to depart from Brescia; adding, that as I did not like to tell the lady that such was my intention, I begged as a favour that they would have the goodness to inform her of it themselves. The fierce-looking sentinels murmured their opinions to one another, and turning to me in a friendly tone, advised me to leave her, promising that they would acquaint her punctually. Count Attems afterwards on hearing that I had left them without saying a word to him, was astonished, as much friendship had always existed between us.

I hired a horse and small chaise for a couple of days, agreeing to leave them at Salò, to a *Vetturino* of which place, named Silvestro, the chaise belonged. After this I concealed myself in the most solitary part of the city, to avoid suspicion. Count Ghizzalo (brother to the colonel of that name), to whom Mrs. Smith was directed at Brescia, endeavoured very politely to render her short stay there agreeable, and offered to accompany her himself, with the *gend'armes*, to the theatre. I was to set out that night, but wished first to have a few more explanations with Mrs. Smith. I wanted to instruct her how she was to be sure of my secret return to Brescia, and to act so precisely as might preclude every possibility of surprise.

The better to conceal every appearance of our project, I went to the theatre with her; in the view likewise of finding, after our return, a favourable moment for speaking to her alone. I reflected that this would be our last interview if my efforts should fail; it was at such a crisis that she had to rely on her own courage and presence of mind, while irresolution or delay might prove fatal; fear was to be avoided, and every weakness to be set aside. At twelve o'clock at night, after our return from the theatre, we endeavoured to send every one away, and fortunately were left alone. "This is the last time," said I, "that we are to speak together. I now depart, nor am I to see you again but out of these walls, where you are closely guarded. I can no longer visit the room where you are a prisoner, and I am no further to continue a witness of your all-fated journey. Should my motions be traced by the subtle traitor; or, on my return, should I be surprised at the gates, or when I am near the inn;—then if my evil destiny becomes known to you, be sure to deny that you were in any manner concerned in my schemes. Say that you had never discovered in me the least inclination to relieve you: complain of my conduct which occasioned the suspicion of the government; and represent in the harshest terms, to the

officers who may suppose you concerned, the imprudence of my character: appear amazed at what I dared to attempt, curse the day that I came with you from Venice, and shew the greatest willingness to pursue your journey. Thus these enemies will not vent their rage upon you: it will fall on my head, who am better able to bear it. They will be satisfied by punishing him who will repeat in the hour of torment, his constant desire, his duty as a man, to save you. But if I succeed in eluding their attention;—if, happy in the lonely silence of night, to-morrow I regain these walls; and in darkness accost this house unnoticed by any person, while you in this chamber anticipate my steps in your mind:—then, at eleven o'clock, free from the intrusion of others, do you let down a string from the window to the ground, to which I will tie a paper that shall convey all that I may have discovered and prepared, and what I shall have resolved upon. I shall mention the precise time for the attempt, the plan to be followed, and the measures conducive for ensuring a happy issue. I shall not conceal from you the impediments that may strike me as likely to obstruct us: do not fear that I shall betray you and myself, if it is impossible to escape. In short, you shall read what you have to perform: you will then consider how much you have to undertake, and how you are to accompany me. If you should deem your chambermaid an object of hindrance to you, or consider her capable of betraying us at such a juncture, let her drink be cautiously mixed with some narcotic, that may lay her to sleep. Take leave of your brother only in thought, and beware of speaking a word that may lead him to apprehend what you are about to do: let no involuntary impulse of nature expose you, but reflect on what is to be done. Avoid all confusion and agitation as much as possible: let the idea of sacred liberty shield you from anxiety: let the fond hope of seeing your children and relatives once more, animate you in the trial: be certain of a happy result, and reject every pernicious doubt."

Her mind was strengthened: her courage supported her amply, and all her accents tended to convince me of the fortitude of her character. I glowed with rapture at seeing her equal to the imminence of the risk: her sentiments stimulated me not to make the least further delay, and I immediately took my leave of her.

At four o'clock in the morning I passed the gates of Brescia, and directed my steps to Salò. I viewed the surrounding hills and the chain of mountains along the road: open cavities and recesses proper for sheltering the forlorn fugitive, drew my attention; these I strictly inspected; determining, in case circumstances should turn out unfortunate, and the soldiers should be in pursuit of us, we would hide ourselves there till the danger in

some degree subsided. The prospect of the country was delightful, and the silence and solitude, so congenial to my situation, that reigned throughout the scene, seemed to prognosticate that the path which I then trod was the least replete with danger.

On my arrival at Salò, no officer appeared at the gate to demand my passport; nor did I perceive any crowd of idle gazers gathering about my chaise to look at *the stranger*, as is the custom in the small towns and villages of Italy. This made me hope that I should be able to pass through this place with ease; as such curiosity, besides being troublesome, might to people in our situation (who have every thing to apprehend) turn out fatal. I visited the village; and perceiving no sign of a military force, I resolved with pleasure to come this way. I applied to the police to have my passport signed for Trent; saying that I wished to get it done the day before, as I intended to come the following morning very early. I then hastened to the borders of the lake di Garda; where I engaged a covered boat with twelve oars, to be ready the next morning at six o'clock for passing the lake with all expedition. I feared, and justly, that on landing on the other side of the lake, we might not be able to find either horses or carriage, and thus be obliged to go as far as Roveredo on foot; and as in such a case we should be exposed to the greatest danger of being overtaken, I resolved on hiring a carriage and horses at Salò to carry us to Trent. I settled for another boat (to convey the carriage, &c. across the lake to Riva, the landing-place), which was to follow the course of ours.

At eleven o'clock in the forenoon, nothing remained further to prepare at Salò, but as I could not well return to Brescia before the evening, so I was obliged to wait at Salò till eight o'clock, at the house of Silvestro, to whom the chaise belonged. I sat reflecting on the perilous moment of Mrs. Smith's escape from the room. In this first, this difficult step towards her freedom, I considered the extreme danger of her leaping from a window at such a great height; and to get away by any door of the inn was totally impossible. I therefore studied how I could make a ladder of rope and pieces of wood: and though I never had any taste for mechanics, I bought the necessary materials, and succeeded in making one as long as I thought would be required. When this important implement was finished, I wrote the letter, in which I informed her minutely of what I had prepared, and what I had discovered: assuring her that we had no prominent obstacle to fear in our flight. I told her of the ladder, which she was to tie to the iron of the window; and that by two o'clock in the morning I would be under the window, waiting for her: that she must avail herself of the time when the guards were all

fast asleep, for descending; but to wait first for a signal from me, which would assure her that nobody was in sight: for if persons passed at the time, it might frustrate all our operations, and perhaps betray us. I concluded by exhorting her not to hesitate an instant in exposing her life thus, to recover her freedom; rather than submit herself a victim to a cruel captivity.

I left Salò when the sun had sunk below the horizon, and in repassing the hills, the hope of seeing them again the next morning, and the fear of never returning that way, agitated me extremely. One moment I was overjoyed with the idea that perhaps within a few hours, I should there sing my first hymn to newly recovered liberty, in company with the unhappy fugitive; and at another I was filled with the apprehension of being surprised there by the *gend'armes*: my imagination sometimes anticipated the most favourable night for the accomplishment of our design; and soon after figured some person observing our motions, then our discovery, my seizure, bloodshed, Mrs. Smith's dread; in short, the most cruel terrors. These images were heightened by the darkness that enveloped every object.

As I drew near the walls of Brescia, I could not help considering them as about to be those of my prison. I entered the very instant of shutting the gates. I left the horse and chaise at an inn situated in a solitary square on the left, telling the ostler that I would return by three in the morning.

The Marquis proceeds to state, that disguised as a Brescian postillion, he took a rope-ladder under his cloak, and went to the inn where Mrs. Smith was confined, and after waiting three hours under her window, she perceived him, fixed the ladder, and descended. From that moment they began their flight, and reached Salò the same morning, when they embarked in a gondolier, and gained the Tyrolean frontiers.

Towards the evening (continues the marquis) we met a waggon, on which there were several French cuirassiers; but as they were ignorant of our case, they only laughed at our mean equipage. We crossed the Tyrolean mountains with our usual celerity, without stopping either night or day; nor did we allow ourselves that repose which our fatigue urgently called for.

The people of the Tyrol are of an uncouth and stubborn cast of mind: they possess so small a share of humanity or hospitality, that exclusive of our fears arising from a knowledge of their dependence on Bavaria, and their connections with the French, we were desirous of quitting their country, and not to [illegible]se ourselves long to their ill-treatment and extortion. As [illegible]roached the extremity of the Tyrol, we were accosted in [illegible]bout noon by a man dressed in a soldier's uniform, who,

drawing his sword, desired us in a threatening tone to lend him some money. My situation was such, that I could not possibly perceive what went on, nor abandon the horse, but Mrs. Smith snatched the loaded pistols that we had with us, and answered his menace by presenting one of them at him. This made the fellow step back instantly, and renounce his plan of robbing; leaving us to proceed towards the Saltzburghese territory.

We judged it prudent to keep the circumstance of our flight a profound secret, as we could not flatter ourselves with the hope that the passport would ensure us a free passage through Saltzburg, it having become utterly useless, for it was confirmed by no signature at any place in Italy or the Tyrol. Our intention was to go to Gratz, where Mrs. Smith's children and sister (Mad. Strassoldo) were, and the only way to be attempted was by the Saltzburghese hills, asking the road to Stiria as we went. We determined at random on crossing the mountain of Bertoscad, though we knew nothing of the direction to be taken; but the country people pointed this out to us, and I managed the reins of our wearied animal accordingly.

The same day we arrived at Waispack, situated at the foot of this mountain, and containing a church and an inn. This village, standing at a distance from the highway and from any city, is surrounded by hills, in which silence and solitude reign, interrupted only by the streams that rush down the sides of the mountain in their rugged channels. We were invited here, for the first time, to repose ourselves, free from our late cruel solicitude: we were no longer oppressed by a fear of treachery at the hands of those whom we met, or a dread of being arrested by whoever approached us. At Waispack we staid a whole day, and th next we intended to reach the summit of the mountain; but Mrs. Smith's strength was not equal to such a walk: the people however directed us another road, along the river, leading to Zell, whence we were to proceed to Stiria, through a most delightful country.

No landscape better deserves to be described in the liveliest colours of language, than the enchanting scenes which are so richly lavished, by the hand of Nature, along the banks of the lake of Zell. Were I endowed with the transcendant genius of Horace or of Virgil, what a truly fascinating sketch would I not produce of a country less dreary than the mountains of Berne or Zuric, but replete with all that beautiful contrast, so peculiar to many of the most romantic parts of Switzerland! The eye is pleased with a multitude of cottages, the simple inhabitants of which are agreeably united, and pursue their agricultural labours. Further up among the hills, small houses are interspersed every

where; and from time to time the welcome inn is found, which affords better fare than that of the large villages in the Tyrol.

These people have been attentive to the place of their religious exercise: the church is splendid, and well officiated; and for this purpose they deprive themselves of a certain superfluity of domestic comforts. The inhabitants of the environs of this lake are robust, and well made; yet through the most of the Saltzburghese territory one is disagreeably struck with the sight of a race of beings who exhibit an extraordinary chain of the modifications of nature, almost from the monkey to the man. I looked with compassion at a number of deformed wretches, whose configuration was so little human, that every movement was accompanied by perpetual contortion. What objects of pity are those miserable creatures who, though members of society, hardly possess the faculty of vegetating, being actually deficient in animal organization! Even their expression is unconnected with articulate sounds, and they are unable either to answer or to comprehend whatever is said to them. Such are seen trailing themselves from place to place in the vicinity of Saltzburgh.

Obliged as we were to advance through mountainous defiles, destitute of a path to follow, we found it necessary to walk through many a wild passage; we often joined the country folks on their way homewards, as the day began to close, and I led by the bridle our horse with our battered vehicle. I now felt that our late vicissitudes realized the ideal adventures of romance:—shut out from the vortex of society, and buried in the solitude of such a country, after suffering from the intense heat of the sun, we rested ourselves, as evening approached, on the borders of some stream, or took shelter beneath the humble roof of a cottage; considering ourselves no longer bound to accelerate our steps, how often did we sit in the shade of some pine, listening to the nightingale's notes! Harassed no more by the dread of seizure, our minds rambled in an investigation of the works of nature.

A Tyrolese lady, though neither rank nor fortune could justify her passion, loved a youth of the condition of a merchant, and the obstacles to the accomplishment of her desires caused her to elope with him. His flight became a matter of public concern; and all the guards at the confines, as well as the police, were cautioned for the detention of the parties. The vigilance intended for them soon fell upon us, and when we reached the frontiers, we were prevented from passing them, the people there supposing us to be the fugitives in question. We discovered the motive of this impediment, and found that it would render our journey by the way of Carinthian Stiria quite impracticable, as also by the other frontier.

This adventure seemed almost to have something theatrical in it, as in many dramatic plots similar incidents form the basis of intrigues and interesting scenes. We at first merely smiled at the curiosity of the people; but as we were obliged to return to places we had already passed, we began to be seriously displeased. At every step fortune seemed to rejoice in oppressing us; my tranquillity fled before unhappy presentiments; and an idea of additional disasters obscured the brighter prospect which had begun to dawn. Nothing now appeared agreeable to our eyes; no object afforded us delight; and the same hills, rivers, and valleys, that before had enlivened our imagination, were become sources of melancholy, and even of disgust.

The affair of the fugitives made us apprehend that we should be arrested in any of the adjacent countries to which we might return. From the time of our quitting Rastadt we were unable to devise measures either decisive or accurate. We hoped to be able to ascend the steep mountain called the Tauro; and we set out for this purpose; but being obliged to traverse the precipices on foot, without being able to avoid the frontiers of Carinthian Stiria (on the other side of the mountain), we judged it prudent to return to Rastadt, after having fatigued ourselves for several hours. We had now again to contrive the means of escaping even from a country which we could not call inimical; but it seemed as if captivity hovered round us wherever we went, danger faced us at every avenue, and liberty fled from us as we hastened to overtake it; we were doomed to struggle against our adverse fate, and elude the vigilant police of every country; not only constrained to avoid cities, but to fly from the confines of kingdoms.

They did, however, succeed in escaping from dangers which seem more like the fanciful scenes of a novel than reality, and got to Vienna and thence to Prague. I was prevented, says the Marquis, from making those observations on Moravia and Bohemia which I wished, previous to my arrival at Prague. The lands in general appeared fertile, and the country throughout extremely uneven. In every village and town, images of saints and the Virgin ornamented the squares or public places, and the people of Germany appeared to me so very superstitious, that I imagined they would fight better for the conquest of Jerusalem than for the protection of their country. The women in those provinces were employed in the fields more than the men, the exertions of the latter seldom extending beyond horse-driving, or wielding the musket.

Bohemia seemed richer than any other part of the Emperor's dominions; but the character of its inhabitants is rough and uncivil. Their language, a corrupted Iliric, prevents the passen-

ger from gaining information, and besides this, their extreme avarice renders them unsocial. I was struck with the difference of temper between the youth at the age of twelve or fourteen years, and that of the man of twenty-four: the first were lively and quick, but the other looked stupid, lazy, and as if the faculties of the mind sunk under the increasing vigour of the body. This I attributed in some degree to the great consumption of spirituous liquors and animal food, which at that age prevails in Bohemia. I have seen some of the people eat abundantly five times in a day. The Bohemians are brave and loyal subjects, qualities particularly commendable in the inhabitants of the frontiers of any state.

From Prague our noble fugitives proceeded through Silesia, and into Gallicia, to Cracow. On coming to Cracow, says the Marquis, its appearance sufficiently proved it to have been formerly the seat of commotion and civil war; its poverty and inactive state were evident, and seemed as if none of its inhabitants considered it their home. In fact the nobles had all emigrated to the neighbouring countries, particularly Vienna; those occupied in the government were Germans, the artificers either Italians or Bohemians; and the rest of its population were mostly Jews, who have no country of their own, nor ever partake in the public concerns of any people among whom they reside. Yet they carry on exclusively all the trade, and support in a manner the political existence of this city, being at once the merchants, manufacturers, and agriculturists. The departure of the nobles and rich proprietors from Cracow, has left the Jews, by means of their money, masters of a wretched people.

The next day, before I left Cracow, I wished to see the famous salt mines of Wilitzen. Tied to a rope, I descended into a deep chasm formed in the earth, accompanied by a man with torches, who was to guide me through its dreary horrors,

> Sola sub nocte per umbram;
> Perque domos Ditis vacuas, et inania regna.

From time to time I stopped to behold the confused and tottering masses around me, while this terrific abyss was seen vaulted above in hideous contexture, which seemed to threaten with destruction the eye that dared to gaze upon it. I continued to descend till I reached the bottom; where, by means of our lights, I perceived a body of water, on which floated a small ill-constructed boat, destined to convey whoever wished to penetrate still farther into the dark recesses. Having finally, by narrow passages, arrived at the bottom of these immense excavations, the man that accompanied me gave orders to others who

had come with us, to detach a mass of salt from the rocks, that I might see the process and expedition of their operations. A thundering crash attended the shock, and resounded awfully throughout the hollow expanse; my senses were forcibly struck at the bellowing noise. I passed three hours in examining these places, which my fancy depicted as the seat of Chaos; not considering them as the result of men's thirst after gain, by which Nature herself seemed violated and disfigured, and her very bowels torn open. My conductor, being now obliged to return, asked whether I was afraid to climb up a rock there by means of pieces of wood for the purpose of arriving the sooner at the spot where I was again to be bound to the rope by which I had first descended. Though much fatigued, I willingly undertook this new road. On reaching the top of the cliff (which was no very agreeable task), and casting my eyes on the space beneath, I was astonished at the awful prospect, where a gaping abyss of the blackest darkness seemed ready to snatch me into eternal oblivion. I hastened from the dreadful aperture, pursuing my ascent with all the expedition of some unfortunate being who flies from a dungeon into which tyranny had plunged him. I thought I heard a human voice behind me, and that I perceived the shade of some departed soul; but these illusions, occasioned by the dismal objects that surrounded me, were dissipated when, by the assistance of the rope, I was again hoisted to the light of day.

Cracow owes the principal source of its traffic to these mines. Above a thousand persons are employed in working them, and the produce is estimated at about two millions of florins annually. On returning to the city, I was obliged to depart immediately with Mrs. Smith's children for Bresk, a place situated on the frontier of Polish Russia.

The contrast between the fertile quality of the soil, and its barrenness, arising from a want of cultivation, was a melancholy proof of the wretchedness of those countries. It was a distressing sight to perceive immense tracts of the finest land quite deserted; countries capable of becoming agreeable to the traveller, rendered insupportable to him and painful, by being destitute of even the necessaries of life. Often was I obliged to intreat the avaricious and ragged Jew for a night's repose in a miserable hovel, and pay for it at an exorbitant rate. I was as frequently under the necessity of waiting for post-horses in the open country, which seldom arrived till I had more than once repeated my solicitations to the people, who spoke a sort of Illiric dialect, mixed with a few words of Latin.

The marquis and the lady continued their flight towards Prussian Poland, and arrived at Bresk, where Mrs. Smith assumed

the name of Miller. This place, says he, made me imagine myself in an ancient city of the land of Israel. Three thousand Jews composed almost its whole population, and a few Russians administer justice, and occupy the civil employments. Whoever knows the character of the Jews, will easily conceive what monopoly prevails in this unhappy country, where the law is wholly under pecuniary influence, where power is purchased, and the magistrates and keepers of the customs follow no other rule in granting or denying whatever is required of them, than a consideration of the presents made to them. The Jews, however, are necessary to the support of the country, considering its actual state; and one day when the governor informed me that their banishment was in contemplation, I asked who then were to be the inhabitants of that part of Poland, the labourers, the manufacturers, the tradesmen, and, in short, who were to compose the people? adding, that without the introduction of new inhabitants, the whole country would become a complete desert. He agreed that trade, and society itself, arose here from the Jews exclusively.

These people, solely occupied in the means of obtaining money, will never attempt any thing of importance in favour of those whose thirst for conquest might lead them to undertake the revolution of Poland, and whose reliance might be placed on the Jews. Timid and base from their condition and habits, they will never either take up arms against any government, or oppose its measures. In Bresk I fancied the houses alone had endured the effects of levelling democracy; for they were all constructed of wood, and exactly similar, particularly in elevation; nor did I perceive that the dwellings of the rich were more splendid than those of the poor. The nobility, and the marshal (the ancient title of the chief nobleman in every city of Poland,) of the place, lived in the adjacent country.

Prince Wolkonsky sent about to inform the principal people near Bresk of our arrival, for the purpose of procuring us the pleasure of their company. With what politeness and attention were we treated by the Polish gentry, from the instant they heard of our being there! They wished us to enjoy that hospitality of which our situation had so long deprived us in every other place; and as they understood that this was the first city where we had found ourselves in safety, they resolved to show us how well they knew how to receive the fugitive, and make us forget our recent troubles.—

Eight days elapsed without passports from Grodno appearing, but we could not leave Bresk without them. I endeavoured in the mean time to gain information relative to the opinion of the few inhabitants who were not Jews. I was unable

to discover any national character. Two classes only were to be found; one of the nobles extremely rich, the other of wretched slaves. The latter are so little susceptible of patriotic sentiments, that they are even ignorant of what the word *government* means; to obey the commands of their superiors, is all they aim at Among the nobles, one seemed partial to Austria, another to Prussia, and a third to Russia; but hardly any to France. The Count Magesca said, in the senatorial emphasis of an ancient Roman, "Of the Poles the name only survives, we are no longer a nation." I answered, "You were in a state of perpetual discord, which is not the case now that you belong to a government." It was not possible however to persuade either him or any other Pole that such was the truth, while the Prince Wolkonsky governed, and other Russian generals commanded them.

In society, the Polish ladies and the men also pointed at the uncouth behaviour of the Russians, and complained of being under the yoke of such a rude and uncivilized people. The condition however of the nobles is generally respected by the emperor, and the language, as well as the national prejudices seemed to resemble those of the Russians.

It was at Bresk, in General Dimidoff's house, that I first heard the chorus of Russian soldiers. I listened with amazement to this perfect union of harmony, which might very justly have been taken for the production of consummate skill in music. It consisted of a continuation of melodious passages, in a sort of inverse modulation of the different voices; the dissonances by which they apparently commenced, were resolved by the profoundest art. I thought I might compare it to the melody of ancient Greece, mentioned by Anacharsis and Polixenes; and I was convinced, that were the climate of both equally mild, the Russians would eclipse the Italians in music.

The Poles have also a taste for singing, which is generally of the sentimental kind. Their *canzones* always express the sorrows of unhappy lovers; thus differing from those of the Germans, who prefer the martial notes of a soldier, or the ungrateful shrieks of a fiend; or the Italians, who choose warbling heroes and gods; and of the French, who admire the plaintive song of innocence, or the obstreperous bawlings of low life. Pastorals please the Russians.

Education is in general highly refined in Poland, nor is the cordial reception offered to the stranger one of the least convincing proofs of the truth of this assertion.

After a stay of seventeen days at Bresk we departed; and it was then that the children for the first time were permitted to

travel with their mother, a satisfaction which they continued to enjoy till we reached London. I was obliged to perform the same journey, finding myself deprived of any place of security, except England or Russia. As my intention was to go to Sicily, no way was open to me but the Baltic and the ocean. I was far from my relatives, nor was it in my power to inform them of my situation; but though I left them, was it not for the purpose of liberating an unhappy captive and two infants from unmerited imprisonment? Italy and Germany were shut against me, as I had reason to apprehend the most serious punishment if I were to return to either. My fate, however, far from seeming cruel, coincided perfectly with my inclination. Nor did necessity ever appear so congenial to me as on this occasion!

Being compelled to travel through countries entirely new to me, I observed attentively the manners and customs of the Poles, who at present have almost lost their ancient habits, as their national splendour is decayed, and their country subjugated by the neighbouring powers. One of these is advancing fast to civilization, and seems emulous to deserve the rank of a polished nation. To obtain this end, its people imitate the manners of the French, and resort to theatres where French pieces are acted: the Italian manners and music are likewise followed; and the maritime skill and method of carrying on trade of the English are cultivated; yet the national character still remains.

As I have observed, I was under the necesssty of coming to England, a pleasing duty to me, as it fulfilled those wishes which I had always entertained, of visiting a powerful and victorious country, and beholding the prodigious effects of commercial industry, by which the productions of a hundred climates are interchanged, and rendered familiar to all its inhabitants.

In this hope I left Bresk, on my way through the rest of Poland to Petersburgh, whence I intended to embark for London. My desire to gain all the information possible, led me to make the strictest inquiries; but, unluckily, the whole country that I traversed offered no more than a continued scene of misery. For whole days did I pursue my way without seeing any human being, though the soil was rich in pasture and trees. No mark of industry or cultivation could I perceive; and at the wretched and distant villages, almost every house appeared to be deserted. From time to time however, the lofty mansions towered to the sight from within the spacious and delightful forest; there the Polish nobles reside, to whom belong the dreary and wide extended plains which I had passed the whole day in crossing. A rich Jew, in the spring, engages for the year, an immense tract of land for the sole purpose of feeding cattle, and

providing hay; and expects from it no other benefits than these, there being no hands to be found for cultivating the ground. The lower class, who are slaves, are obliged to serve their master, unless they are rich enough to purchase their emancipation, for a few months or years. It is needless to observe, that while things continue in this state, the country must ever remain destitute of population. Nature herself shrinks at such a dreadful anti-social system. Can men, thus oppressed, look forward to their offspring without feeling the pangs of remorse? and must they not rather curse the connubial bond that gives existence to beings doomed to chains and poverty? Accordingly, what in fact is the population covering an extent of 13,400 square miles? Hardly seven millions of souls, of which three millions are Jews.

The soil of the parts of Poland which I saw, appeared equal in quality to that of the richest countries in Europe. Its neglected state, no doubt, arises from the serious wars in which the powers it belongs to are so deeply engaged, being thus prevented, of course, from directing their attention to the amelioration of a country, of all the north of Europe the most susceptible of cultivation.

However disagreeable the sight of so many sordid Jews was to me in Poland, I could have wished to meet them every where. Without these fallen Israelites, the stranger in Lithuania would find it impossible to travel or even exist; it seemed as if the government itself, the lands, productions, houses, all, in short, were in their possession: without recurring to them, neither food nor horses are to be found. There is no fixed price for the horses, this depends on the will of the Jew; if the traveller thinks it exorbitant, or threatens to enforce justice, the Jew smiles with contempt.

After a journey of several days, I arrived at Wilna; where, on making inquiry for the ladies and children, I was told that Mrs. Smith laboured under a severe illness which threatened her life. Terror and fatigue, in addition to her former impaired state of health, had reduced this lady to the verge of dissolution. Almost every hope was lost; the children were kept from her; and her sister, in the deepest affliction, was unable to assist or even to look on her: she who had escaped from the grasp of bondage, lay supine at the mercy of all-powerful Providence, and was unable any further to resist the laws of nature.

They sent in quest of doctor Frank, but this celebrated physician had gone to Petersburgh: Mrs. Smith was therefore confided to the care of Dr. Lubenweil. This learned professor of the university of Wilna, in the course of a few days, succeeded

in relieving her from the immediate danger of death; and through his unremitting attention and skill, in about a month she was restored to a tolerable condition.

As the month of August was expiring, and any further delay might render the passage of the Baltic difficult, I determined on accompanying the ladies to Riga, there to embark for England, and gave up the idea of visiting St. Petersburgh.

Most of the gentry of Wilna being then in the country, and the university vacant, I was unable to obtain much information relating to the manners of this capital of Lithuania. From the discourse in the few circles there, however, I could find that both the people and nobles were satisfied with the Russian government; which has respected, not only the dignity and rights of the Polish nobility, but also the national customs; and has endeavoured besides to encourage agriculture, and render the condition of the lower class less insupportable. But abuse and fraud still continue, and are perhaps even greater than ever: the ancient government of Poland was certainly by no means calculated to extirpate these evils.

I perceived too that what I heard in these respects was true. This city was governed by Russian generals, who were highly esteemed: the nobles considered themselves fortunate in being allowed to retain their privileges; and the people, who were more active than those in any other part of Poland, cherished the prospect which would enable them to purchase their liberty for a few years. Though this administration can conduce but little to relieve Poland from the pressure of a rigid feudality, it no doubt reconciles the Poles to their recent master.

Of all Poland, the Prussian part is the most dissatisfied with its fate, notwithstanding the attention of the king to ameliorating the condition of his new subjects. He has established useful institutions, and abolished many abuses; but the Poles wish for their ancient privileges, and utterly detest these innovations.

The nobles are incensed against the king of Prussia for laying pecuniary impositions upon them, and the clergy consider him as a heretic. Hence it is not surprising that we find many of the Poles acting in favour of his enemy. The Prussian monarch required the exertion of all his wisdom to suppress the turbulent spirit of his people, even though he had tried to render their condition more easy. I do not think that the Lithuanians and Gallicians will ever be seen seconding the ambitious views of France, or favouring by secret schemes the conquest of their countries. As the affluence of the nobles depends upon the preservation of the feudal system, it is impossible that they

should ever consent to be governed by the laws of Buonaparte, which subvert every antiquated institution of the kind. The Polish gentry will of course oppose the French violently.

Having arrived in Courland, and when about a post distant from Mittau, I was obliged to wait two days in a wretched hut, as it was impossible to obtain horses: thus I found both men and beasts were equally scarce. To a Sicilian, like me, it was quite new to perceive the corn still green toward the end of August; this was the case in that part of Courland, so the harvest could not be got in before the autumn was very far advanced. I stopped only a day at Mittau; and the following evening entered Riga, with Mrs. Smith and the Countess Strassoldo. No sight could be more interesting to me, who had beheld nothing for four months but steep mountains, woods, and lonesome plains, than that of an immense river covered with hundreds of vessels and boats, where the people were observed busily employed in shipping or unloading every sort of merchandize, the cries of the active sailors heard as they unfurled their sails for departure, and ships seen entering with their national colours flying. This was a most edifying scene, after having witnessed the distressed condition of the lower orders of the Poles throughout the interior. At Riga all was in motion, the inhabitants of every climate lived here united, interchanging their several commodities, and the stimulus of riches seemed, through the medium of commerce, to give extraordinary animation to each individual. I had been for some time a stranger to such sensations as those which were impressed by the activity of this extensive city.

We immediately exerted ourselves to procure a passage for England; but, as usual, we were doomed to meet with obstacles even in this respect, and were under the necessity of protracting our stay no less than seventeen days, as there was no vessel bound for England.

Through all Poland, and especially at Wilna, the people complained bitterly of the excessive duties on all foreign goods, particularly English. I was told that these frequently amount to half of the prime cost; and the injustice of the custom-house directors was related in the most virulent terms. I heard of an accusation made against a man of probity who had attempted to suppress these measures so subversive of prosperity and industry, and that every effort of the emperor to counteract such evils had proved unavailing. I observed, in answer, that every disorder has its attendant symptoms, and that to extirpate all abuses, nothing could be more effectual than entire freedom. These complaints however were never made at Riga, though the duties on every article are enormous there also: for the riches produced

by its extensive trade with every northern country, render them less burdensome, so that among forty thousand inhabitants, no mark of poverty is to be seen.

At Riga (as is the case in every city inhabited by merchants and bankers), political news is speedily and faithfully received. On the first report of the preparations for hostility between France and Prussia, a rich English merchant gave a splendid entertainment. The history of our escape was already known to many, and such of the gentry as had returned from their country-seats, very kindly afforded us repeated proofs of their hospitable attention; besides the nobles, the secondary class were extremely polite.

The Livonians do not like to be mistaken for Russians, notwithstanding their attachment to the government. They preserve the chronological list of their progressive advancement in civilization, which is anterior by far to that of the Russians; and consequently expect a certain degree of deference on account of their antiquity.

We at length embarked about the beginning of September, and in twelve days arrived at Copenhagen, whence, after a short stay, we continued our passage to England, and on the 26th day of the same month, I for the first time beheld the happy shores of that powerful and wealthy island.

The narrative of the marquis, in which he details all the "hair-breadth escapes" which he encountered for a defenceless stranger, does great honour to his feelings; and the remarks on the countries which he traversed, though brief, will, doubtless, be deemed satisfactory, when the rapidity of his journey and the agitation of his mind are reflected on.

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Directions to the Binder.

The works which form this Volume, are to be separated, as usual, from the Numbers, and Bound up in the following order.:

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List of the Plates, and Directions for placing them.